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# MEMORIALS

OF

# ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

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VOL. II.

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# MEMORIALS

OF

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

# HOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WHEREIN

## THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

and he *Reformation of it, during the Primacy of the said Archbishop, are*
*eatly illustrated; and many singular matters relating thereunto,*
*now first published* (1694). *In Three Books.*

ECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC LETTERS, AND OTHER
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By JOHN STRYPE, M.A.

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BY

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# MEMORIALS

OF

# ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

*Queen Mary soon recognised. The Archbishop slandered and imprisoned.*

I FIND the archbishop present among Queen Jane's counsellors, whose party seemed to be resolute for her until the 19th of July. All these persons of quality were with her in the Tower, consulting of affairs for her service; Thomas archbishop of Canterbury; the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor; the earl of Winchester, lord treasurer; the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the earls of Bedford, Arundel, Shrewsbury, Pembroke; the lords Darcy and Paget; Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir John Cheke, Sir John Baker, Sir Robert Bowes, being all of her Council. All which (excepting Northumberland) signed a letter, dated July 19, to the Lord Rich, lord lieutenant of the county of Essex, who had signified to them that the earl of Oxford was fled to the Lady Mary. In their letter they exhorted him to stand true and tight to Queen Jane, as they said they did and would do. It was penned by Cheke, for Secretary Cecil was absent; and Petre, the other secretary, though present, did it not, though he signed it. The letter is in the Appendix.[1] The day before this letter was sent, viz. July 18, there being a rising in Buckinghamshire, and the parts thereabouts, Queen Jane herself, thinking herself sure of Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, signed a letter to them, therein ordering them to raise with speed all the power they could of their servants, tenants, officers, and friends, to allay that tumult; and so she had written to other gentlemen in those parts to do. This letter also I have put in the Appendix.[1]

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[1] No. LXIX.

And yet, (to see the vicissitude of men's minds, and uncertainty of human affairs), July 20, divers of those very counsellors, that but the day before set their hands resolvedly to stand by Queen Jane, proclaimed Queen Mary in the city of London, and immediately despatched the earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget unto her with a letter, writ from Baynard's Castle, where they now were removed from the Tower. In which letter "they beg her pardon, and to remit their former infirmities, and assure her, calling God to witness to the same, that they were ever in their hearts her true subjects since the king's death, but could not utter their minds before that time without great destruction and bloodshed of themselves and others." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix.[2]

The same day the Council wrote to the duke of Northumberland their letters, dated from Westminster, sent by a herald, wherein the duke was commanded and charged, in Queen Mary's name, to disarm and discharge his soldiers, and to forbear his return to the city, until the queen's pleasure. And the same was to be declared to the marquis of Northampton, and all other gentlemen that were with him. The herald was also, by virtue of his letters from the Council, to notify in all places where he came, "that if the duke did not submit himself to the queen's highness, he should be taken as a traitor, and they of the late king's council would persecute him to his utter confusion."[3] And thus far our archbishop went. For this was signed by him, and the bishop of Ely, lord chancellor; the marquis of Winchester, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, the Lord Darcy, Sir Richard Cotton; Petre and Cecil, secretaries; Sir John Baker, Sir John Mason, Sir Robert Bowes. The duke saw it in vain to oppose, and so submitted to this order, and the plot that his ambition had been framing so long, and with so much art, fell on a sudden.

Very speedily Queen Mary was owned abroad, as well as at home: Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambassadors in France, writ their letters to her and the Council, acknowledging her, and ceasing any further to act as ambassadors. She continued Dr. Wotton, and sent for Pickering and Chaloner home; and sent Sir Anthony St. Leger, the beginning of August, ambassador thither, joined with Wotton. This determination the Council, August 12, signified to the said three ambassadors.

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[1] No. LXX. [2] No. LXXI. [3] Stow['s Chronicle, p. 612].

But now to cast our eyes upon the state of religion at this time. Upon this access of Queen Mary to the crown, whose interest as well as education made her a zealous Papist, the good progress of religion was quite overthrown, and the pious archbishop's pains and long endeavours in a great measure frustrated, and he himself soon after exercised with great afflictions. The first pretended occasion of which was this: it was reported abroad, soon after King Edward's death, that the archbishop had offered to sing the mass and "Requiem" at the burial of that king, either before the queen, or at St. Paul's Church, or anywhere else; and that he had said or restored mass already in Canterbury. This, indeed, had the suffragan of Dover, Dr. Thornton, done;[1] but without the archbishop's consent or knowledge.

But, however, such good impressions of religion had the archbishop left at Canterbury, that, though mass was set up there, and priests were through fear forced to say it, yet it was utterly contrary to their wills. And, about New Year's tide, there was a priest said mass there one day, and the next came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him. For he said, "he had betrayed Christ; but not as Judas did, but Peter." And then he made a long sermon against the mass.

But the aforesaid slanderous report so troubled the archbishop, that, to stay it, he wrote a letter to a friend of his, that he never made any promise of saying mass, nor that he did set up the mass in Canterbury, but that it was done by "a false, flattering, lying monk, Dr. Thornden," (such a character in his just anger he gave him), who was suffragan of Dover, and vicedean of that church, in the absence of

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[1] [See Wharton's Observations on the discrepancy in the names of Thornton and Thornden, at the end of this volume.]

Dr. Wotton, who was then abroad in embassy. This Thornden, saith my manuscript (writ but a few years after by Scory, or Becon, as I conjecture), was "a man having neither wit, learning, nor honesty. And yet his wit is very ready. For he preacheth as well *extempore*, as at a year's warning; so learnedly, that no man can tell what he chiefly intendeth or goeth about to prove; so aptly, that a gross of points is not sufficient to tie his sermon together; not unlike to Jodocus, a monk, of whom Erasmus maketh mention in his Colloquies, who, if he were not garnished with these glorious titles, monk, doctor, vice-dean, and suffragan, were worthy to walk openly in the streets with a bell and cock's-comb."[1] Besides this letter, the archbishop resolved to do something in a more public manner, in vindication of the Reformation, as well as of himself. So he devised a declaration, wherein he both apologized for himself against this false report, and made a brave challenge, with the assistance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain, by disputation with any man, the Reformation made under King Edward. This declaration, after a first draught of it, he intended to enlarge; and then, being sealed with his own seal, to set it upon the doors of St. Paul's Church, and other churches in London. This writing, wherein the good religion and doctrine practised and taught in the former reign was so nobly owned, and offered to be defended in such a public manner, was not only read by somebody boldly in Cheapside, but many copies thereof were taken, and so became dispersed. It was also soon after printed in Latin, and, I suppose, in English too. Sure I am, in the year 1557, it was printed beyond sea by the exiles; from which print I shall here transcribe it, being sent from Grindal to John Fox, for his use in the writing his history:—

"A Declaration of the Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemning the untrue and slanderous Report of some, which have reported, That he should set up the Mass at Canterbury, at the first coming of the Queen to her reign, 1553.[2]

"As the Devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lying, even so hath he stirred his servants and members to persecute Christ, and His true word and religion. Which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present. For whereas the most noble prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII., seeing the great abuses of the Latin masses, reformed something herein in his time, and also our late sovereign Lord King Edward VI. took the same whole away, for the manifold errors and abuses thereof, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the Apostles in the primitive church used the same in the beginning; the Devil goeth about by lying to overthrow the Lord's holy supper, and to restore the Latin satisfactory masses, a thing of his own invention and device. And, to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, and have borne all things quietly. Yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they be in no wise to be tolerated and suffered. Wherefore these be to signify to the world, that it was not I that did set up the mass at Canterbury; but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused the mass to be set up there, without my advice or counsel.

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[1] Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxvii. 92].

[2] [Harl. MSS. ccccxxii. artic. 8, in Grindal's handwriting. Dr.

"And as for offering myself to say mass before the Queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did, as her grace knoweth well. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove against all that will say the contrary; and that the Communion Book, set forth by the most innocent and godly prince, King Edward VI., in his high court of Parliament, is conformable to the order which our Saviour Christ did both observe and command to be observed, and which His apostles and primitive church used

Jenkyns printed this "Declaration" from a MS. in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, by which the text has been corrected by that editor. See Remains of Abp. Cranmer (Jenkyns), vol. iv. p. i.; and also notes (a) and (b). There are considerable variations in the same document, as given above by Strype, and also by Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 539.]

many years. Whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, His apostles, nor the primitive church, but also is manifest contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible blasphemies in it. And although many, either unlearned or maliciously, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet, if the queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or five which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, that not only our Common Prayers of the churches, ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also that all the doctrine and religion, by our said sovereign Lord King Edward VI. is more pure, and according to God's word, than any that hath been used in England these thousand years: so that God's word may be the judge, and that the reason and proofs may be set out in writing. To the intent as well all the world may examine and judge them, as that no man shall start back from their writing; and what faith hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point, and that the doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past. And we shall prove that the order of the church, set out at this present in this church of England by act of Parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past. And so shall they never be able to prove theirs."

Some copies of this declaration soon fell into the hands of certain bishops, who brought them to the Council. The Council sent a copy to the queen's commissioners, who soon after ordered him to appear before them, and to bring in an inventory of his goods. The reason, as is alleged, of his being ordered to bring in this inventory, was, because it was then intended that he should have a sufficient living assigned him, and to keep his house, and not meddle with religion. So on the day appointed, which was August 27, the archbishop, together with Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state to King Edward, and May, dean of St. Paul's, came before the queen's commissioners in the consistory of Paul's, and the archbishop brought in his inventory. We are left to guess what he was now cited for. I suppose it was to lay to his charge heresy, and his marriage; what more was done with him at this time I find not. He retired to his house at Lambeth, where he seemed to be confined.

For about the beginning of August, as may be collected from a letter of the archbishop's to Cecil, he was before the Council, about the Lady Jane's business, without all question. And then, with the severe reprimands he received, was charged to keep his house, and be forthcoming. At that time he espied Cecil, who was in the same condemnation, and would fain have spoken with him, but durst not, as he told him in a letter dated August 14;[1] as it seems, out of his love and care of him, lest his very talking with Cecil might have been prejudicial to that pardon, which he now lay fair for. But by letter he desired him to come over to him to Lambeth, because he would gladly commune with him, to hear how matters went, and for some other private causes, Cecil being now at liberty. September 13 following, the archbishop was again summoned to appear that day before the Queen's Council. Then he appeared, and was dismissed, but commanded to be the next day in the Star Chamber. And so he was. The effect of which appearance was, that he was committed to the Tower, partly for setting his hand to the instrument of the Lady Jane's succession, and partly for the public offer he made a little before of justifying openly the religious proceedings of the deceased king. But the chief reason was, the inveterate malice his enemies conceived against him for the divorce of King Henry from the queen's mother, the blame of which they laid wholly upon him, though Bishop Gardiner and other bishops were concerned in it as deep as he. In the Tower we leave the good archbishop awhile, after we have told you, that, soon after the Queen coming to the Tower, some of the archbishop's friends made humble suit for his pardon, and that he might have access to her; but she would neither hear him, nor see him.

Holgate also, the other archbishop, about the beginning of October, was committed to the Tower, upon pretence of treason, or great crimes; but chiefly, I suppose, because he was rich. And, while he was there, they rifled his houses at Battersea and Cawood. At his former house they seized in gold coined three hundred pounds; in specialties and good debts, four hundred pounds more; in plate gilt and parcel gilt, sixteen hundred ounces: a mitre of fine gold with two pendants, set round about the sides and midst with very fine pointed diamonds, sapphires, and balists, and all the plain with other good stones and pearls, and the pendants in like manner, weighing one hundred [and] twenty-five ounces. Six or seven great rings of fine gold, with stones in them; whereof were three fine blue sapphires of the best; an emerald, very fine; a good turquoise, and a diamond; a serpent's tongue set in a standard of silver, gilt and graven; the archbishop's seal in silver, his signet, an old antique in gold: the counterpart of his lease of Wotton, betwixt the late duke of Northumberland and him, with letters patents of his purchase of Scrowby.

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[1] ["When I saw you at court, I would fain have talked with you, but I durst not; nevertheless, if you could find a time to come over to me, I would gladly commune with you."—Letter to Cecil, Aug. 14, 1553. See Parker Society's edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 442.]

Taken from Cawood, and other places appertaining to the archbishop, by one Ellis Markham; first, in ready money, nine hundred pounds; two mitres; in plate, parcel gilt, seven hundred and seventy ounces; and gilt plate, eleven hundred [and] fifty-seven ounces; one broken cross of silver gilt, with one image broken, weighing forty-six ounces; three obligations, one 37*l.* 5s. 10d., another for 15*l.*, another for 10*l.* Sold by the said Markham five-score beasts, and four hundred muttons. Sold all the sheep belonging to the archbishop, supposed to be two thousand five hundred. Moreover, he took away two Turkey carpets of wool, as big and as good as any subject had: also a chest, full of copes and vestments of cloth of tissue: two very good beds of down, and six of the best young horses that were at Cawood. Proffered to make sale of all his household stuff in five houses; three very well furnished, and two metely well. Sold all his stores of household: wheat, two hundred quarters; malt, five hundred quarters; oats, sixty quarters; wine, five or six ton. Fish and ling, six or seven hundred, with very much household store; as fuel, hay, with many other things necessary for household. Horses at Cawood, young and old, four or five score: they received rent of his own land, five hundred pounds yearly at the least. This was done by this Markham, upon pretence that he was guilty of treason, or great crimes. He gave to many persons money to the value of a hundred pounds and above, that they should give information against him. Besides, they took away good harness and artillery sufficient for seven-score men. All this spoil was committed when he was cast in the Tower. Of all this injury he made a schedule afterwards, and complained thereof to the lords. By this one instance, which I have set down at large, as I extracted it from a paper in the Benet College library,[1] we may judge what havoc was made of the professors of religion, in their estates as well as their persons, as this bishop was served, before any crime was proved against him.

Thus the other archbishop (of York) was not to go without animadversion, any more than he of Canterbury. The former lay eighteen months in the Tower, and was deposed at last for being married, as well as Cranmer. Of this Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, (at which were present King Philip and Cardinal Pole), gave, as he thought, this nipping gird: "Thus while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For that on one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the Church; and on the other side, they were both convicted of one crime, and so ⌈deposed."⌉[2] This archbishop of York continued in prison till 1554, when the queen granted the request of the new king for the liberty of a great many prisoners, whereof this prelate was one. He died the next year through grief, as it is probable, and suffering.

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[1] C.C.C.C. Librar. Miscell. [B. No. cv. fol. 331].

[2] [For this Sermon, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 577, 578.]

## CHAPTER II.

### *Protestant Bishops and Clergy cast into Prisons, and deprived.*

Indeed in this first entrance of Queen Mary's reign, it was a wonder to see the fierceness that it was ushered in with; the Papists thinking that this rigor at first would terrify all out of their former principles of true religion, and bring them to the devotion of the church of Rome again. And it was as marvellous to observe the stedfastness of the generality of the professors. "This queen began her reign after that manner, (I use the words of one that lived in that time), that it might be conjectured, what she was like after to prove: sending up for abundance of people to appear before the Council, either upon the Lady Jane's business, or the business of religion, and committing great numbers into prisons. And indeed she boasted herself a virgin sent of God to ride and tame the people of England."[1]

To explain somewhat these austerities. They thought fit to begin with the Protestant clergy, bishops and others. For this purpose a commission was directed to the bishops of London [Bonner], Winchester [Gardiner], Chichester [Day], and Durham [Tunstall], men sufficiently soured in their tempers by what befel them in the last reign. These were to discharge the Protestant bishops and ministers of their offices and places, upon pretence either of treason, heresy, or marriage, or the like, to make way for their own men. "Thus John Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, was deprived, because he had a bad title, there being this clause in the letters patents, whereby he was made bishop, 'Quamdiu bene se gesserit,' and because he thought amiss concerning the Eucharist. John Hooper was deprived of the bishopric of Worcester by the restitution of Nicolas Heath, formerly deprived, and removed from the see of Gloucester for his marriage, and other demerits. John Harley, bishop of Hereford, deprived for wedlock and heresy. Robert Farrar, bishop of St. David's, deprived for wedlock and heresy. William Barlow, bishop of Bath, made a voluntary resignation. The bishopric of Rochester was void three years, since Scory was translated to Chichester. John Bird, an old man, married, was deprived of the bishopric of Chester. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, (for I do but transcribe now out of the Register of the church of Canterbury),[1] being called into question for high treason, by his own confession was judged guilty thereof: whence, in the month of December, the see of Canterbury became vacant. Robert Holgate, archbishop of York, was deprived for wedlock, and was cast into the Tower, and led a private life. The like happened to [John Scory of Chichester, by restoration of George Day], to Miles Coverdale of Exeter, by the restoring John Voisey, who, out of fear, had formerly resigned. Cuthbert [Tunstall], bishop of Durham, formerly deprived, was restored. Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, restored; Nicolas Ridley being removed from the said see, and cast into prison for making an ill sermon,[2] and being noted for heretical pravity. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, restored, John Poinet being ejected and imprisoned, and deprived of episcopacy for being married." To which I must add, the see of Bristol, resigned by Paul Bush, the bishop thereof.

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[1] Hale's Oration. [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 673—679.]

How they proceeded with the inferior clergy in general for being married, may be measured by their proceedings with the clergy of London and Canterbury, which we shall see by-and-bye; so that King Edward's clergy were now in the very beginning of this queen very hardly used. "Some were deprived, never convict, no, nor never called,[3] (I use the words of an author[4] that lived in that queen's reign, and felt her severity); some called that were fast locked in prison, and yet nevertheless deprived immediately.[5] Some deprived without the cause of marriage after their orders.[6] Some induced to resign upon promise of pension, and the promise, as yet, never performed.[7] Some so deprived, that they were spoiled of their wages, for the which they served the half-year before; and not ten days before the receipt sequestered from it. Some prevented from his half-year's receipt, after charges of tenths and subsidy paid, and yet not deprived six weeks after. Some deprived of their receipts somewhat after the day, with the which their fruits to the queen's majesty should be contented. And in general the deprivations were so speedy, so hastily, so without warning, &c.[1] The bishops, saith another writer[2] and sufferer in these days, that were married were thrust out of the Parliament-house, and all married deans and archdeacons out of the Convocation; many put out of their livings, and others restored, without form of law. Yea, some noblemen and gentlemen were deprived of those lands which the king had given them, without tarrying for any law, lest my lord of Winchester [Gardiner] should have lost his quarter's rent. Many churches were changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many dirges sung, before the law was repealed. All was done in post haste."[3]

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[1] Registr. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14, fol. 38, 39].

[2] [For an account of this Sermon, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 389.]

[3] Mr. Rich. Wilks.

[4] Dr. Parker.

[5] Mr. Bradford, Bullingham, and May.

[6] A great number.

[7] Dr. Poinet, Taylor, Parker.

Nor was their deprivation all they endured; but they, together with many other professors of the religion, were taken up very fast, for Winchester did resolve to make quick work to reduce, if he could, the realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marshalsea thick and threefold for religion, sent by him thither. And, that they might be sure to suffer hardship enough, when the bishop's almoner, Mr. Brooks, (he who was, I suppose, after bishop of Gloucester), came to this prison with his master's alms-basket, he told the porter, named Britain, that it was his lord's pleasure that none of the heretics that lay there, should have any part of his alms. And that, if he knew any of them had any part thereof, that house should never have it again so long as he lived. To which the porter replied, "That he would have a care of that, he would warrant him; and that, if they had no meat till they had some of his lordship's, they should be like to starve. And so he bade him tell his lord, and added, that they should get no favour at his hand."

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[1] Preface to the "Defence of Priests' Marriage." [P. "An Expostulation with certain of the Clergie," fol. 13.]

[2] Mr. Aylmer.

[3] "Harbour for Faithful Subjects."

These sufferings P. Martyr, now gotten out of England, took notice of in a letter to Calvin, dated November 3; where, having related to him how the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Worcester and Exon, and many other learned and pious preachers, were in bonds for the Gospel, and, together with them, many other godly persons were in extreme danger, he proceeded to mention two things to Calvin, to mitigate the trouble he knew he conceived for this ill news. The one was, "That, although the infirmity of some betrayed them, yet great was the constancy of far more than he could have thought. So that he doubted not England would have many famous martyrs, if Winchester, who then did all, should begin to rage according to his will. The other was, that it was the judgment of all that this calamity would not be long: and therefore," said Martyr, "let us pray to God, that he would quickly tread down Satan under the feet of His church."[1]

The same learned man, speaking in another letter concerning the good forwardness of religion at the first coming of Queen Mary to the crown, said, "That he had many scholars in England, students in divinity, not to be repented of, whose harvest was almost ripe, whom he was forced to see, either wandering about in uncertain stations, or remaining at home unhappily subverted. And that there were in this kingdom many holy as well as learned bishops, that were then in hard confinement, and soon to be dragged to the extremest punishments, as if they were robbers. And that here was the foundation of the Gospel, and of a noble church laid: and by the labours of some years the holy building had well gone forward, and daily better things were hoped for. But that unless Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς,—'God from above,' came to the succour of it, he thought there would not be a footstep of godliness left at last, as to the external profession."[2]

All the matters of the Church the queen left wholly to the management of the bishop of Winchester, whom she now advanced from a prisoner in the Tower, to be Lord High Chancellor of England. And indeed the governance of the whole realm was committed to him, with a few other. He ruled matters as he would, and that all England knew and saw plainly. Nay, the consent of the whole Parliament followed his head and his will. So that against their wills, and against the wills of many thousand true hearts in the realm, as they of the Parliament well knew, they condescended unto him; and what he could not do in one Parliament, that he did in another. So that in a year and a half he had three parliaments, during which time, many things the Parliament condescended unto against their wills; as that the queen should marry with a foreign prince; that the service in the English tongue should be taken away; that the bishop of Rome should have his old ejected authority here again, as one of the divines in those times had intended to have told Winchester to his face, had he been permitted speech.[1]

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[1] P. Martyr's Epist. [ad calcem loc. Com. p. 765, ed. Genev. 1624].
[2] P. Martyr, amico cuidam [id. ibid. p. 766].

October 1, the queen was crowned at the abbey-church at Westminster. And then was proclaimed a pardon; but not over gracious; for all the prisoners in the Tower and Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two besides; whereof the printers of the Bible, Grafton and Whitchurch, were two. Most of these excepted were of the chief professors of the Gospel: no pardon for them. At the coronation, among other triumphal shows, Paul's steeple bare top and topgallant, like a ship with many flags and banners, and a man stood triumphing and dancing on the top. Whereat one Underhill, a gentleman that sat on horseback there to see the show, said to those about him, "At the coronation of King Edward I saw Paul's steeple lay at anchor, and now she wears top and topgallant; surely the next will be shipwreck or it be long." And indeed there followed a shipwreck of the Church.

The service established in King Edward's days did not cease upon Queen Mary's grasping the sceptre, but the ministers performed the worship of God, and celebrated the Holy Sacrament, and used the Common Prayer diligently and constantly, and the people frequented the same with more seriousness than before. They foresaw what times were coming, which made them meet often together, while they might, lamenting bitterly the death of King Edward, and partaking of the sacrament with much devotion. It was the bishop of Winchester's resolution to redress this in London; for he was purposed to stifle the religion as speedily and as vigorously as he could. And one way he had to do this was, to send his spies into all the churches in London; and these would come into the churches, and disturb the ministers with rude words and actions in their very ministration; and then go to the bishop, and make their informations. And so the ministers were fetched up by the officers before him, and then committed, unless they would comply; and this in the very beginning of the queen's reign, when the preachers did but according to the laws then in force, before the Parliament had repealed the book of Common Prayer, and the rest of King Edward's Reformation. And there were forward men in most parishes, that were very active and violent for the restoring the old superstitions. For the queen had set forth a proclamation, which did declare what religion she did profess in her youth; "that she did continue in the same, and that she minded therein to end her life, willing all her loving subjects to embrace the same." And this they reckoned to be sufficient warrant to set up mass, and introduce Popish priests and Popish usages everywhere, without staying for orders and acts of Parliament.

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[1] J. Rogers.

Nor was this change of religion, and these miseries following it, unexpected. The learned and pious sort in King Edward's time did reckon upon a great calamity impending over their heads, concluding thereupon, from two causes, among others. One was, the corrupt manners that generally overspread the nation, notwithstanding the light of the Gospel, and the much and earnest preaching up of sobriety and virtue. The other was, the taking off by death divers most eminent men, the great stays of religion: so that the preachers did commonly in their sermons declare and foretell, what afterwards indeed fell out. This Becon, an exile, in his epistle to those in England that suffered persecution for the testimony of Christ's Gospel, spake of in these words: "Divers signs had we long before, besides the godly admonitions of the faithful preachers, which plainly declared unto us an utter subversion of the true Christian religion to be at hand, except it were prevented by hasty and hearty repentance. What shall I speak of that godly and mighty prince Edward, duke of Somerset, which in the time of his protectorship, did so banish idolatry out of this our realm, and bring in again God's true religion, that it was wonder so weighty a matter to be brought to pass in so short a time? Was not the ungentle handling of him, and the unrighteous thrusting him out of office, and afterward the cruel murdering of him, a man, yea, a mirror of true innocency, and Christian patience, an evident token of God's anger against us? The sudden taking away of those most goodly and virtuous young imps, the duke of Suffolk and his brother, by the sweating sickness, was it not also a manifest token of God's heavy displeasure toward us? The death of those two most worthy and godly-learned men, [I speak of] M. Paulus Fagius, and [of] D. Martin Bucer, was it not a sure prognostication some great mishap concerning Christian religion to be at hand? But, as I may pass over many other, [and at the last] come unto that which is most lamentable, and can never be remembered of any true English heart without large tears, I mean the death of our most godly prince and Christian king, Edward VI., that true Josias, that earnest destroyer of false religion, that fervent setter-up of God's true honour, that most bounteous patron of the godly-learned, that most worthy maintainer of good letters and virtue, and that perfect and lively mirror of true nobility and sincere godliness; was not the taking away of him (alas! for sorrow) a sure sign and an evident token that some great evil hanged over this realm of England? Who, considering these things—perceived not a shipwreck of the Christian religion to be at hand?"[1]

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[1] [Becon's "Comfortable Epistle to the afflicted People of God." See Parker Society's edition of Becon's Works (Prayers, &c.) pp. 205, 206, by which the text has been corrected.]

## CHAPTER III.

### *The Archbishop adviseth Professors to fly.*

The favourers of religion, seeing it was now determined to proceed in all manner of severity against them, began to flee into other countries for their safety as fast as they could. Indeed there were some that made a case of conscience of it; among the rest, one Mrs. Wilkinson, a woman of good quality, and a great reliever of good men. Her the archbishop out of prison advised to escape, and avoid a place where she could not truly and rightly serve God. He took off, with spiritual arguments, the objections which she or others might make for their stay; as, their lothness to leave their friends and relations, and that it might look like a slandering of God's word, if they should thus run away, and decline the open and bold defence of it. The letter of the archbishop deserves to be read, as it fell from that venerable prelate's own pen, which I have therefore put in the Appendix.[1]

Though Cranmer himself refused to flee, being advised by his friends so to do, because of the reports that were abroad, that he should be speedily carried to the Tower. For he said, "It would be no ways fitting for him to go away, considering the post in which he was; and to show that he was not afraid to own all the changes that were by his means made in religion in the last reign."

But great numbers fled, some to Strasburgh, some to Wesel, some to Embden, some to Antwerp, some to Duisburgh, some to Worms, some to Frankfort, some to Basil, Zurich, and Aarau, in Switzerland, and some to Geneva, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. And these are the names of some of these refugees.

#### BISHOPS.

Poinet of Winchester, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Coverdale of Exon, and Bale of Ossory.

#### DEANS.

Richard Cox, dean of Christ's Church, Oxon, and of

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[1] No. LXXII.

Westminster; James Haddon, dean of Exeter; Robert Horn of Durham; William Turner of Wells; Thomas Sampson of Chichester.

### ARCHDEACONS.

Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother, archdeacon of Canterbury; John Ælmer of Stow; Bullingham of Lincoln; Thomas Young, precentor of St. David's.

### DOCTORS OF DIVINITY AND PREACHERS.

Edmund Grindal, Robert King, Edwin Sands, John Jewel, Rainolds; Pilkingtons, two brothers; John Joseph, David Whitehead, John Alvey, John Pedder, John Biddil, Thomas Becon, Robert and Richard Turner, Edmund Allein; Levers, three brothers; John Pekins, Tho. Cottisford, Tho. Donel, Alex. Nowel, with his brother; Barthol. Traheron, John Wollock, John Old, John Medwell, Joh. Rough, John Knox, John Appleby, John Parkhurst, Edward Large, Galf. Jones, Robert Crowley, Robert Wisdom, Robert Watson, William Goodman, Ant. Gilby, Will. Whittingham, John Makebrey, Hen. Reynolds, James Perse, Jugg, Edmunds, Cole, Mountain, two Fishers, Da. Simson, John Bendal, Beaumont, Humfrey, Bentham, Reymiger, Bradbridge, Saul, &c.

Besides, of noblemen, merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and plebeians, many hundreds.[1] And God provided graciously for them, and raised them up friends in England, that made large contributions from time to time for their relief, and for the maintenance of such as were scholars and students in divinity especially. And great was the favour that the strangers showed to their fugitive guests.

Here at home vengeance was taken upon those that set up the Lady Jane. And the chief of all, the duke of Northumberland, was brought to Tower-hill to lose his head, who indeed was cared for by nobody, and was the only instrument of putting the king upon altering the succession; and who was broadly talked of to have been the shortener of that excellent prince's life by poison, to make room the sooner for his son's advancement, who had married the said Jane. In prison he was visited by Bishop Heath, and afterwards pretended to be brought off by him to the acknowledgment of the Roman Catholic religion. After his condemnation, he, with the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and received the sacrament in one kind, after the Popish fashion. The duke of Northumberland was drawn hereunto by a promise that was made him, "That, if he would recant and hear mass, he should have his pardon; yea, though his head were upon the block."[1]

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[1] "Chiliades," Pref. to Cranmer's Book of the Sacrament, in Latin. [The following is the passage to which Strype refers :—"Equidem non possum non laudare eorum consilium, qui ex Christi Jesu mandato solum vertere, quam sub tali animarum tyrannide in patria vivere malunt: ut certe, præter multas concionatorum, nobilium, mercatorum, opificum, et plebeiorum hominum in dispersione Germaniæ passim nunc degentium, *chiliades*, multi clarissimi viri tam tragicam regni ac religionis mutationem in tempore evaserunt; quamobrem et facultatum suarum direptionem patiebantur." See Parker Society's edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. Appendix, p. 8.]

In his speech, August 22, when he was executed, he acknowledged, "how he had been misled by others; and called the preachers seditious and lewd, and advised the people to return home to the old religion. And that, since the new religion came among them, God had plagued them by wars and tumults, famine and pestilence. He propounded the example of the Germans, how their new doctrine had brought ruin upon them; and quoted that article in the Creed to them, 'I believe the Catholic church,' to convince them of the Roman Catholic faith." If this speech were not of Heath's inditing, to be used by the duke, yet this argument from the Creed, I am apt to think was his, it being his custom to make use of it. For I find, in a conference betwixt this bishop and Rogers, he asked him, if he did not know his Creed, and urged "Credo sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam." But Rogers could tell him that he did not find the bishop of Rome there.[2] If any be minded to see the duke's speech at length, he may have recourse to the Appendix,[3] where I have set it down, as I found it in one of the Cottonian volumes.

But Gates and Palmer, notwithstanding their hearing mass at their execution the same day and place, confessed the faith they had learned in the Gospel. The former confessed, "That he had lived as viciously and wickedly all his life, as any in the world. And yet that he was a great reader of the Scripture; but a worse follower there was not living. For he read it, not to edify, but to dispute, and to make interpretations after his own fancy; exhorting the people to take heed how they read God's word, and played and gamed with God's holy mysteries. For he told them, that, except they humbly submitted themselves to God, and read his word charitably, and to the intent to be edified thereby, it would be but poison to them, and worse. And so asked the queen, and all the world, forgiveness."

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 388, 389.]

[2] Id. vol. vi. p. 597.]

[3] No. LXXIII.

Palmer thanked God for his affliction: for, "that he had learned more in one little dark corner of the Tower, than ever he learned by any travels, in as many places as he had been. There he had seen God, what he was, and His numerous works, and His mercies. And seen himself thoroughly what himself was, a lump of sin and earth, and of all vileness the vilest. And so concluding, that he feared not death; that neither the sprinkling of the blood of two shed before his eyes, nor the shedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itself, should make him afraid. And so, praying all to pray for him, he said some prayers, and without any daunting laid down his head upon the block."

But the duke of Northumberland submitted himself to base and mean practices to save his life. He renounced his religion; nay, disavowed "that he ever was of the religion professed in King Edward's days, if we may believe Parsons, but only hypocritically, for worldly ends, complied with it. And if he might but have lived, he could have been contented to have spent his days in a mouse-hole."[1] For from a priest I have this relation, and the Papists best knew the intrigues of Queen Mary's reign. After sentence pronounced upon him, he made means to speak with Bishop Gardiner, who he knew could do most of any with the queen. When the bishop came to him, in company with another councillor, to be witness of their discourse, (who himself told my author these passages), the duke asked the

[1] [Parsons'] Wardword, p. 43.

bishop, "If there were no hope at all for him to live, and to do some penance the rest of his days for his sins past. 'Alas! (said he), let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole.' The bishop replied, that he wished to God anything could have contented his grace but a kingdom, when he was at liberty, and in prosperity. And even at that present he wished it lay in his power to give him that mouse-hole, for he would allow him the best palace he had in the world for that mouse-hole. And did moreover then offer to do for him what he could possible. But because his offence, he said, was great, and sentence passed against him, and his adversaries many, it would be best for him to provide for the worst; and especially, that he stood well with God in matter of conscience and religion. For to speak plainly, as he went on, it was most likely he must die. The duke answered, he would dispose himself, and desired he might have a learned priest sent him for his confession, and spiritual comfort. And as for religion, said he, 'you know, my lord bishop, that I can be of no other but of yours, which is the Catholic. For I never was of any other indeed, nor ever so foolish as to believe any of that which we had set up in King Edward's days; but only to use the same for my own purpose of ambition, for which God forgive me. And so I mean to testify publicly at my death, for it is true.' The bishop, saith my author, went away with an afflicted heart, and shed many tears, as he returned, and went to the queen, and entreated so earnestly for him, as he had half-gained her consent for his life. Which so much terrified the duke's adversaries, as presently they got the Emperor Charles, that was in Flanders, to write to the queen a very resolute and earnest letter, that it was not safe for her, nor his estate, to pardon his life. And with that he was executed."

Whatever credit is to be given to the rest of this relation, I can hardly believe that passage that he is reported to say to the bishop, "that he was never otherwise than a Roman Catholic, and that he did all along dissemble his religion for worldly ends, and that he would testify as much at his death." Because this doth no ways comport with his speech upon the scaffold; wherein he mentioneth no such thing, but rather the contrary. Nor did he declare any such thing when he came to die. He said, indeed, that he was *deceived and misled*, but nowhere that he *dissembled.* And if he were deceived, he dissembled not.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.*

THE strangers had this piece of mercy shown them, that they were suffered to depart the kingdom. Among the rest that went away this year was Peter Martyr, the famous and learned professor of divinity in Oxford. But with much ado; for at first he was not only forbid to read his lectures, but not to stir a foot out of the city of Oxon, nor to convey any of his goods away. He obeyed, and afterwards was permitted by the Council to depart. He came first to Lambeth to the archbishop; but, when he was committed to prison, Martyr went to London, where he remained in great danger, both for his religion, and for his great familiarity with the archbishop, and other pious Protestant bishops. However, he thought not fit to transport himself without leave from the government. He signified to them, that he came not hither on his own head, but that he was sent for by King Edward, and sent from the town of Strasburgh, and produced his broad seals from both. And so, since there was no further need of him, he desired leave to depart, which he obtained by letters from the queen herself. But the Papists, his fatal enemies, cried out, that such an enemy of the popish religion ought not to be dismissed, but to be fetched out of the ship, and carried to prison, and punished. He understood also by his friends, that, when he was got over the sea, the danger was not past, for there were snares for him in Flanders and Brabant, whereby they made no doubt to take him. But he used his wits to save himself, for, when other congregations of Protestant strangers went straight, some for Friezland, and some for Denmark, by vessels they had hired, (among which was John à Lasco's congregation), he procured an honest and godly shipmaster, who kept him fourteen days in his own house, that so all might think he was gone with the other strangers, and his enemies cease making search for him in the vessels that were bound for foreign parts. And then the master sailed away with P. Martyr to Antwerp, going into that place by night for the more privacy. And by him he was brought to his friends; and by them, before day, conveyed in a waggon out of town, and so travelled safely through countries that hated him, unto Strasburgh. And by God's goodness, and his own celerity, he arrived safe among his friends, who received him with the greatest joy. And the senate conferred upon him his old place which he enjoyed before he went for England.[1]

And Martyr needed not to be discontented that he was gotten out of England, considering how insufferably he was affronted, undermined, belied by the popish party in Oxon, who, one would think, might have better entreated a man of quality by birth; a man, besides, of great learning, integrity, and reverence, and whom the king had thought good, for his great parts, to place for his professor of divinity in that university; and a man, who also had always carried himself inoffensively unto all. The blame of this inhospitable usage might lie upon the English nation, and be a reflection upon the natives, were it not more truly to be laid to the furious spirit that popish principles inspire men with. This Peter Martyr did resent, and took notice of to the archbishop of Canterbury in his epistle dedicatory, before his book of the Eucharist. There he writes, "That he could not have thought there were any in the world, unless he had found it, that with such crafty wiles, deceitful tricks, and bitter slanders, would rage so against a man that deserved no manner of evil of them, nor ever hurt any one of them either in word or deed. And yet they tore his name with most shameless lies; and would never make an end."[2] And if they did thus rudely carry themselves towards him in King Edward's time, what then may we conclude they would do, when the government favoured them?

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[1] ["Senatus quoque institit illi quam primum reddi pristinum locum quem ante discessum in Anglia habuerat."] Vit. P. Mart. per Simler, [p. 17].

[2] P. Martyr. Tract. de Euchar. Epist. nuncup.]

In this first year of Queen Mary, a very foul scandal was blown about of her, that she was with child by her chancellor, Bishop Gardiner; however it was raised, whether of her enemies to render her odious, or of some zealous of popish religion, to show the desire they had of her matching with him, or some other round Roman Catholic, as he was, and for whom she carried a very great reverence. A great reflection upon her chastity, and might have spoiled her marriage. It fled as far as Norfolk, and there spread itself. But such an infamous report not being fit to be put up, Henry earl of Sussex, being lord lieutenant of that county, took upon him to examine this scandal, and to search it to the very first reporter. And so I find a bill drawn, in the Cotton library,[1] subscribed by that earl's own hand, which set forth that Laurence Hunt, of Diss in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief constable, and told him, "That he did hear say, that the queen's majesty was with child [by the said bishop,] and that his wife did tell him so." And when his wife was examined, she said, she had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined [before the said Robert Lowdal,] she said, she had it of her husband. And when [her husband] was examined, he said, he had it of one [John] Wilby of Diss. And Wilby examined, said, he had it of one John Smith of Cock-street. And John Smith said, he heard it of one Widow Miles. And she, being examined, said, she had it of two men, but what they were she could not tell, nor where they dwelt. And then, after this bill, follow all their examinations distinctly,[2] which, I suppose, was drawn up for the Council, signed with Sussex's hand. And what followed of this I know not: only in another manuscript there is a memorial of one John Albone, of Trunch in Norfolk, who in the first of the queen was indicted for saying, "That the queen was with child by Winchester."

A Parliament met this year in the month of October. The queen knew how difficult it would be to obtain her purpose, to overthrow all that had been established concerning religion in her brother's days; and therefore, when this Parliament was to be summoned, she impeached the free election of members by despatching abroad into the several counties her letters directing the choice. And such knights and burgesses were chosen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to serve her turn. And divers that were duly chosen, and lawfully returned, were thrust out; and others, without any order or law, put in their places. For the people were aware what the queen intended what this Parliament should do; and therefore did bestir themselves in most places to return honest men. In the upper house, Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, was in his robes violently thrust out of the house. In the House of Commons, Alexander Nowel, and two more, chosen burgesses, lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were so served: which, according to the judgment of some, made the Parliament actually void, as by a precedent of the Parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th of Henry VI. it appeareth. As also her third Parliament was reckoned by many to be void, because in the writs, from Philip and Mary, part of the title of the kings of England, viz. "Supreme Head of the Church of England," was left out: which by a statute made in the 35th of Henry VIII. was ordained to be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm. In which third Parliament of the queen they repealed what was done by King Henry VIII. for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and extinguishing the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. This flaw Gardiner the lord chancellor well seeing, thought craftily to excuse by saying, (as may be seen in a piece of the statute made in the same Parliament, cap. 8), "That it lay in the free choice and free liberty of the kings of this realm, whether they would express the same title in their style, or no." But it is replied to this, that though any man may renounce his own private right, yet he may not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person. And this title and style more touched the commonwealth and the realm of England, than the king.[1]

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[1] [Cotton MSS.] Titus B. ii. [182].

[2] [Id. fol. 182–184.]

In this first Parliament an act was made for confirmation of the marriage of the queen's mother to her father King

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[1] Hale's Oration. [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 676, 677.]

Henry. Herein the leading men shewed their malice against the good archbishop by their wording of the preamble: as, "that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop, did, most ungodly and against law, judge the divorce upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, and upon the testimonies of the universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures." And they declared the sentence given by him to be unlawful. But I cannot let this pass, for the reputation of the archbishop, without taking notice of the censure, that the bishop of Sarum doth worthily bestow upon Bishop Gardiner, whom he concludes to be the drawer up of this act: "That he shewed himself herein to be past all shame, and that it was as high a pitch of malice and impudence, as could be devised. For Gardiner had been setting this on long before Cranmer was known to the king, and had joined with him in the commission, and had given his consent to the sentence. Nor was the divorce merely grounded upon Cranmer's understanding the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied arguments that had perhaps been in any age brought together in one particular case. And both houses of Convocation had condemned the marriage before his sentence."[1]

## CHAPTER V.

### *The Archbishop attainted.*

THIS Parliament attainted Cranmer, with the Lady Jane and her husband, and some others. And in November he was adjudged guilty of high treason at Guildhall. And under this judgment he lay for a good while, which was very uneasy to him, desiring to suffer under the imputation of heresy under this government, rather than treason.[2] He was now looked upon as divested of his archbishopric, being a person attainted, and the fruits of his bishopric were sequestered.

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[1] Hist. Reform. vol. ii. p. 254 [vol. ii. pp. 508–510].

[2] [See Cranmer's Letter to Queen Mary, in Appendix, LXXIV.]

Canterbury being now without an archbishop, the dean, Dr. Wotton, acted in that station, according to his office, in the vacancy of the see. So he sent out many commissions. There was a commission from him to John Cotterel and William Bowerman, to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Wells, by the resignation of Barlow, bishop there. Another commission to the see of Bristol, upon the resignation of Bush. Another for the see of Lichfield, upon the death of Richard Sampson, which commission was directed to David Pool, LL.D., dated 1554, September ult. Another to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Exon, vacant by the death of Voisey, February 9, 1554. Another for the consecration of Gilbert Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells; John White, bishop of Lincoln; Morice Griffith, of Rochester; John Cotes, of Chester; Henry Morgan, of St. David's; James Brooks, of Gloucester; who were all consecrated together in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, April 1, 1554. This commission, I suppose, was to the bishop of Winchester. Another commission for the consecration of Hopton, bishop of Norwich, dated October 6, 1554, consecrated October 28, following. Another commission to consecrate Holiman bishop of Bristol, and Bain bishop of Lichfield, dated November 16, 1554, consecrated November 18 following. Another commission to consecrate James Turberville bishop of Exon, who was consecrated September 8, 1555. And for William Glynn, bishop of Bangor, the same date. All these five last named were consecrated in a chapel of the bishop of London, in London.[1]

The poor archbishop most instantly sued to the queen for his pardon, acknowledging his fault in the most submissive manner that could be. But though she had granted pardons to divers others that had signed King Edward's will, and made no such boggle to do it as the archbishop did, yet the archbishop remained unpardoned. He sent divers humble petitionary letters to the queen and her council for the obtaining this favour. In one letter to her, he called it his "heinous folly and offence:" and said, "that he never liked it; nor that anything that the queen's brother ever did, grieved him so much; and that if it had been in his power, he would have letted the doing of it: that divers

[1] Ex Reg. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14, fol. 16 – 37 b.]

of the queen's council knew what he had said to the king and the council against proceeding in it; and that he endeavoured to talk to the king alone about it, but was not permitted; and that when he could not dissuade him from this will, he was hardly brought to sign it, notwithstanding what the judges told him, to satisfy him in point of law. And that at last it was the king's earnest request to him, that he would not be the only man that refused it, which, with the judgment of the lawyers, overcame him to set his hand." But I refer the reader to the Appendix[1] to weigh this whole letter, as it is there transcribed. Another petition the next year, 1554, he sent up from Oxon, by Dr. Weston, to the Council. And therein he begged them to intercede with the queen for his pardon. But Weston, carrying it half-way to London, and then opening it, and seeing the contents of it, sent it back again to the archbishop, and refused to be the messenger.[2]

This at length was the resolution that was taken concerning him in this matter, (because for shame they could not deny him a pardon, when others, far more guilty, and deeper in the business, had it), that he should be pardoned the treason as an act of the queen's grace, and then he should be proceeded against for heresy; for die they were resolved he should. When this pardon was at length obtained, he was right glad, being very gladly ready to undergo afflictions for the doctrine that he had taught, and the reformation he had set on foot, because this he reckoned to be suffering for God's cause, and not as an evil-doer.

The archbishop looked now with weeping eyes upon the present sad condition of religion, and the miserable apostasy of the Church, lapsed into all the formerly rejected superstitions. Nor could he now procure any redress. Yet he felt a pressure upon his spirit to do something towards it. So he attempted, in a letter to the queen, to get liberty from her freely to open to her his mind about the state of religion; hoping that when she heard plainly and truly the reasons that moved her father and brother to do what they did, (a thing studiously concealed from her), she might be better inclined. He told her, "that indeed it lay not in him, nor in any private subject, to reform things, but only in her majesty, but quietly to suffer what they could not amend; yet he thought it his duty, considering what place he once bore, and knowing what he did, and bearing a great part in all the alterations made in religion, to show the queen his mind. And when he had done this, then he should think himself discharged. And therefore he earnestly sued to her for her leave."[1] But I do not find that ever he obtained it.

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[1] No. LXXIV.

[2] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 535; and Parker Society's edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 445, for this letter.]

## CHAPTER VI.

### *A Convocation.*

THERE was now a Convocation, which was so packed, or so compliant, that six only of the whole house publicly owned King Edward's reformation: Haddon, dean of Exon; Philips, dean of Rochester; Young, chanter of St. David's; Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester; Elmer, archdeacon of Stow; and Cheney, archdeacon of Hereford; which last owned the presence with the Papists, but denied the transubstantiation. The queen commanded this Convocation to hold a public disputation, at St. Paul's Church, concerning the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; which, how well it was opposed by four or five of the six, (for Young went away), in the presence of abundance of noblemen and others, recourse is to be had to Fox.[2] There was a true report of the disputation of these men at this Convocation, which Philpot, one of the disputants, wrote, and had it printed, which he owned at one of his examinations before [Bonner] the bishop of London and others;[3] and perhaps may be the same we have extant in Fox's Monuments.

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[1] [See Appendix, No. LXXIV.]

[2] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 395—411.]

[3] [Id. vol. vi.; pp. 600, 664.]

But because both Fox and Bishop Burnet[1] are brief concerning the opening of this Convocation, therein I shall be more large and particular. The bishop of London's chaplain, Harpsfield, began in a sermon at Paul's to the clergy then assembled. That finished, those of the upper house advised those of the lower to choose a prolocutor. And they chose Weston, dean of Westminster, who by Pye, dean of Chichester, and Wymmesley, archdeacon of London, was presented by speeches to the bishops. At which time Weston made his gratulatory oration to the house, and [Bonner] the bishop of London answered him. Which sermon and four orations were put together in a book, printed in December 1553, by Cawood. Harpsfield's text was "Attendite vobis, et universo gregi," &c. Act. xx. Whence he took occasion to treat of three things:—"I. How well Paul took heed to himself and his flock. II. How ill the pastors of late regarded each. III. What way was to be used, that they might take heed to themselves and their flocks. Under the first head he shewed how St. Paul took heed to himself by keeping under his body, and bringing it into subjection: by taking heed of three pests of an ecclesiastical life, *flattery, avarice, and vain glory*, and that he might in all things propound himself a pattern to believers. And, secondly, as he thus took heed to himself, so he took heed to the flock in three particulars; in the doctrine which he preached, in his diligence to preserve his flock from wolves; and in his imposition of hands, whereby he provided fit ministers for the Church." And then, when he came unto the second head in the division of his discourse, he took occasion at large to vent his malice against the reformed ministers in King Edward's days, showing how they failed in all the particulars before said, that they were belly-gods, gave themselves over to junketings and pampering of their carcases, that they were unchaste, taking to themselves wives, some that had lived threescore years single. That they were flatterers, insinuating themselves into the favour of the courtiers, covetous also, keeping no hospitality, vainglorious, vaunting themselves to understand the holy Scripture as well as any of the ancients, daring to compare themselves with Hierome, Augustine, Ambrose, &c. And some of them from a shop, endued with no liberal discipline, not so much as grammar, would mount the pulpit, and there give out themselves for learned men, if they did but rail against whatsoever was holy, and boast that they had the spirit. No vice of the laity, but they were guilty of it. And then, as to their neglect of the flock, their doctrine was such, as they might well repent and be ashamed of. How did they tear the Lord's flock, and how many souls send to hell, and what pernicious doctrines bring into the kingdom! That they brought into the ministry, and to preach God's word, cobblers, dyers, weavers, fullers, barbers, apothecaries, beggars, jesters, fitter for the plough-tail than the ministry of the Word. And with a great deal more of such railing stuff were the minds of the clergy to be prepared vigorously to overthrow all the Reformation, and to bring back Popery again.

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[1] [Burnet's Hist. of Reformat. vol. ii. pp. 526—535.]

The Tower, as well as the Fleet and Marshalsea, was crowded with prisoners, all that were supposed to favour religion, or that made any whisper against the Popish religion, or that had any the least hand in Queen Jane's business, being taken up and committed. The Tower being so full, our archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all thrust together into one chamber, which, however inconvenient it were, yet they were very glad to be together, that they might have the opportunity of conferring with one another, and establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together with great deliberation and study, on purpose to see if there were anything that might favour that Popish doctrine of a corporal presence. But, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that holy book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; and that God did require none other, nor that it should be ever done again, as Latimer, one of the four, related in his protestation given to Weston.[1]

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[1] [This "Protestation" will be found in the Appendix to the first volume of Strype's Eccl. Memorials, which is more full than that given by Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. 500—503. It is also given in the Parker Society's Remains of Bp. Latimer, pp. 251—262.]

## CHAPTER VII.

### *The Queen sends to Cardinal Pole.*

The queen, out of that great opinion she had of Cardinal Pole, either to make him her husband, or her archbishop in Cranmer's room, sent letters to him, one dated from London, October 28, written in Latin, conveyed to him from the emperor's court; probably brought thither by Commendone, who had been sent by the Pope's legate in that court a private agent unto her; and another, dated January 28. The cardinal was coming now from the Pope, as his legate, and in his journey stayed, for some reason of state, in the emperor's dominions. In this stay he thought fit, in answer to both her letters, to send his mind at large by his messenger Thomas Goldwel, who was once, if I mistake not, prior of the church of Canterbury, but long since fled out of England, and lived with Pole, and by the queen afterwards preferred to the bishopric of St. Asaph.

The contents of the queen's former letter consisted in two points; the one concerning the difficulty she feared in renouncing the title of the supremacy. For she writ him, that, when the Parliament yielded to the abolishing of the laws, wherein her mother's matrimony was made illegitimate, the lower house willingly agreed to the establishment of her right of succeeding to the crown, but made a great boggle of abolishing the title of the supremacy; thinking that might be a way to the introducing the Pope's authority again, which they could not gladly hear of; and therefore neither did they like to hear of a legate from the Pope. Hence the queen, who knew Pole was now commissioned by the Pope for his legate in this kingdom, and ready to come, did entreat him to stop for a while. And she desired his advice, in case the Parliament would not be brought to let go the law, wherein the supremacy was placed in the crown imperial of this land. The other point, wherein the queen desired information of the cardinal, was, how the commission she had privately given to Commendone was published in the consistory of Rome, as her ambassador, resident at Venice, had certified her.

The sum of her other letter to the cardinal was, concerning certain persons that she had in her intentions to make bishops in the void sees. They were Morgan, White, Parfew, Coates, Brooks, Holyman, and Bayne, how they might be put into those sees without derogation to the authority of the see apostolic. For she intended not to extend the power of the crown further than it was in use before the schism. She sent him also the two acts that had passed in the Parliament, the one of the legitimation of the matrimony of Queen Katherine with King Henry, and the other of the sacraments to be used in that manner as they were used the last year of King Henry VIII., which she sent to him, because she knew they would be matter of comfort and satisfaction to him.

As to both these letters of the queen, he gave instructions to Goldwell to signify to her majesty what his thoughts were. As to the first, his advice was, "that the authority and acceptableness of the person goes a great way to make any proposition well entertained and received by the people. And that, seeing there were none, neither of the temporality nor spirituality, but that had either spoke or writ against the Pope's supremacy; therefore, he thought that her majesty herself would be the fittest person to propound it with her own mouth, which was the course the emperor took to justify his war with the French king. He did it by his own mouth before the Pope and cardinals. He would have her at the same time to let the Parliament know plainly, that he (Cardinal Pole), being the Pope's legate, was to be admitted and sent for. And therefore that, in order to this, the law of his banishment might be repealed, and he restored in blood."[1] As to the second point, which seemed to offend the queen, that Commendone had revealed that in the consistory which she told him in much secrecy, Pole said, "that he kept her counsel, and told nothing that he heard from her mouth, but only what he had heard of certain devout Catholics that knew the queen's mind. Which was in general concerning the devout mind her majesty bare to God and the Church; but that nothing was spoken of that particular matter, that she would have none but the Pope made acquainted with." Which private matter, it seems, was, that she desired the Pope to make Pole his legate to England.

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[1] [Cotton MSS.] Titus, B. 2 [fol. 170—177].

But that he should be thus stopped in his journey, when the Pope had sent him upon such a weighty errand, the cardinal signified in the same letter his disgust of. And "he feared it might be so ill taken by the Pope and cardinals, that they might send for him back again to Rome, and not permit him to go on that intended charitable design. And that it was contrary to her first commission; when she showed more fervency to receive the obedience of the Church (as he took the confidence to tell her). And that, therefore, he was in some suspicion, that the next commission he should receive from the Pope should be to return back into Italy again, because the Pope might think that he had done his part touching his demonstration of his care of the queen and her realms, when he offered both so readily, all graces that tended to make a reconciliation of both to the Church. In which perhaps, said he, the cardinals would think his Holiness had been too liberal. And, that they might take his stop, without their consent, for a greater indignity. And this revocation he still more feared, if his stay should be deferred any longer space."

The cardinal, upon this his stay, sent a servant of his by post to Rome to make a fair excuse for this stop: namely, that the queen shortly trusted that the matters of the Parliament should have that satisfaction that the cardinal desired; which was the effect of a letter the queen writ to one Henry Pyning, his servant. He also let the Pope know, by the aforesaid messenger, that it was the emperor's advice that the queen should proceed in matters of religion warily and slowly, and not to be too hasty, until temporal matters were better settled.

He also wrote letters to the emperor, which he sent by his servant Pyning, to persuade him to remove this stop; and bade his said servant to repair to the emperor's confessor, that he should personally resort unto him, and by all means possible move the emperor to let the cardinal go forward.

As to the two acts of Parliament which the queen sent him, he wrote her, "that they were partly to his satisfaction, and partly not. For the act of ratification of the matrimony was defective, in that the Parliament mentioning the wisdom of the parents in making the match, did make no mention of their wisdom; in that, besides their own consent, they procured the Pope's dispensation, and the authority of the see apostolic; whereby the impediments of conjunction, by the laws of the Church, were taken away; which, he added, ought by all means to have been mentioned. As to the other act for confirmation of the sacraments, the defect of that, he said, lay, in that this act made those capable of partaking of the sacraments that were not yet entered into the unity of the Church, and remained still in schism." But, to receive more full satisfaction in these matters, I refer the reader to the instructions given by the cardinal to Goldwell, as they may be read in the Appendix.[1]

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *The Dealings with the Married Clergy.*

THE marriage of the clergy gave great offence to those that were now uppermost. For many of both persuasions, Papists as well as Protestants, had taken wives; it being allowed by a law in King Edward's days; but would now no longer be endured, and was pretended to be against an oath they had taken, when they had received holy orders. For the queen sent a letter and instructions, dated March 4, to all the bishops; some of the contents whereof were, "to deprive all the married clergy, and to remove them from their benefices and promotions ecclesiastical; and besides this not to suffer them to abide with their wives, or women, as the Papists now chose rather to style them, but to divorce and punish them. But that such priests should be somewhat more favourably dealt withal, that, with the consent of their wives, did openly promise to abstain. These, nevertheless, were to be enjoined penance by the bishop, and then it lay in him to admit them again to their former ministration; but not in the same place they were in before. Of which they were to be deprived; and a part of that benefice they were outed of was to be allowed them, according to the bishop's discretion."[1] According to these instructions of the queen, a sad havoc was made among the clergy; some thousands being computed to be put out of their livings upon this account. And a good expedient it proved to get rid of the soberer clergy, that were not for the present turn.

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[1] No. LXXV.

That the reader may take some prospect of these transactions with the married clergy, I will here set down what was done with some of them under the jurisdiction of Canterbury by the dean and chapter, our archbishop being now laid aside.

Of those priests, beneficed in London, that pertained to the archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction there, nine were cited, by a citation, March 7, (that is, but three days after the queen's letter), from the dean and chapter, *Sede Cant. tunc vacante* (as it is said in the said citation), to appear in Bow Church, London, before Henry Harvey, LL.D., vicar-general, for being married men. The persons thus cited were these: John Joseph, rector of the church of St. Mary-le-Bow; Stephen Green, rector of St. Dionis' backchurch; Laurence Saunders, rector of the church of Allhallows, in Bread-street; Peter Alexander, rector of Allhallows, Lombard-street; Christopher Ashburn, rector of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane; Thomas Mountain, rector of St. Michael's, in Rio-lane; John Turner, rector of St. Leonard's, in Eastcheap; Richard Marsh, rector of St. Pancras; John Eliot, schoolmaster in the parish of St. Leonard, Eastcheap. It may not be amiss to set down the tenor, wherein the citation ran, viz.:[2]—

"That since it was (alas!) notoriously manifest, 'Quod rectores et presbyteri, quorum nomina in pede hujus edicti specificantur, contra jura ecclesiæ, sanctorum patrum decreta, et laudabiles ecclesiæ catholicæ generatim observatas et usitatas consuetudines, sese prætextu fœderis conjugalis cum nonnullis fœminis illicite conjunxerint, sub falsa matrimonii appellatione, cum iisdem publice cohabitaverint, et impudice vixerint, in voti sui alias emissi violationem, animarum suarum detrimentum, ac aliorum Christi fidelium exemplum longe perniciosum, in Christi ecclesia non ferendum; unde pro officii nostri debito, et tantorum scelerum ab ecclesia Christi eliminatione penitus eradicandum, &c. juxta illustrissimæ Dominæ nostræ Reginæ monitionis in hac parte continentiam procedere volentes," &c. The citation was returned by the apparitor, who declared, that he found and personally cited Richard Marsh and John Turner, and that he affixed the citation of the rest on the church doors belonging to the respective rectors, on March 8. And no wonder the apparitor met with no more of them, some being fled, and some in prison, and some already violently turned out of their churches and gone. On March 16, according to the citation, Marsh and Turner made their personal appearance, and were sworn to make true answer to such interrogatories as should be put to them. What those interrogatories were, I shall set down by-and-bye. These persons confessed, that they made profession of religious vows, and, after holy orders, were married, and lived with their wives. Hereupon sentence was denounced against them, to prohibit them to officiate, and to suspend them from the profits of their benefices; and, on Monday following, to appear again to receive further sentence of deprivation, divorce, &c. John Eliot, schoolmaster, it seems, submitted to penance; for he was not personally thrust out of his school, but enjoined not to teach his scholars matins, psalter, or the like in English, but in Latin; so as they might be able to answer the priest that officiated. The rest, that appeared not, were declared contumacious, and to be proceeded against, on Monday following, by deprivation, &c.

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[1] [For these Articles, &c. sent from the queen to Bonner, bishop of London, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 426—429.]

[2] Ex Regist. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14, fol. 40].

The interrogatories ministered unto these men, and to be ministered to all other married priests, were these:—

I. An fuit religiosus; cujus ordinis; et in quo monasterio, sive domo.

II. An fuit promotus ad sacros ordines, dum fuit in monasterio.

III. In quo et quibus sacris; et an ministravit in altaris ministerio; et quot annis.

IV. An citra professionem regularem conjunxit se mulieri sub appellatione matrimonii.

V. Cum qua; et in qua ecclesia fuit solemnizatio matrimonii; et per quem.

VI. Quam duxit, eratne soluta, an vidua.

VII. An cohabitavit cum ea in una et eadem domo, ut vir cum uxore.

VIII. An prolem vel proles ex ea sustentaverit, necne.

IX. An post et citra matrimonii hujusmodi solemnizationem, assecutus fuit, et est, beneficium ecclesiasticum, habens curam animarum, et quot annis illud obtinuit.

X. An officium sacerdotis post et citra assertum matrimonium hujusmodi contractum, in altaris ministerio se immiscuit, et sacramentis et sacramentalibus ministrandis se ingessit.

XI. An præmissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera.

According to these articles, the confessions of Marsh, Turner, and Eliot, are registered at large. On Monday, March 19, sentence was pronounced against Marsh and Turner. 1. Of deprivation from their benefices. 2. Of suspension from their priestly function. 3. Of inhibition to cohabit with their wives. 4. Of nulling and voiding the pretended bond of matrimony; and 5, of declaration of further punishments, according to the canons of the Church. And, March 20, the like sentence was pronounced against the rest that did not appear. Next, the sentence of divorce against John Turner and his wife was pronounced; and he was ordered to do penance on May 14, 1554, in his late parish church of Eastcheap, by holding a burning wax taper, and making a solemn confession openly and distinctly, with a loud voice, standing in the body of the church, before the face of the people, in these words following:—

"Good people, I am come hither, at this present time, to declare unto you my sorrowful and penitent heart, for that, being a priest, I have presumed to marry one Amy German, widow; and, under pretence of that matrimony, contrary to the canons and custom of the universal church, have kept her as my wife, and lived contrary to the canons and ordinances of the Church, and to the evil example of good

Christian people; whereby now, being ashamed of my former wicked living here, I ask Almighty God mercy and forgiveness, and the whole Church, and am sorry and penitent even from the bottom of my heart therefore. And in token hereof, I am here, as you see, to declare and show unto you this, my repentance: that before God, on the latter day, you may testify with me of the same. And I most heartily and humbly pray and desire you all, whom by this evil example doing I have greatly offended, that for your part you will forgive me, and remember me in your prayers, that God may give me grace, that hereafter I may live a continent life, according to His laws, and the godly ordinances of our mother the holy Catholic Church, through and by His grace. And do here before you all openly promise for to do, during my life."[1] The manner of the restitution of these priests, thus performing their penance, may be seen in the Appendix.[2]

And this is some account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in pursuance of the queen's instructions before mentioned. But Bishop Bonner, with his zeal, was beforehand with the queen, not staying for any orders from above in dealing with his clergy, but of his own power, in the latter end of February, deprived all married priests, in his diocese of London, from their livings. And, after this done, commanded them all to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be divorced from them.

These were some of the doings with the married priests in London. And in the same manner did they proceed about this time in Canterbury with Edmund Cranmer, the archbishop's brother, archdeacon and prebendary of that church; together with William Willoughby, William Devenish, and Robert Goldson, prebendaries; and divers others. For March 15, at the chapter-house in Canterbury, before Henry Harvey, LL.D., vicar-general; Richard Bishop, of Dover, subdean; Richard Parkhurst and John Mills, prebendaries of the said church, personally appeared the said archdeacon and prebendaries, Thomas Brook and Thomas Stevens, preachers, and Sherland and Goodrich, petty canons of the said church, who all subscribed with their own hands to a confession of certain articles exhibited against them, touching their being married. And, being asked what they could say why they should not be suspended and deprived for the said pretended marriages, they gave this answer, as it is set down in the register of that church; "Se nihil habere dicendum, &c."—"That they had nothing to say that might be profitable for them; the ecclesiastical law, and the decrees of the holy fathers, standing in their full force; but, by the law of God, they thought they had lawfully married their wives; and, being married, might not forsake them with a safe conscience." Then sentence of suspension from priestly function, sequestration, deprivation, and prohibition to live with their wives, was pronounced. It is registered, "that they acquiesced in these sentences against them; no one of them appealing, but all remaining silent." This is the account of the good archbishop's brother, his manner of deprivation, and his peaceable behaviour under it.

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[1] Ex Regist. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14. fol. 44].

[2] No. LXXV.

Thus he was deprived of his prebend, and one Robert Collins was admitted into the same; of his rectory of Ickham, and Robert Marsh succeeded him there, April 12, 1554; and of his archdeaconry, and Nicolas Harpsfield was admitted thereunto. Who at the same time entered into obligation to pay, out of the profits of the said archdeaconry, unto William Wareham, late archdeacon, during his life, a yearly pension of forty pounds sterling, March 31, 1554. But some of the Church then appeared not, being either fled, or in prison; and those were pronounced contumacious, viz. John Joseph, Peter Alexander, and Bernard Ochin, prebendaries; Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Thomas Becon, and Richard Besely, preachers.[1]

These doings, in all quarters of the realm raised great admiration among the people, upon divers and sundry considerations, incident and depending upon such proceedings; since these marriages were no more than what were agreeable to the laws of the land. So that these married preachers, in marrying themselves, were no transgressors of the law, and yet underwent as great punishments, as though they were so in some high degree. And the proceedings seemed contrary even to the queen's commission, comprised in certain articles (before mentioned) to her bishops; which was, "That they should proceed, according to learning and discretion, in these weighty matters, and that they should not put any other canons and constitution of the Church in exercise, than such as might stand with the law of the realm." Yet they went in most places both against learning and discretion, and the laws of the land.

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[1] Reg. Eccl. Cant. [M. 14].

For the bringing this to pass, they first possessed the queen with great prejudices against these marriages.[1] They cried in her ears, how uncomely these copulations were; how against God and his honour; how against the Church's decrees and discipline; and how worthy to be dissolved again. And when they had obtained their ends with the queen, and gotten out her letter and instructions for that purpose, and by warrant thereof executed their purposes; then, for the giving a better countenance to a thing that looked so odious, and had so much severity in it, to the ruining of so many thousand families, books were thought fit to be published; the purpose of which was, to make married priests contemptible and to show how unlawful and wicked marriage was in men of holy orders. Dr. Thomas Martin's book made the greatest noise; a book writ with a brow of brass, so did it abound with confident untruths and falsehoods. And, to the further accumulation of the heavy state of the ministers deprived, were added in this book most slanderous accusations, and untrue matters surmised against them to the queen and realm. The author greatly pretended antiquity and authority all along for his doctrine: whereas indeed it was nothing but counterfeited imitation of authority, and belying antiquity. And, in short (to give you the sense of one,[2] who wrote against the book, and did sufficiently expose it), "it was mere subtilty without substance, wit without wisdom, zeal without knowledge, and heat without charity." To give but one instance of the unfair and false dealing of the author, he saith, in his book, "that the heretics affirmed, that all priests and bishops must of necessity marry, whether they have the gift of sole life, or no; and that they were so beastly and ignorant, that they should teach that the fellowship and company of a woman, in a spiritual man, is a means to perfect religion, and that single life was an hinderance to the same, and that they should despise all manner of virginity and single life in them that had the gift of God: and that they pronounced it wicked and abominable, and termed it a doctrine of devils, and the invention of Antichrist." All which Bishop Poinet, in the name of all the Protestants, in his book did utterly deny that ever they said, writ, or thought so.

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[1] Martin's book against Priests' Marriage.

[2] Supposed to be Bishop Poinet.

This book was indeed made by [Gardiner] the bishop of Winchester, when he was in the Tower, (and he borrowed much of it from Albertus Pighius), and published about that time. Martin being then a student at the university of Bourges in France, it once happened, in some conversation there, that Edward, the king of England, was commended, whether it were for his virtue, or learning, or abilities, beyond his years; whereat Martin began, as it seemed, to eclipse the king's honour, by mentioning the imprisonment of Winchester, saying, that there was a head Papist prisoner in England, meaning him. Upon which several asked him, whether it was not the same Winchester that had set out an hodge-podge concerning marriage of priests? He, laughing, answered, "it was even he."[1] But that no man ought to marvel, for that Winchester was more meet for warlike than for ecclesiastical disputations. Which passage I have from Bale, who was acquainted at that university with Franciscus Baldwin, the learned professor of law there. Out of this book Martin[2] framed that which went under his name, with Winchester's privity; and this was well enough known to Bale and others in those times. Ponet said, that Martin was abused by others, who set him a-work to bear the name, and to desire the fame of so gay a book, rather than he was the author of it indeed.

The said Ponet, or Poinet, late bishop of Winchester, but now an exile, very learnedly answered this book in two several treatises. The first was entitled, "An Apology against Thomas Martin's Blasphemies." In this treatise, upon occasion of the Papists' prohibition of marriage to priests, he proved that the said Papists were heretics, and had taken part in the most principal parts with all the heretics that had corrupted the true church of Christ. The second treatise, replenished with great learning, he lived not to finish; (though some doubt whether he were the author of this book); but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, he published it, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own. Poinet had thoroughly studied this point, and I believe was put upon the study of it by Archbishop Cranmer, whose chaplain he was; for before this he put forth two books upon this argument, viz. "Of the Marriage of Ministers, and a Defence of that Marriage."

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[1] Declaration of Bonner's Articles, 1554.

[2] "Thomas Martin, or Winchester under that name," fol. 15, [line 12]. "Mr. Martin, Winchester's own voice," fol. 40. — 10. "Gardiner, in his book lately spread under the name of Thomas Martin," fol. 77. — 24. Bale's Declar.

The last thing I have to say concerning these orders taken with the married clergy, is, that there were two things thought very hard, which were put upon those that were willing to comply, and put away their wives. The one was in relation to the public confessions they were to make: which were put into their mouths by others, and drawn up for them in that manner, as made them tell horrible lies. They must speak their own shame in bills of their penance; lying against themselves most vilely and most shamefully; disabling their credit and estimation for ever. And to give an instance, one such confession, which was much cried out against, was made by one Sir John Busby of Windsor, June 29, in the year 1555. Which Poinet calleth a goodly confession of his hearty and earnest repentance. "Which," saith he, "was so finely penned, and so catholicly tracted, that I warrant you it was none of the smallest fools that forged it."[1]

The other thing was, that, after these poor men had thus done their penances, and spoke their confessions, the imposers of these penalties upon them were not so good as they pretended they would be, and as the queen's instructions required them to be towards them; not restoring them to their ministration. Some, that had been two or three years parted from their wives, could not be admitted again to ministration; yet they must do open penance, and go by the cross, without any redemption or entreaty, that could be made.

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[1] Def. of Pr. Marr. p. 269.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Evils in this Change. A Parliament.*

By this time the face of the Church was perfectly changed: and all the reformation that was made for twenty years before, namely, from Cranmer's first ascent to the archiepiscopal chair, to this time, was unravelled in less than a year, and abolished. But the favourers of the Gospel lamented it exceedingly, and Bishop Ridley writ a treatise, wherein he shewed what a deplorable change in religion this was, by setting down at large what religion was in King Edward's days, and what it was at that present; laying the cause of this sore judgment upon the vile and naughty lives of the people, so unsuitable to the good religion professed. The professors lamented two great evils, lighting upon the people upon this turn of religion; not only that it brought the people into error and superstition, but involved them universally in the crime of perjury, the blame of which they laid upon the Popish clergy. For they not only had connived at, but allowed and encouraged, the casting off the Pope's supremacy, and made both priests and laity swear to the king. And now they set up the Pope's authority again in England, and required all to swear to that. For they compelled not only such as were priests to perjure themselves, but all the laity, nobility, gentry, magistrates, merchants, and others; for hardly any were exempted the oath of supremacy in the former reigns. For in every law-day, the keepers of the same were sworn to call all the young men of their hundred, even as they came to years of discretion, to swear never to receive the bishop of Rome, nor no other foreign potentate, to be head of the people of England, but only the king and his successors. Which oath, if it were unlawful, as the clergymen now said, then all the realm had reason of high displeasure against them, that so led them and knew it. Such gross dissembling were the bishops guilty of to the involving the people in guilt. And this dissembling quality the priests still retained in this queen's days. For when any came to some of them, shewing them that his conscience was not satisfied in the present way of religion, the priest would tell him, "that he said the truth; my conscience," would he say, "is as yours; but we must bear for a time, and that he himself looked for another change." When another of a contrary opinion came to the priests, and talked about religion, they would say to him, "that they had been deceived; and thanks be to God," said they, "that ye kept your conscience all this while. And even so was mine; but I durst not do any otherwise, but trusted that this time would come, as is now; thanks be to God." Nay, and sometimes in the same town, they would minister the service two ways to the people, to please both: insomuch that the bishops and priests grew, for this cause, as well as for their cruelty, into great dislike with the people. This more at large is shewed in a short manuscript treatise I have, made by a certain person nameless, imprisoned for religion, entitled thus: "All sorts of people of England have just cause of displeasure against the bishops and priests of the same."

There was, this year, April 2, a new Parliament, that [of] the last year being dissolved. Great was the sadness that now possessed the hearts of the English nation, even of Papists themselves, the most considerate and wisest part of them, seeing the great slavery the kingdom was like to be ensnared in, by what the Parliament was now in doing; that is to say, restoring the Pope's tyranny here in England, that had been so long and happily cast out, and allowing the queen's matching with Prince Philip; whereby a Spaniard should become king of England. Which when P. Martyr had signified in a letter from Strasburgh to Calvin, May 8, he told him, "Tanta est rerum perturbatio, ut nullo pacto explicari queat:"—"that it could not be told what a disturbance there now was;" and that all good men, that could, fled away from their own country, from all parts of the land: mentioning three noble knights to be come lately to Strasburgh, not less famous for piety than learning, Morison, Cheke, and Cook. At this Parliament wherein the mass was set up, and confirmed by an act, all that were suspected to favour the truth were turned out of the house, which made Hooper out of prison in one of his letters write: "Doubtless there had not been seen, before our time, such a Parliament as this, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word, should be banished out of both houses."[1]

In this Parliament a strong and certain report went, that the bloody act of the Six Articles should be revived and put in execution. This created abundance of terror in men's hearts. There was nothing but sighs and lamentations everywhere, and a great many were already fled out of the realm, unto whom this rumour had reached. John Fox, a learned and pious man, who had an excellent pathetic style, was now set on work, who took his pen in his hand, and, in the name of the Protestant exiles, wrote a most earnest expostulatory letter to the Parliament, to dissuade them from restoring this law again. He told them, "they had a queen, who, as she was most noble, so she was ready to listen to sound and wholesome counsel. And that they had a lord chancellor, that, as he was learned, so of his own nature he was not bad, were it not for the counsels of some. But that, as among animals, some there were that were born to create trouble and destruction to the other, so there were among mankind some by nature cruel and destructive; some to the church, and some to the state." The letter is worthy the reading, which I have therefore placed in the Appendix,[2] as I transcribed it out of a manuscript collection of Fox's letters. There was indeed such a design in the House of Commons of bringing again into force that act of the Six Articles; but whether it were by the importunity of this and other petitions, or that the court thought it not convenient so much to countenance any of King Henry's acts, this business fell. And this Parliament was shortlived, for in May it was dissolved, by reason of a bill for confirming abbey-lands to the present possessors, which it seems gave offence to the court.

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[1] [Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, p. 85.]

[2] No. LXXVI.

## CHAPTER X.

### *Archbishop Cranmer disputes at Oxon.*

A CONVOCATION of the clergy now met in St. Paul's, but was adjourned, the prolocutor, Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and some other of the members, being sent to Oxon, (and it was generally thought the Parliament would remove thither too), to dispute certain points of religion in controversy with three of the heads of the Protestant party, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and old Father Latimer, now all prisoners, who, for that purpose, in the month of April, were removed from the Tower, by the queen's warrant to the lieutenant, towards Windsor, and there taken into custody of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Williams, who conveyed them to Oxford, there to remain in order to a disputation. The Convocation, while they sat at London, agreed upon the questions to be disputed; and they resolved that these three pious men should be baited by both the universities; and therefore that they of Cambridge should be excited to repair to Oxford, and engage in this disputation also. The questions were these:

I. In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item naturalis ejus sanguis.

II. Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.

III. In Missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis, tam vivorum, quam mortuorum, propitiabile.

These questions the Convocation sent to the university of Cambridge, requiring them seriously to weigh and deliberate upon them, and, if they contained true doctrine, then to approve of them. Accordingly the senate of that university met, and, after due deliberation, found them agreeable in all things to the Catholic Church, and the Scripture, and the ancient doctrine taught by the fathers; and so did confirm and ratify them in their said senate. And because Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the heads of the heretics that held contrary to these articles, were formerly members of their university, and being to be disputed withal at Oxford concerning these points, they decreed, in the name of all the university, to send seven of their learned doctors to Oxford, to take their parts in disputing with them, and to use all ways possible to reclaim them to the orthodox doctrine again. And accordingly the said senate, April 10, made a public instrument to authorize them, in their names, to go to Oxford and dispute, which instrument may be seen in the Appendix.[1] They also wrote a letter, the same date, to the university of Oxford, to signify that they had appointed those persons to repair unto them, not so much to dispute points so professedly orthodox, and agreeable to the fathers and general councils, and the word of God, as to defend those truths in their names, and reduce those patrons of false and corrupt doctrine, if possible, unto a sound mind. This letter is also in the Appendix.[2] So that this coming of the Cambridge divines to Oxford was to seem a voluntary thing, to show their zeal for Popery, and vindication of their university against liking or approbation of Cranmer and his two fellow-prisoners. So roundly was the university already come about to the old forsaken religion.

This Oxford disputation[3] was after this manner: Hugh Weston, S. T. P., prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation; Owen Oglethorp, John Seton, W. Chedsey, S. Th. PP.; Hen. Cole, Will[iam] Geoffrey, LL. PP.; William Pye, John Feckenham, John Harpsfield, S. T. BB., representing the whole lower House of Convocation, went down to Oxford. To them were joined, by commission, the chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, the professors and doctors, &c.; as namely, Holyman, Tresham, Ri[chard] Marshal, Morwent, Smith, S. T. PP. of Oxford; and John Young, William Glyn, Ri[chard] Atkinson, Tho[mas] Watson, Cutbert Scott, Alban Langdale, Tho[mas] Sedgewick, S. Th. PP. of Cambridge; in the name of the whole university. All these being met at St. Mary's, there were read the letters commissioned to them, sealed with the bishop of London's seal, and the subscription besides of the bishops of Winton, Durham, Wigorn, Chichester, Lincoln, Bath, Ross, Hereford, St. David's, Gloucester, and Oxon. And with these letters were conveyed certain articles,[1] which had been lately by the upper House resolved upon; which articles were, of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Transubstantiation, and of the Adoration of the Eucharist, and the Reservation of the Sacrament of the Church, and of its institution, and by whom, and for whom, and to whom it is to be offered. The contents of the letter were, to summon before them Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to propound those articles to them to dispute on publicly. The sum of which, it seems, was contracted into the three questions above said. Then they provided themselves three public notaries. Next, they celebrated and sung the mass of the Holy Ghost. Then they went [in] a procession, according to the custom of the university. This formal pageantry being finished, and the commissioners returned to St. Mary's, and being come into the choir to the number of three and thirty, seated themselves before the altar. And then sent to the mayor and bailiffs to bring Dr. Cranmer before them, by virtue of the queen's letters to them, who within a while was brought, guarded with bill-men.

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[1] No. LXXVII.

[2] No. LXXVIII.

[3] [The narrative of this disputation is chiefly drawn by Strype from Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 439—469.]

Coming before them, Saturday, [April 14,] he gave them great reverence, and stood with his staff in his hand. They offered him a stool to sit, but he refused. Then Weston, the prolocutor, began a speech, wherein "he commended unity in the church of Christ; and withal, turning to the archbishop, told him how he had been a Catholic man once, and in the same unity, but that he had separated himself from it by teaching and setting forth erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith. And therefore that it had pleased the queen to send them to him to recover him again, if it might be, to that unity." And then shewed him the articles to be disputed on, causing them to be read to him, and requiring his answer and opinion thereupon. Then the archbishop answered *extempore*, that, as for unity, he was very glad of it; and said, that it was a preserver of all commonwealths, as well heathen as Christian, and illustrated the matter by some stories out of the Roman history. And added, that he should be very glad to come to an unity, so it were in Christ, and according to the church of God. Then he read over the articles three or four times; and, being asked whether he would subscribe to them, he answered, that in the form of words in which they were conceived, they were all false and against God's word; and therefore that he would not agree in that unity with them. Nevertheless, he said, if they would give him a copy of the articles, and time to consider of them, he would by to-morrow send them an answer. Which was granted him, the prolocutor bidding him write his mind of them that night. It was moreover agreed between them, that, in whatsoever he dissented from them, they would proceed to public disputation thereupon, in the public schools, by scholastical arguments in Latin. And lastly, they told him, he should have what books he would ask for. And so Weston gave the mayor charge of him, to be had to Bocardo, where he was before.

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[1] [The following are the articles, also given above at p. 47.] "In sacramento altaris, virtute verbi Domini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi—conceptum de virgine Maria: item, naturalis ejusdem sanguis. 2. Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis. 3. In missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile."—Harl.MSS. 3642. See Parker Society's edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 392.]

His behaviour all this while was so grave and modest, that many masters of art, who were not of his mind, could not forbear weeping. This was the work of Saturday, [April 14th.] On Sunday Cranmer sent in what he had writ upon the articles to the prolocutor to Lincoln College, where he lay.

After Cranmer was carried back, the mayor and bailiffs brought Bishop Ridley. And when the same articles were read to him, he said, that they were not true; but desired a copy of them, and he would draw up in writing his answer, and soon transmit it to them. And did offer to dispute, as Cranmer had done before.[1]

Lastly, Latimer was brought, to whom the prolocutor said as he had to the two former. Latimer confessed, that in the sacrament of the altar there was a certain presence, but not such an one as they would have; and he also promised to send them his answer shortly to these articles, requiring a copy. But, by reason of his old age, his infirmities, and the weakness of his memory, he said, he could not bear a dispute; but that he could and would declare his mind of the said articles. All this that I have above said concerning the managery of this affair, I do for the most part extract out of a letter of Weston's, writ unto [Bonner] the bishop of London from Oxon. I cannot here omit old Father Latimer's habit at this his appearing before the commissioners, which was also his habit while he remained a prisoner in Oxford. He held his hat in his hand; he had a kerchief on his head, and upon it a nightcap or two, and a great cap such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps, to button under his chin; an old threadbare Bristol friese gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged, by a long string of leather, his Testament, and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck upon his breast.[1] This was the work of Saturday, [April 14th].

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 442.]

On Monday, [April 16th,] Cranmer was brought into the respondent's place in the divinity-schools, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him. In the midst of the disputation, because what he was to answer was more than he could well remember *extempore*, he gave in to Dr. Weston his opinion, written at large, in answer to each proposition; and desired Weston, who sat on high, to read it. These writings are preserved in Fox's Monuments, and may there be seen.[2] This disputation began at eight in the morning, and lasted till two. The beadle had provided drink, and offered the archbishop thereof sometimes, but he refused; nor did he stir all the while out of his place, though the prolocutor had granted him leave to retire for a while if he had any occasion. And, after having learnedly and boldly maintained the truth against a great many clamorous opponents, he was carried back by the mayor to prison. And then, the two next days, Ridley and Latimer took their courses.[3]

Cranmer had cautiously provided two notaries to take notes of what he said, lest he might be misrepresented. And they were Jewel, afterward bishop of Sarum, and one Gilbert Mounson, who also, at Ridley's request, were granted him.

Cranmer required at the commissioners' hands, more time to have these weighty matters more diligently scanned and examined, urging, that he had so much to speak, that it would take up many days, that he might fully answer to all that they could say. He required also, that he and his fellows might oppose, as well as respond; that they might produce their proofs before the Popish doctors, and be answered fully to all that they could say. But neither of these demands would be allowed him, which he in a letter complained of to the Council. For indeed, as Cranmer plainly apprehended, the design now was not to look impartially into the truth or falsehood of these doctrines, but to gain glory to themselves, and to have a show for the resolution that was before taken up of condemning them all three.

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 443.]

[2] [Id. vol. vi. pp. 444—469.]

[3] [Id. vol. vi. pp. 469—511.]

The same week, on Thursday, [April 19th,] Harpsfield disputed for the degree of bachelor of divinity; and, among other opponents, Cranmer was called forth for one by Dr. Weston. Where, first taking notice of Weston's opposing Harpsfield out of the Scripture against a corporeal presence, (which was Harpsfield's question), but whereas he left the sense of the Scripture to the Catholic Church, as judge, Cranmer told him, "He was much mistaken, especially because that, under the name of church, he appointed such judges as had corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. He wondered also, he said, why Weston attributed so little to the reading of Scriptures, and conferring of places, seeing Scripture doth so much commend the same, in those very places which himself had alleged. And as to his opinion of these questions, he said, they had neither ground of the word of God, nor the primitive church. Nay, and that the schools have spoken diversely of them, and do not agree among themselves." And, having prefaced all this, he began his disputation with Harpsfield, by asking him some questions: as, how Christ's body was in the sacrament, according to his mind and determination? And whether He had the quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such-like properties of bodies? And when there was great declining to answer this; and some affirmed one thing, and some another; Harpsfield said, they were vain questions, and not fit to spend time about; and added, that "Christ was there as it pleased him to be there." Cranmer to that said, "He would be best contented with that answer, if their appointing of the carnal presence had not driven him of necessity to have inquired, for disputation-sake, how they placed Him there, since they would have a natural body." Then some denied it to be *quantum;* some said, it was *quantitativum;* and some affirmed, that it had *modum quanti:* and some denying it, Dr. Weston then stood up, and said, it was *corpus quantum, sed non per modum quanti.* A very grave decision of the point!

Then Cranmer asked, "Whether good and bad men do eat the body in the sacrament; and then, how long Christ tarried in the eater?" Harpsfield said, "They were curious questions, unmeet to be asked." Cranmer replied, "He took them out of their schools and schoolmen, which they themselves did most use." Then he asked, "How far He went in the body, and how long He abode in the body?" With these questions Cranmer puzzled them most heavily, for which way soever they answered, there would follow absurdities and inextricable difficulties. In conclusion, Dr. Weston gave him this compliment; "That his wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty was worthy much commendation, giving him most hearty thanks in his own name, and in the name of all his brethren."[1] At which all the doctors put off their caps.

On Wednesday, [April 18th,] as soon as Latimer, who came up last, had ended his disputation, the Papists cried *Victoria*, applauding themselves loudly, as though they had vindicated their cause most strenuously and satisfactorily against Cranmer and his two fellows. And so Weston had the confidence to tell them to their faces. Though to him that reads the whole disputation, and considereth the arguments on both sides impartially, there will appear no such matter; allowing for all the hissings and noises, confused talk and taunts, that were bestowed upon these very reverend and good men. Whereof Ridley said, in reference to his disputation,[2] "That he never in all his life saw or heard anything carried more vainly and tumultuously; and that he could not have thought that there could have been found among Englishmen any persons, honoured with degrees in learning, that willingly could allow of such vanities, more fit for the stage than the schools." He added, "That, when he studied at Paris, he remembered what clamours were used in the Sorbonne, where Popery chiefly reigned; but that that was a kind of modesty in comparison of this thrasonical ostentation. Whence he concluded very truly, that they sought not for the sincere truth in this conference, and for nothing but vain glory."

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 511—520.]

[2] In his Preface to his Account of his Dispute. [See Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, Appendix I. pp. 303, 433, 434; and Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 532.]

But the professors of the Gospel, on the other hand, were as glad of this dispute, wherein these three chief fathers of the Church had so boldly and gallantly stood in the defence of the truth, and maintained the true doctrine of the sacrament so well. And Dr. Rowland Taylor,[1] in prison elsewhere at this time for Christ's sake, wrote them a congratulatory letter in the name of the rest. Which is as followeth:—

"RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wish you to enjoy continually God's grace and peace through Jesus Christ. And God be praised again for this your most excellent promotion, which ye are called unto at this present; that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed amongst the number of Christ's records and witnesses. England hath had but a few learned bishops that would stick to Christ *ad ignem inclusive*. Once again I thank God heartily in Christ for your most happy onset, most valiant proceeding, most constant suffering of all such infamies, hissings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loss of living and liberty, for the defence of God's cause, truth, and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my heart for you three such captains in the foreward, under Christ's cross, banner, or standard, in such a cause and skirmish; when not only one or two of our dear Redeemer's strongholds are besieged, but all His chief castles, ordained for our safeguard, are traitorously impugned. This your enterprise, in the sight of all that be in heaven, and of all God's people in earth, is most pleasant to behold. This is another manner of nobility, than to be in the forefront in worldly warfares. For God's sake, pray for us, for we fail not daily to pray for you. We are stronger and stronger in the Lord, His name be praised; and we doubt not, but ye be so in Christ's own sweet school. Heaven is all, and wholly of our side. Therefore *Gaudete in Domino semper, et iterum gaudete, et exultate*:—Rejoice always in the Lord, and again rejoice and be glad.

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[1] [For the history of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who was burnt at Hadley, in Suffolk, February 9th, 1555, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 676—700.]

"Your assured in Christ, ROWLAND TAYLOR."

Ridley, knowing their tricks, and suspecting they would publish his disputation unfairly, and to their own advantage, prudently took his pen, and gave an account of it with the greatest exactness, as he could recover it in his memory. He was promised by the prolocutor, that he should have a view of the dispute, as it was taken by the notaries, that he might supply, and amend, and alter, as he should see any error or mistake in the notes. He promised him likewise, and that in the face and hearing of the rest of the commissioners, and the whole schools, that he should have a time and place allowed him, wherein he might produce what he had more to say, for the confirmation of his answers. But nothing was performed. Ridley never found language more ready to him, nor such a presence of mind in any business he had to do, as he had in this disputation; which he took particular notice of, and thanked God for. Of this relation, as he himself had penned it, he wrote to Grindal, then at Frankfort, "That except he had that he gathered himself after his disputation done, he could not think that he had it truly; but if he had that, then he had therewithal the whole manner, after the which he was used in that disputation."[1]

This whole disputation between these three excellent men and the Oxford divines, was, under the seal of the university, and the subscription of notaries, exhibited into the house of Convocation by Hugh Weston and some lawyers. This John Fox had found some years after, writ in the Register of a certain church in London. Whereupon, for the sight hereof, he applied himself to Dr. Incent, that had been actuary; but he put him off, telling him the writings were in Bonner's hand, or in the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that he had them not; probably not being minded they should come to light. Fox, when his pains succeeded not, wrote to the archbishop and the bishop of London, Parker and Grindal, about 1567, acquainting them with this, and desired their assistance; and the rather, because perhaps there might have been other things met with there, not unworthy knowledge, under the same seal. And so he left the archbishop and bishop to consult as they thought fit for the finding out these writings of the disputations.

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[1] [See Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, p. 389; see also Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 434.]

Fox, by his diligence, procured many and divers copies of them; which I have seen. And that which he printed in his Acts and Monuments, was, I suppose, from a copy which he reckoned the largest and truest. Ridley apprehended there would be many copies of these disputations fly about, (as there were), whereby they might be wronged. Therefore, to prevent misrepresenting, as I said before, he wrote a brief account of what he had said at his disputation. This, whether he writ it in English or Latin originally, I cannot tell; I suppose in Latin, as it was lately, in the year 1688, published at Oxon. Among Fox's manuscripts I meet with a better copy than that, which, by comparing both, I find faulty in many things, besides Ridley's epilogue to the reader, which is there placed as a preface before the book, the true place being at the end of it.[1]

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[1] [Ridley's own account of his handling at the disputation at Oxford, may be seen in the Parker Society's edition of his Works, where it is given in English, from Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, at pp. 303—306. The entire Latin version is there reprinted from Fox, "Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum," Basil, 1539,—which was collated with a MS. in Abp. Parker's Collection in C.C.C.C. Lib., as set out in the Appendix to Ridley's Works, pp. 433—481.]

# CHAPTER XI.

## *Cranmer condemned for a Heretic.*

WITHIN two days after these disputations were ended, that is, on Friday, April 20, Cranmer, with his two fellows, were brought again to St. Mary's, before the commissioners. Weston dissuaded them from their opinions, and asked them, whether they would subscribe, and required them to answer directly and peremptorily; and told the archbishop that he was overcome in disputation, with more words to that purpose. To whom the archbishop boldly replied, "That whereas Weston said, that he had answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own error, nor impugn the truth, he said, all that was false, for he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them, and ever four or five interrupting him." Latimer and Ridley, being asked what they would do, said, that they would stand to that which they had said. Then, being called together, sentence was read over them, that they were no members of the Church, and, therefore, they were condemned as heretics. And, while this was reading, they were asked if they would turn. They bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. And so the sentence of condemnation was awarded against them. Then the archbishop said, "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty; trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." And so Cranmer was returned to Bocardo, and the other two to other places; as they were kept apart almost all the while they were in Oxon.[1]

Weston, after this ingrateful business done, went up the next week [April 23rd] to London. And Cranmer wrote to the lords of the Council a letter, containing two points: one was, to desire the queen's pardon as to his treason, (for so little favour could he find at court, that he had not yet this absolutely granted him); and the other was, an account of the disputation, Weston bring desired by the archbishop to carry the letter. But after he had carried it half-way, reading the contents, he liked them so ill, that he sent back the letter most churlishly to Cranmer again.[1] Indeed, he cared not to carry complaints of himself to the court. But, because it gives further light into these matters, I have inserted it in the Appendix.[2]

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 533, 534.]

It was such an imaginary victory, as they had now got at Oxford, that they intended also to obtain at Cambridge. And much talk at this time arose, that Hooper, Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, whom they had in prisons at London, were to be had to this university, to be baited, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, newly had been at Oxford; and several of the doctors of Oxford should be sent in likewise to Cambridge for this purpose. But Hooper, Farrar, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and the others, having an inkling of it, consulted among themselves what to do; and resolved to decline it, unless they might have indifferent judges.[3] And for this purpose Bradford sent a private and trusty messenger to Oxford to Ridley, to have his, and his two fellows, their judgments concerning this matter. They were at this time all separated from one another; so, though Ridley signified this in a letter to Cranmer,[4] yet he could only give his own sense. "He misliked not," he said, "what they were minded to do; for he looked for none other, but that, if they answered before the same commissioners that he and his fellows had done, they should be served and handled as they were, *though ye were as well learned*," said he, "*as ever was either Peter or Paul.* Yet he thought occasion might afterwards be given them; and the consideration of the profit of their auditory might perchance move them to do otherwise. But determinately to say what was best, he could not; but trusted He, whose cause they had in hand, would put them in mind to do that which should be most for His glory, the profit of his flock, and their own salvation." It came at length to that forwardness, that Weston and his complices had taken out the commission. And it was easy to obtain such a commission at such a lord chancellor's hands. And they were likely speedily to put in execution. Hooper, who seemed to have the first notice of it, sent the intelligence in a letter to Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot, prisoners in the King's Bench.[1] He shewed them what his advice was, and desired them to consult among themselves what course were best to be taken. His own thoughts were, considering what foul play the three learned men had at Oxford, and which they were like to have themselves at this disputation:—I. Because they did commonly make false allegations of the doctors, and took pieces and scraps of them to prove their tenets, against the real mind and sense of those authors, they should, therefore, refuse wholly to dispute, unless they might have books present before them. II. To have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently, which would be hard to have, the adversaries having the oversight of all things; and so would make theirs better, and the Protestants' worse. III. If they perceived, when they were disputing, that two or three, or more, spake together, and used taunts and scoffs, as they did at Oxon, then to refuse to dispute any longer; but to appeal to be heard before the queen and the whole Council. Whereby this benefit would happen, that they should be delivered from the commissioners, appointed to hear and judge them, who meant nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently, being all enemies already unto the Protestants, and their cause, and at a point to give sentence against them. And then many at the court might be strengthened, who know the truth already; and others better informed who erred rather of zeal than malice; and a third sort, that be indurate, might be answered fully to their shame. He knew, he said, the adversaries would deny their appeal; but yet he advised to challenge it, and to take witness thereof, of such as should be present, and require, for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and Council, or else before all the Parliament, as it was used in King Edward's days. So wise and wary now were they. But I do not find that this project of the Papists went further.

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 535.]

[2] No. LXXIX.

[3] [For the copy of a certain declaration drawn and sent abroad by Bradford, &c., see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 550—553.]

[4] [Strype is in error in attributing this letter to have been sent to Cranmer. It was addressed to Bradford, and is given in the Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, pp. 363—366, from Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs. It is also found in Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 426.]

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[1] [This letter is given by Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 664, 665.]

And let us return, and visit these three faithful prisoners of Jesus Christ. After their disputation and condemnation, their servants were discharged, that so they might not have any conference, or intelligence of anything abroad. But God provided for every one of them, instead of their servants, faithful fellows, that would be content to hear and see, and do for them whatsoever they could; as Ridley wrote in a letter to Bradford.[1] To these fathers also came supplies of meat, money, and shirts, from London, not only from such as were of their acquaintance, but from strangers, with whom they had no acquaintance; doing it for God's sake, and His Gospel's.[2] The bailiffs so watched them now, that they would not suffer them to have any conferences among themselves. The scholars of that university seemed universally against them. Which Ridley, in a letter to his friend Bradford, could not but take notice of, calling it "a wonderful thing, that, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of them, so far as he knew, any manner of favour, either for, or in Christ's cause."[3] They had all things common among them, as meat, money, and whatever one had, that might do another good.

Neither of them now in prison were idle. Old Latimer read the New Testament through seven times deliberately, while he was a prisoner. Cranmer busied himself earnestly in vindication of his writings of the Sacrament against Winchester, under the name of "Marcus Constantius." And so did Ridley, who in two treatises, which he now made, shewed how Winchester varied from other Papists in eighteen articles, and from himself in eighteen more.[4] And a third paper he wrote, shewing several things Winchester yielded unto, concerning the spiritual use of the Sacrament.[5]

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[1] [See Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, p. 365.]

[2] [Id. ibid.]

[3] [Id. p. 364.]

[4] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. pp. 597—602.]

[5] [Id. vol. vii. p. 602.]

Fox hath set down these in his history, and preserved them to us; these collections of Ridley falling into his hands. Ridley also wrote, while he was a prisoner in Oxford, "De Abominationibus Sedis Romanæ, et Pontificum Romanorum;" and annotations more large upon Tunstal's first book (of "Transubstantiation," I suppose); and more sparingly upon the second. He was now also diligent to set others on work for the exposing false religion; desiring one Grimbold to translate Laurentius Valla's book, which he made and wrote against the fable of Constantine's donation and glorious exaltation of the see of Rome. And, having done that, he would have had him to translate a work of Æneas Sylvius, "De Gestis Basiliensis Concilii;" "in the which although," said he, "there be many things that favour of the pan, yet I dare say the Papists would glory but a little to see such books go forth in English." He directed Austin Bernher, Latimer's servant, to recommend these works unto Grimbold, who had been his chaplain, and a man, as Ridley gave him the character, of much eloquence, both in English and Latin, (but he complied and subscribed). And he also bade Austin tell Grimbold, "that if he would know where to have these books, he might find them in a work set forth by Ortwinus Gratius, entitled, "Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum." And added, "that if such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, he supposed great good might have come to Christ's Church thereby."[1]

But we have not yet mentioned all the pieces that Ridley wrote in prison. For, besides those above mentioned, were these following. I. A little treatise, which was jointly composed by him and Latimer in the Tower, (which is preserved in Fox), with the letters N. R. before Ridley's sayings, and H. L. before Latimer's.[2] II. A draught, which he drew out of the Evangelists and St. Paul, shewing thence that the words of the Lord's Supper are figuratively to be understood, alleging out of the doctors, three of the Greek church, Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodorete; and three of the Latin, Tertullian, Augustine, and Gelasius. III. Three positions to the third question propounded in Oxford, concerning the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. IV. His disputation in the schools, as he wrote it, after it was over. V. A letter, "Ad Fratres in diversis carceribus." All these fell into the hands of the Papists by this mishap, or treachery. Grimbold, expressing a great desire to have everything that Ridley had writ during his imprisonment, Mr. Shipside, Ridley's brother-in-law, procured and sent him all those writings before mentioned; but they were all seized, whether in Grimbold's possession, or in the sending them to him, it was uncertain. Some suspected Grimbold himself, but others rather the messenger; for it would not enter into Shipside's head that Grimbold should play such a Judas' part.

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[1] [Coverdale's] "Letters of the Martyrs," [pp. 52, 53].

[2] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. pp. 410—423.]

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## CHAPTER XII.

### *A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.*

Great care was now to be taken of getting Parliament men that might do what was to be laid before them, now the Pope's legate was to be received, and the last Parliament failing expectation. Therefore, letters were despatched from the queen, and interests made all the nation over, to procure such persons to be elected as should be named to them. In a manuscript, containing divers orders that were sent into Norfolk in Queen Mary's time, there is a letter from that queen, anno 2°, dated October 6, to the earl of Sussex, directing him to assist in choosing such men to sit in Parliament, "as were of wise, grave, and Catholic sort; such as indeed meant the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the nation. The advancement whereof we, (as the letter runneth), and our dear husband the king, do chiefly profess and intend, without alteration of any man's particular possession, as, amongst other false rumours, the hinderers of our good purposes, and favourers of heresies, do most utterly report." For, to make the intent of restoring the abbey lands to be the less credited, it was thought convenient to be laid upon the heretics. With these general letters there seemed to go private instructions what particular men were to be set up; for, upon the aforesaid letter, the earl of Sussex sent a letter, October 14, to Sir Tho[mas] Wodehouse, high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to Sir William Wodehouse, about the elections of knights of those shires, viz.:—"That they should reserve their interests and voices for such as he should name, and that he would soon consult with them about the matter." He then, in pursuit of the queen's letter, recommended to the bailiff of Yarmouth, John Millicent, to be elected burgess for that town. This Parliament sat November 11.

Cardinal Pole was this summer brought to Flanders by the emperor, who had stayed him before on the way. The queen sent over the Lord Paget and the Lord Hastings to the cardinal to conduct him over, in quality of the Pope's legate. And the same day he landed at Dover, (which was November 21), the bill passed for the taking off his attainder. Three days after he came to London, and so to Lambeth-house, which was ready prepared for his coming. Cardinal Pole, before he came into England, and in the last reign, had the reputation here ordinarily of a virtuous, sober, and learned man, and was much beloved by the English nation, as well for his qualities, as his honourable extraction. Latimer, in one of his sermons before King Edward, hath these words of him: "I never remember that man, (speaking of Pole), but I remember him with a heavy heart; a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house: so in favour, that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, he had been bishop of York at this day. And he would have done much good in that part of the realm; for those quarters have always had need of learned men, and a preaching prelate."[1] One great author the cardinal much conversed in, was St. Hierome. Latimer wished "that he would have followed St. Hierome in his exposition of that place, 'Come out of her, my people;' where that father understood it of Rome, and called that city, 'The purple whore of Babylon.' Almighty God saith, 'Get you from it:' get you from Rome, saith Hierome. It were, (subjoined Latimer), more commendable to go from it, than to come to it, as Pole hath done."[2]

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[1] [See Parker Society's edition of Latimer's Works, vol. i. p. 173.]

[2] [Id. ibid.]

Soon after his return into England, he was mighty busy in reconciling the realm to the Pope. He performed it in his own person to the Parliament, on the 30th of November, with much solemnity; and to the Convocation on the 6th of December. On which day, the Parliament being dissolved, he, the lord legate, sent for the whole Convocation of [the] upper and lower house to Lambeth, and there he absolved them all from their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, which absolution they received upon their knees. Then he gave them an exhortation, and congratulated their conversion; and so they departed.

January 23, upon the dismission of the Convocation, the bishops and inferior clergy waited again upon the legate at Lambeth; where he willed them all to repair to their cures and charges, and exhorted them to entreat their flocks with all mildness, and to endeavour to win them by gentleness, rather than by extremity and rigour; and so let them depart.

January 28, he granted a commission to [Gardiner] the bishop of Winchester, and divers other bishops, to sit upon, and judge according to the laws lately revived against heretics, all such ministers and others that were in prison for heresy, which was done undoubtedly to take off all the eminentest of the Protestant clergy, then in hold. And the very same day, (such haste they made), they sat in commission, in St. Mary Overies church,[1] upon Rogers, Hooper, and Cardmaker. And, the next to that, upon Hooper and Rogers again, upon Taylor also, and Bradford; when the two former were formally excommunicated. The day following they sat upon Taylor and Bradford again; to which were added Farrar, Crome, and Saunders. Then they excommunicated Bradford and Saunders.[2]

But, that this reconciliation to the Pope and church of Rome might sound the louder in all parts and corners of the nation, and all persons everywhere might make their formal submissions to the Pope, and thankfully take the mighty benefit of his yoke upon them again, the legate was not contented to reconcile the nation himself under their representatives in the Parliament and Convocation; but, upon pretence that he could not, in his own person, pardon and reconcile all the people, therefore he granted out a commission to each bishop, in his own diocese, to do it to their respective clergy and laity, deputed in his name, and by his authority derived from the Pope.

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[1] [St. Saviour's, Southwark.]

[2] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 587—589.]

Such a commission he granted, February 8, to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, that see being then held vacant: "Therein authorizing them to absolve all manner of persons, as well lay as ecclesiastics, religious as secular, from their schism, heresies, and errors, and from all censures due thereupon. And to dispense with the clergy upon divers irregularities; as with such who had received orders from schismatical bishops, or had been collated into their livings by them. To dispense also with the religious and regulars for departing from their cloisters without the Pope's license, permitting them to wear the habit of priests, and to serve cures, considering the scarcity of priests, and to live out of their cloisters. Also, to dispense with priests that had married wives, though they were widows, or women defiled, and with such who had been twice married, doing penance and forsaking their wives. Allowing them to minister at the altar, and to serve cures, provided it were out of the dioceses where they were married. The said bishops, by this commission, were also empowered to grant, to fit rectors and curates, a power to reconcile and absolve their respective parishes." This commission I have placed in the Appendix,[1] as it was transcribed out of the Register of the church of Canterbury.

The lord legate also, for the better discharging of this his mighty office, gave out his instructions how the bishops and officials of the vacant sees should perform this work of the reconciliation, deputed to them by the said legate, together with the form of absolution to be pronounced. Which instructions and form, as they were extracted from the said Register, may be found in the Appendix.[2] Each bishop was to call before him the clergy of his respective city, and to instruct them in divers things; as, concerning the Pope's fatherly love and charity towards the English nation, in sending Cardinal Pole his legate hither, as soon as he knew the Lady Mary was declared queen, to bring this kingdom, so long separated from the Catholic Church, into union with it, and to comfort and restore them to the grace of God; concerning the joyful coming of the said legate; concerning what was done the last Parliament, when the Lords and Commons were reconciled; and concerning the repealing of all the laws made against the authority of the Roman see by the two last kings, and restoring obedience to the Pope and church of Rome, concerning the authority restored likewise to the bishops, especially that they might proceed against heretics and schismatics. Then the bishops were to acquaint their clergy with the faculties yielded to them by the legate; which were to be read openly. Then all that were lapsed into error and schism were to be invited humbly to crave absolution and reconciliation, and dispensations as well for their orders as for their benefices. Next, a day was fixed when the clergy were to appear and petition for the said absolutions and dispensations. On which day, after they had confessed their errors, and sacramentally promised that they would make confession of the same to the bishop himself, or some other Catholic priests, and to perform the penance that should be enjoined them; then the bishop was to reconcile them, and to dispense with their irregularities, always observing a distinction between those that only fell into schism and error, and those who were the teachers of them, and leaders of others into sin. The same time was to be appointed another day for a solemn festival, wherein the bishops and curates, in their churches should signify to the people all that the bishops before had spoken to their clergy, and then should invite them all to confess their errors, and to return into the bosom of the Church, promising them that all their past crimes should be forgiven if so be they repented of them, and renounced them. And a certain term was to be fixed, namely, the whole octaves of Easter, within which term all should come and be reconciled. But, the time to be reconciled in being lapsed, all that remained unreconciled, as also all that returned to their vomit after they had been reconciled, were to be most severely proceeded against.

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[1] No. LXXX.

[2] No. LXXXI.

The said bishops and officials, where any sees were vacant, were to name and depute the rectors of the parish churches, and other fit persons, who should absolve the laity of their parishes from heresy, and schism, and censures, according to a form to be given them by the bishops.

The bishops, and officials, and curates were to have each a book, in which were to be writ the names and parishes of all that were reconciled, that it might afterwards be known who were reconciled, and who were not.

After the octave of Easter was past, the bishops were to visit, first their cities, and then their dioceses, and to summon before them all such as had not been reconciled; and to know of them the cause why they would not depart from their errors; and, remaining obstinate in them, they were to proceed against them.

In this visitation all the clergy were to be required to show the titles of their orders and benefices, and notice was to be taken if any defect were therein. And now the bishops were to take care to root out any errors in their dioceses, and to depute fit persons to make sermons, and hear confessions. They were also to take care to have the sacred canons observed, and to have inserted into the books of service the name of St. Thomas the Martyr, and of the Pope, formerly blotted out, and to pray for the Pope, according as it was used before the schism.

They were advised to insist much upon the great miseries we were in before, and the great grace that God now had shewed to this people, exhorting them to acknowledge these mercies, and devoutly to pray for the king and queen, that had deserved so exceedingly well of this kingdom, and especially to pray for a happy offspring from the queen.

In these instructions there are several strictures, that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the heretics, (as the professors of the gospel were then styled), as is reported, but rather the contrary; and that he went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquisition by him set up, whereby not a man might escape that stood not well affected to Popery! I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that, in every place and parish in England were reconciled; and so, whosoever were not found in those books might be known to be no friends to the Pope, and so to be proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all that good opinion that men had before conceived of him vanished, and they found themselves much mistaken in him, especially seeing so many learned and pious Gospel bishops and ministers imprisoned and martyred under him and by his commission. Insomuch that now people spake of him as bad as of the Pope himself, or the worst of his cardinals. The Gospellers before this did use to talk much among themselves, that he did but dissemble at Rome in his present outward compliances with them and their superstitions; and that he would, upon a good opportunity, shew himself an open professor of the truth. And indeed he often had conferences before him of Christ, and of the Gospel, of a living faith, and justification by faith alone; and he often would wish the true doctrine might prevail. But now the mask was taken off, and he shewed himself what he was. A notable letter to this purpose was written, concerning the cardinal, about this time, by a pious Italian to his friend, who had conceived these good opinions of him. This I have put in the Appendix,[1] and the rather, because it will give some light into our present history.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### *A Convocation. Articles framed therein.*

At a Convocation the latter end of this year, an address was made by the lower house to the upper, wherein they petitioned for divers things, in twenty-eight articles, meet to be considered for the reformation of the clergy. One whereof was, "That all books, both Latin and English, concerning any heretical, erroneous, or slanderous doctrines, might be destroyed and burnt throughout the realm." And among these books they set Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, his book, made against the sacrament

[1] No. LXXXII.

of the altar, in the forefront; and then, next, the "Schismatical Book," as they called it, viz. the Communion Book. To which they subjoined the book of ordering ecclesiastical ministers, and all suspect translations of the Old and New Testament; and all other books of that nature. So that, if Cranmer's book was burnt, it was burnt with very good company—the Holy Bible, and the Communion Book. And that such as had these books should bring the same to the ordinary by a certain day, or otherwise to be taken and reputed as favourers of those doctrines. And that it might be lawful for all bishops to make inquiry, from time to time, for such books, and to take them from the owners. And, for the repressing of such pestilent books, order should be taken with all speed, that none such should be printed or sold within the realm, nor brought from beyond sea, upon grievous penalties. And from another article we may learn from what spring all the bloody doings that followed the ensuing years sprang; namely, from the Popish clergy. For they petitioned, "That the statutes made in the fifth of Richard II. and in the second of Henry IV. and the second of Henry V. against heresy, Lollards, and false preachers, might be revived, and put in force. And that bishops, and other ecclesiastical ordinaries [whose hands had been tied by some later acts], might be restored to their pristine jurisdiction against heretics, schismatics, and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were in the first year of Henry VIII." I shall not recite here the whole address, as I find it in a volume of the Benet College library,[1] because the bishop of Sarum hath faithfully printed it thence in his history.[2] Only I observe, that the 17th article is in the manuscript scratched out and crossed; viz. "That all exempt places whatsoever might be from henceforth under the jurisdiction of the archbishop or bishop, or archdeacon, in whose dioceses or archdeaconries they were." That they judged might grate a little too much upon the Pope's authority, which they were now receiving, since these exemptions were made by popes. And the last, or 28th article, was added by another hand; viz. "That all ecclesiastical persons that had lately spoiled cathedral, collegiate, or other churches, of their own heads, might be compelled to restore them, and all and singular things by them taken away, or to the true value, and to re-edify such things as by them were destroyed or defaced." This I suppose was added by Bonner's interest, that he might hereby have a pretence against Ridley, his predecessor; it affording a fair opportuuity to crush the good bishops and preachers that had, in zeal to God's glory, taken away out of their churches all instruments of superstition and idolatry. And it might serve their turn, who had lately, in a most barbarous manner, plundered the rich archbishop of York.

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[1] Intit. Synodalia [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxxi. fol. 33, *et* 55].

[2] [Hist. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 266 [vol. ii. part ii. book 2, No. 16, pp. 372—379].

And as they of this Convocation were for burning heretics' books, so they were as well disposed to the burning of the heretics themselves. For Protestants were already not only imprisoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commissions from the queen and the lord chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the Convocation started this objection, "That there was no law to condemn them," Weston, the prolocutor, answered, "It forceth not for a law; we have a commission to proceed with them; and, when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law."

## CHAPTER XIV.

### *The Condition of the Protestants in Prison. Freewillers.*

By this time, by the diligence of the Papists, the Popish religion was fully established in England. This apostasy Cranmer saw with a sad heart before his death, and all his labour overturned. And Ridley sends the bad news of it from Oxon to Grindal, beyond sea, in these words: "To tell you much naughty matter in a few words, 'Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.'"[1]

As for the Protestants, some were put in prisons, some escaped beyond sea, some went to mass, and some recanted, and many were burned, and ended their lives in the flames for religion's sake.

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[1] [See Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, p. 393; and Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 435.]

They that were in prison, whereof Cranmer was the chief, being the pastors and teachers of the flock, did what in them lay to keep up the religion, under this persecution, among the professors, which made them write many comfortable and instructive letters to them, and send them their advices, according as opportunity served.

One thing there now fell out, which caused some disturbance among the prisoners. Many of them that were under restraint for the profession of the Gospel, were such as held free-will, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refused the doctrine of absolute predestination, and original sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions and disputations, and unquiet. Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford, and many other Gospellers were. Many whereof by their conferences they gained to their own persuasions. Bradford had much discourse with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart, who had writ something in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers also among them; Kemp, Gibson, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning; and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and despised. Bradford was apprehensive that they might now do great harm in the Church, and therefore out of prison wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed, (though oppressed), church in England, to take some cognizance of this matter, and to consult with them in remedying it. And with him joined Bishop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot. This letter, worthy to be read, may be found among the letters of the martyrs, and transcribed in the Appendix.[1] Upon this occasion, Ridley wrote a treatise of "God's Election and Predestination."[2] And Bradford wrote another upon the same subject;[3] and sent it to those three fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and, theirs being obtained, the rest of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to sign it also.

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[1] No. LXXXIII.

[2] [This treatise has, unhappily, perished; see Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, in biograph. notice, p. xvi.]

[3] [The treatise entitled the "Defence of Election," published in the Parker Society's edition of Bradford's Works, vol. i. pp. 307—330,

I have seen another letter of Bradford to certain of these men, who were said to hold the error of the Pelagians and Papists concerning man's free-will, and were then prisoners with him in the King's Bench. By which letter it appeared, that Bradford had often resorted to them, and conferred with them; and, at his own charge and hinderance, had done them good. But, seeing their obstinacy and clamours against him, he forbore to come at them any more; but yet wrote letters to them, and sent them relief. They told him, "he was a great slander to the church of God" in respect of his doctrine, "in that he believed and affirmed the salvation of God's children to be so certain, that they should assuredly enjoy the same." For they said, "it hanged partly upon our perseverance to the end." Bradford said, "it hung upon God's grace in Christ, and not upon our perseverance in any point: for then were grace no grace."[1] They charged him that he was not so kind to them as he ought in the distribution of the charity-money, that was then sent by well-disposed persons to the prisoners in Christ [of which Bradford was the purse-bearer]; but he assured them "he never defrauded them of the value of a penny," and at that time sent them at once thirteen shillings and fourpence; and, "if they needed as much more, he promised that they should have it."[2] But, abating these little casual heats and peevishnesses, there was a good Christian correspondence maintained among them. The forementioned holy man advised them, "that though in some things they agreed not, yet let love bear the bell away; and let us pray," said he, "one for another, and be careful one for another." He said, "that he was persuaded of them, that they feared the Lord; and therefore he loved them. I have loved you in Him, my dear hearts, though you have taken it otherwise, without cause on me given." He added, "that he had not suffered any copy of his treatise of 'Predestination' to go abroad, because

was in all probability that above referred to, and to which the letter in the Appendix refers.]

[1] [Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 500, 501.]

[2] [Id. p. 365.]

he would suppress all occasion so far as might be. I am going," said he, "before you to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Christ and your Christ, to my home and your home."[1]

By Bradford's pains and diligence he gained some from their errors; and particularly one Skelthorp; for whom, in a letter to Careless, he thanked God, who gave this man to see the truth at the length, and to give place to it; hoping that he would be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance might thereby think themselves gone astray.[2]

Careless also, another eminent martyr, as well as Bradford, had much conference with these men, prisoners with him in the King's Bench. Of whose contentiousness he complained in a letter to Philpot. And there is extant an answer of Philpot to Careless about them; where he writes, "That he was sorry to hear of the great trouble which these schismatics did daily put him to, and wished that he were with him in part, to release his grief. He bade him take his advice, and to be patient, whatsoever his adversaries could say or do against him; that he should commit the success of his labours [in rightly informing these men] unto God; and not to cease, with charity, to do his endeavour in the defence of the truth, against these arrogant and self-willed blinded scatterers. That these sects were necessary for the trial of our faith, and for the beautifying thereof, not to be perverted with them that were perverse and intractable. That he should show as much modesty and humility as he might possible; and that then others, seeing his modest conversation among these contentious babblers, should glorify God in the truth of him, and the more abhor them. That he should be content that Shimei do rail at David, and cast stones a while. That he should desire all the brethren, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to keep the bond of peace, which is the unity of Christ's Church; to let no root of bitterness spring up, which the devil, with all his diligence, seeketh to thrust in among the children of God. To kiss one another with the kiss of unfeigned brotherly love, and to take one another by the hand cheerfully, and say, Let us take up our cross together, and go to the mount of Calvary."[1]

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[1] Martyrs' Letters [Coverdale, p. 363].

[2] [Id. p. 287.]

This contention could not be laid asleep amongst them, notwithstanding the grievous tribulations they endured for the same cause of religion. They wrote also against one another; for, in 1556, Careless wrote a confession of his faith, some part whereof favoured absolute predestination against free-will. This confession he sent unto the Protestant prisoners in Newgate from the King's Bench, where he lay. Whereunto they generally subscribed, and particularly twelve that were a little before condemned to die. Hart, having gotten a copy of this confession, on the backside thereof wrote his confession in opposition thereunto. When they in Newgate had subscribed Careless' confession, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gibson, would have persuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain also wrote against it. I do not meet with this confession; only I find one article was, "that the second book of Common Prayer, set forth in King Edward's days, was good and godly; but that the Church of Christ hath authority to enlarge and diminish things in the same book, so far forth as it is agreeable to Scripture." This paper of Careless' confession, with the answer wrote on the back-side by Hart, fell by some accident into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great Papist, who took occasion hence to scoff at the professors of the Gospel, because of these divisions and various opinions amongst them. But Careless, before the said Martin, disowned Hart, and said that he had seduced and beguiled many a simple soul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of King Edward, and since his departure.[2]

Besides these anti-predestinarians, there were some few, who lay in prison for the Gospel, were Arians, and disbelieved the divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of these lay in the King's Bench. These different opinions occasioned such unseemly quarrelsome disputes and heats among them, that the marshal was fain to separate them from one another. And, in 1556, the noise of this reached to the

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[1] [Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 188, 189.]

[2] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 164.]

Council; who, the better to know the matters controverted between them, sent Dr. Martin to the King's Bench to examine it.

These were some of the transactions that passed among the prisoners. Another matter concerning them deserves relating, which was this: they boldly and bravely made a declaration to the queen and Parliament that sat this year: taxing them for overthrowing, (as they had lately done), the laws of King Henry and King Edward, and the Reformation so maturely and deliberately made, and after the rejection of a religion, which, as they said, there was not a parish in England desired to have restored again. They offered likewise to maintain the homilies and service, set forth in King Edward's days, before them, either by writing, or by disputation in the English tongue. By whom this declaration was drawn up, unless by John Bradford, I know not; for I meet with it in a MS. which contains divers pieces of that good man. This remarkable declaration I have reposited in the Appendix.[1] This, now, is the second time a public challenge was made to justify King Edward's Reformation; the former, the last year, by Cranmer; the latter now, by divers of the learned men in prison.

After they had lain fifteen or sixteen months thus in prison, their livings, houses, and possessions, goods and books taken from them, they made such another address unto the king and queen, and the Parliament; therein undertaking, either by word or writing, before them, or indifferent arbiters to be appointed by them, to prove themselves no heretics, nor teachers of heresy, as they were pretended to be, nor cut off from the true Catholic church, (though by the Popish clergy excommunicated); and, secondly, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, and apostles, and the godly fathers of the Church, to prove the doctrine of the Church, the homilies and service, taught and used in King Edward's time, to be the true doctrine of Christ's Catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith. And this was the third public challenge they made. This being preserved in Fox's Acts, I forbear to transcribe it.[2]

[1] No. LXXXIV.

[2] Edit. 1610, p. 1348 [vol. vi. pp. 589, 590].

## CHAPTER XV.

### *The Exiles, and their Condition.*

But let us now turn our eyes from the prisoners, which were kept under close confinement here in England, unto the exiles, that, by the good providence of God, made their flight into foreign countries from these storms at home. These were both of the clergy and laity, who, though great watch was laid for them, and prohibitions given out against any that should privately attempt to transport themselves, yet, by taking their opportunities, and the favour of divers masters of small vessels at Lee, in Essex, and upon the coasts in those parts, they safely got to the other side of the sea.

They scattered themselves, and took up their harbours as they could. But they found little hospitality in Saxony, and other places in Germany, where Lutheranism was professed. But, on the contrary, the exile English were much hated by those of that profession, because they looked upon them as Sacramentaries, and holding as Calvin and Peter Martyr did in the doctrine of the Sacrament. Therefore, when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled them out of their cities. And when a grave pastor of Saxony, (a friend of Peter Martyr's, who, though he were a minister, yet was not of their mind), had entertained some of them, the rest clamoured against him, and hated him for it.[1] About this time, the Saxon divines wrote many books against the Sacramentaries; and namely, one Joachim Westphalus wrote a book against Calvin.[2] And he and the rest got these books printed at Frankfort, on purpose, as Martyr conjectured, the more to spite the English and French churches that abode now there, and to provoke them.

At Wessel, the English were under some trouble; and the senate were about to command them to depart thence, because of their different sentiments from the Augustan Confession in some points.[3] But Philip Melancthon interposed, and interceded with the senate on their behalf. And, when some clamoured against them, he took their part, saying, "That their case ought to be weighed by friendly disputations, and not exploded by noise and hissing; and declared his judgment to be, that these poor exiles were to be retained and helped, not afflicted and vexed by any rough sentence." He wrote also to the governors of Frankfort to the same purpose, viz.: "That the English were not to be oppressed, but to be cherished, considering their sentiments were sound in the main articles of the Christian confession; and that, whereas they differed in some points, they were to be instructed and informed, and not to be rudely thrown out from among them by force and violence."

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[1] Mart. Ep. p. 770.

[2] Ep. Pet. Mart. ad Calvin.

[3] Bal. Præf. ad Act. Pontif. [p. 13].

And, indeed, it was admirable to observe at this time the exceeding heats that were in the Lutherans against all other Protestants, only for differing from them in this one point of the sacrament. There was a book published in the year 1555, in favour of their opinion of the corporeal presence, which was called, "Farrago Doctrinæ Lutheranæ." This P. Martyr called *valde insulsa*—a very foolish book. It contained a collection of sentences out of the Fathers, and also out of the writings of Luther, Philip, Brentius, Pomeran, &c. They added some out of Bucer, Illyricus, and Joachim Westphalus, to shew that they agreed together. They inserted divers letters, sometime writ against the Sacramentaries. Indeed Calvin and Martyr they mentioned not by name, but à Lasco they did. In this book there was a discourse added under this title, "Quod Christi corpus sit ubique;" which was to serve as a proof of their doctrine. And in the conclusion there was a common-place, "De magistratus officio," which was thought to be put in upon no other reason, but to inflame and irritate princes against the Sacramentaries. These Saxon divines were exceeding hot against those that believed not as they did: in their ordinary discourses they styled them *Heretics*, *False Prophets*, *Suermeros*, *Sacramentiperdas*. About this time they were gathering new votes against Calvin, and, as it was thought, they intended to attempt some excommunication against such as differed from them in this point. And this that I have said is enough to explain the reason of the inhospitality of the Lutherans to our exiles.

But in other places they were received with much kindness, and had the liberty of their religious worship granted them; as in Strasburgh, Frankfort, Embden, Duisburg, Basle, Zurich, Arrau, Geneva.

At Zurich they were received into one house with Bullinger, and had great favour and countenance shewn them by the townsmen and magistrates, who offered them, by Bullinger, to supply them with such a quantity of bread-corn and wine as should serve to sustain thirteen or fourteen people. But they with thanks refused it, having, I suppose, wherewith to subsist otherwise of themselves, and being willing to be as little burdensome as might be.

In these places some followed their studies, some taught schools, some wrote books, some assisted at the printing-press, and grew very dear to the learned men in those places. At Embden, they having gotten among them, by Sir John Cheke's means, as was thought, an original copy of Archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, translated it into Latin, and printed it there with a preface before it.[1] And there they preserved the said original, as a most invaluable treasure. Here they printed other good books in English, and conveyed them into England. At Geneva a club of them employed themselves in translating the Holy Bible into English, intending to do it with more correctness than had hitherto been done, having the opportunity of consulting with Calvin and Beza in order thereunto. What they performed may be perceived by the Bible that goes under the name of the Geneva Bible at this day. It was in those days, when it first came forth, better esteemed of than of later times. At Frankfort, where they had great countenance of the magistrates of the city, arose great contentions and quarrels among themselves about the discipline of the church, and in framing a new service, different from what was before set forth in King Edward's reign, to be used in the public congregation: which new service came nearer to the form of the church of Geneva.

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[1] [This Latin version of "Cranmer's Book of the Sacrament" will be found in the Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. i. Appendix.]

This occasioned great troubles, animosities, and separations, to the discredit of themselves and the Reformation. These matters may be seen at large in the "Troubles at Frankfort.[1] There is one thing which, that book making, I think, no mention of, I will here relate. Some of the English upon this dissension carried their children to be baptized by Lutheran priests; for though the Lutherans were against the poor exiles, they thought so well of them, as to be willing their children should be initiated into the church by their ministry. The occasion whereof seemed to be, that, in the divisions of this church, one party would not let their children be baptized by the English minister. This causing a new disturbance, some wrote to the great divine, P. Martyr, now at Argentine, for his resolution of this question: "An liceat hominibus evangelicis baptismum a Lutheranis accipere." To this he answered in a letter to the church, disapproving of their doings; telling them, "That the way to heal their differences was, to bring their children to be baptized in such churches, with which they agreed in faith and doctrine." So that this created a new quarrel among them; for some held it unlawful to receive baptism from those that were not orthodox in their doctrine; and others again thought it lawful. And this made them send to Martyr for his judgment, as aforesaid, who wrote, "That he would not say it was unlawful, for that it could not be judged by the Word of God; but he disliked the practice, and propounded divers arguments against it." Those that were for it, said, "It was an indifferent thing." To which Martyr made this reply, "That indifferent things were not to be used to the scandal of the weak." They said, "The difference was not so great between us in the matter of the sacrament." But Martyr said, "It was of great moment, because in it there was a contest concerning the chief head of religion." They added, "That the Lutheran divines did think, in the matter of baptism, as they did." But Martyr answered, "That they were mistaken; for those divines affirmed more of the sacrament than is fit; and tied the grace of God to baptism; and that they thought there was no salvation without baptism; and that they affirmed that infants had faith."

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[1] [This work has recently been republished, in a reprint from the black-letter edition of 1575.]

To the exiles residing here at Frankfort, some, in the year 1555, conveyed Gardiner's book against Cranmer, entitled "Marcus Antonius," with Ridley's answer to the objections of that book, and a treatise in English of transubstantiation, wrote by the same Ridley. This last they intended to turn into Latin, and so to print both. But, on second thoughts, they demurred upon it; fearing it might enrage Gardiner the more against Ridley, who was yet alive. Whereupon Grindal wrote to him to know his mind therein before they proceeded to print.

Many of the fugitives took up their residence at Basle upon two reasons; one was, because the people of that city were especially very kind and courteous unto such English as came thither for shelter; the other, because those that were of slenderer fortunes might have employment in the printing-houses there, the printers in Basle in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactness and elegancy of their printing. And they rather chose Englishmen for the overseers and correctors of their presses, being noted for the most careful and diligent of all others. Whereby many poor scholars made a shift to subsist in these hard times.

Indeed, many of these exiles assisted in promoting of learning and religion, by publishing to the world their own or other men's writings.

John Scory, that had been bishop of Chichester, wrote a very comfortable epistle unto all the faithful that were in prison, or in any other trouble for the defence of God's truth; printed in the year 1555. He was preacher to the English congregation at Embden, and styled their superintendent. From hence this, and many other good books, were sent into England, by certain persons, to be dispersed about in London and other places. There was one Elizabeth Young that came thence with a book, called "Antichrist," and several others, who was taken up for bringing in prohibited and heretical books, and endured much trouble.[1] There was also another, named Thomas Bryce, that brought books from Wesel into Kent and London; he was watched and dogged, but escaped several times. Sir John Baker, a Kentish man, and a great Papist, and a courtier, laid his spies to attack him.[1]

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 536—548.]

John Old printed a book at Waterford, 1555, entitled, "The Acquittal, or Purgation of the most Catholic Christian Prince, Edward VI. against all such as blasphemously and traitorously infamed him, or the Church in his Reign, of Heresy or Sedition." The writing of this book was occasioned from the preachers of England in Queen Mary's time, in their sermons at St. Paul's Cross, and in other pulpits; "spewing out," as the book expresseth it, "with scolding, roaring, and railing, the poison of Antichrist's traditions; and infaming the order, form, and use of preaching, prayers and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth and exercised by common authority in the church of England, reformed under the government of Edward VI., and vilely slandering of his father, King Henry VIII., for banishing the violent usurped power and supremacy of the Romish ancient Antichrist for his brother's known wife, and for taking justly upon him the title and estate of supremacy, incident and appertaining, by the undoubted ordinance of God, to his regal office and imperial crown."

Thomas Sampson, formerly dean of Chichester, wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of Alhallows, Bread-street, where, in King Edward's time, he had been incumbent.

William Turner, doctor of physic, and that had been physician in the duke of Somerset's family, and after dean of Wells, another exile, put forth a book, anno 1555, called "A new Book of Spiritual Physic for divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentlemen of England;" dedicating it to divers of the chief nobility. It consisted of three parts. In the first, he shewed who were noble and gentlemen, and how many works and properties belong unto such, and wherein their office chiefly standeth. In the second part, he shewed great diseases were in the nobility and gentry, which letted them from doing their office. In the third part, he specified what the diseases were: as namely, the whole palsy, the dropsy, the Romish pox, and the leprosy; shewing afterward the remedies against these diseases. For, being a very facetious man, he delivered his reproofs and counsels under witty and pleasant discourse. He wrote also "The Hunting of the Romish Fox."

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[1] [Id. vol. viii. p. 578.]

John Jewel, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, assisted Peter Martyr at Strasburgh in setting out his Commentaries upon the Book of Judges; who, being public reader of divinity there, had first read those Commentaries, and had many learned Englishmen for his auditors; as Poinet, Grindal, Sands, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, and divers other knights and gentlemen, as well as divines. And, when he was removed to Zurich to succeed Pelican, he took Jewel with him thither. In Frankfort there happening, as was said before, unhappy contentions about ceremonies and matters of discipline, (and it was feared that these dissensions might spread themselves into the other fraternities in Zurich and other places), Jewel's great business was to allay these animosities, partly by letters and partly by his own verbal exhortations, "that they should, as brethren, lay aside strife and emulation, especially for such small matters; that they would hereby offend the minds of all good men; which things they ought to have a special heed of." Some who seemed more complaining and uneasy at these things, he exhorted to patience, admonishing, "that we ought not to leap from the smoke into the fire; and that we ought to bear a part in Christ's cross, and to consider how much better it was with them than with their poor brethren, that endured tortures in England." And he would often repeat to them, "Bear awhile then; things will not endure an age."

Thomas Becon, formerly a minister in Canterbury, and well known to the archbishop, wrote an epistle in his exile, and sent it to certain godly brethren in England, declaring in it the causes of all the miseries and calamities that were fallen upon England; how they might be redressed, and what a merciful Lord our God is to all faithful penitent sinners, that unfeignedly turn to Him. This epistle was brought into England, and read of the brethren in their religious meetings, not without fruit. In this epistle he added a supplication to God, at good length, "for the restoring of his holy word to the Church of England; wherein the devout Christian complaineth his grief and sorrow to his Lord for taking away the light of Christ's

Gospel; and, humbly acknowledging his fault, and worthy punishment, most heartily wisheth the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom, and the restitution of Christ's most glorious kingdom in this realm." He wrote also an epistle to the massing priests, wherein he shewed what a wicked idol the mass was, and what a difference there was between the Lord's Supper and that; and what popes brought in every part of the mass, and put them together, as it was then used.

Laurence Humfrey, while he was in exile, wrote a book in Latin, intituled, "Optimates," being instructions for noblemen, in three books. It was printed at Basle by Oporinus, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, soon after her entrance upon her kingdom. The reason of this his discourse was out of a universal love to mankind, and desire to better the condition of the world, whose welfare depended so much upon the sobriety and virtue of those of noble rank and quality: "Since nobility, as he wrote, widely spread itself through all the regions and coasts of Christendom, and was preferred to places of trust and honour in all princes' courts, and was the very nerve and strength of commonwealths; and since from it issued the greatest helps or hinderances to the public safety, pure religion, the lives and manners of men; therefore he thought, the gentry and nobility being imbued with right and Christian opinions, not formed to the corrupt rules of antiquity, kings would govern better, the ministers of ecclesiastical matters would more faithfully perform their functions, and the common sort would more diligently discharge all necessary offices, and the whole commonweal might seem more healthfully to breathe, to live, and to recover and persist in a good constitution." Besides this excellent book both for the matter and elegancy of the Latin style, he printed two or three other things at Basle; and he wrote, while he was abroad, a Commentary upon the Prophet Isaiah. But I know not whether it were published.

Bartholomew Traheron, library-keeper to King Edward, and dean of Chichester, made divers readings to the English congregation upon the beginning of St. John's Gospel; and after printed them, against the wicked enterprises of the new start-up Arians in England.

John Fox, famous to posterity for his immense labours in his Acts and Monuments, was received by the accurate and learned printer Oporinus of Basle, for the corrector of his press. He published, (and which, I think, was the first thing he published, and his first-fruits), a Chronological History of the Church. The first part from the first times unto Martin Luther. This book he presented unto Oporinus, with a handsome epistle; wherein "he desired to be received by him into his service, and that he would vouchsafe to be his learned patron, under whom he might follow his studies, being one that would be content with a small salary: promising him, that, if he would employ him either there, at Basle, or at Argentine, or some university, (which he should rather choose), " Aut me," said he, " destituent omnia, aut efficiam, Christo opitulante, ut omnes politioris literaturæ homines intelligant, quantum Operiano et nomini et officinæ debeant."

While he was here employed by Oporinus, at spare hours he began his History of the Acts of the Church, in Latin, which he drew out more briefly at first, and, before his return home into England, well near finished. Having here completed the copy, which was but the first part of what he intended, but making a just volume in folio, he sent this work to Basle to be printed; and so it was in the year 155—. It remained many years after in those parts in great request, and was read by foreign nations; although hardly known at all by our own. Being now in peace and safety at home, Fox reviewed this his work, and in the year 1566 first published it in English very voluminous, because of those many relations of the persecutions in Queen Mary's days, that came to his hands. All this work he did himself, without the help of any amanuensis, nor had he any servant to do his necessary domestic business; being fain to be often diverted by his own private occasions from his work. He afterwards enlarged these his labours into three large volumes, which have since undergone many editions.

But to look back to what he published in his exile; there came to his hand all the trials and examinations of the learned martyr John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, drawn up by himself; and, finally, his death, being burnt in Smithfield, 1555. These things Fox put into Latin, (as he had an excellent Latin style), and printed with this title:

"Mira ac elegans cum primis historia, vel tragœdia potius, de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Archidiaconi Wincestriæ, nuper in Anglia exusti; Ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinum versa, interprete J. F. A." He had also a great hand in publishing of Zonaras and Balsamon upon the Apostles' Canons in Latin; to which he set this title: "Enarrationes, seu Commentarii in canones sanctorum apostolorum et synodorum, tum quæ universales, tum quæ provinciales; quæque item et privatim quorundam priscorum patrum propriæ extiterunt. Autoribus Jo. Zonara monacho religiosæ et sanctæ Glyceriæ: qui prius Drungarius, seu Præfectus erat Biglæ, et summus secretarius. Atque etiam Theodoro Balsamensi; qui prius ecclesiæ Antiochenæ diaconus, librarius seu custos chartarum, et præpositus Blachernensium, deinde et archiepiscopus est factus ejusdem ecclesiæ simul et totius Orientis." Which probably was a book printed at Oporinus' press, over which he had care; and made this title, and perhaps translated it into Latin.

Here at Basle Fox was set on work by Peter Martyr to translate into Latin Archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament; that is, his large dispute with Winchester. Which Fox fell upon, while Cranmer was yet in prison. "In quo [libro] videbit spero, (saith he, in a letter to Oporinus), propediem universa Germania, quicquid de causa Eucharistica vel dici vel objici, vel excogitari a quoquam poterit." But this never saw the light, the manuscript thereof yet lying in my hands. In 1557, Fox set forth a little book, pleading the cause of the afflicted with their persecutors, and comforting the afflicted. Of which Thomas Lever, who was preacher to the English congregation at Arrau, gave this character, in a letter[1] which he sent to Fox, who had presented him with this book.

"SALUTEM P. in Christo, charissime frater; literas tuas accepi, et libellum parvum, in quo magna cum eruditione, et pientissimo zelo, causam afflictorum apud persecutores tyrannos sic agis, ut omnes, qui curant aut impios admonendos, aut pios consolatione recreandos, id plene a te perfectum videant. Quod ipsi bene curatum velint. Et quoniam meæ vocationis munus in hujusmodi admonitionibus et consolationibus versatur plurimum, scias velim, quod misso ad me parvo libello, magnum dedisti mihi beneficium. Dignum igitur, nihil habens, quod tibi pro meritis rependam, exiguum aureolum mitto, rogoque accipias, ut certum indicium mei animi erga te tuaque studia; quibus alendis augendisque tantum nunc polliceor, quantum unquam potuero, præstare. Vale in Christo, et mihi saluta uxorem tuam atque omnem familiam: rogoque ut mei, meique ministerii memores sitis in precibus vestris apud Deum. Iterum vale, vivens in Domino. Aroviæ, 7. Novemb. 1557.

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[1] Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxvii. fol. 103 *b*].

"Tuus fideliter in Christo, Th. Leverus."

Fox also wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords spiritual and temporal of England, to desist those barbarities that were then used towards innocent men in England, killing, burning, imprisoning, sequestering them without all mercy. The letter, so pathetically penned, deserves a place in the Appendix,[1] for the preservation thereof.

To all these English writers, during their exile, must John Bale, the antiquarian, be added; who now published and printed in Basle his admirable book of Centuries, giving an account of the lives and writings of all such as were born, English and Scottish.

John Knokys, or Knox, another fugitive, is the last I shall mention, fearing I have been too large in this digression already. He was a Scotchman, but had lived in England, in King Edward's days, with great respect; and very zealously preached the Gospel in London, Buckinghamshire, Newcastle, Berwick, and other places of the north and south parts. He wrote now an epistle to the faithful in those places, and to all others in the realm of England. "Wherein he earnestly dissuaded them from communicating in the idolatry then established; and to flee, as well in body as spirit, having society with the idolaters, and that as they would avoid God's vengeance, as the burning of cities, laying the land waste, enemies dwelling in the strong-holds, wives and daughters defiled; and children falling by the sword, which, he assured them, would happen to the nation, because of its return to idolatry, and refusing of God's mercy, when He so long had called upon them. This his affirmation, he said, would displease many, and content few. But, to confirm them in the belief of what he had said, he bade them recollect what he had formerly spoke in their presence, and in the presence of others, a great part whereof was then come to pass. He mentioned particularly what he said at Newcastle and Berwick, before the sweating sickness, and what at Newcastle, upon All-Saints' day, the year in which the duke of Somerset was last apprehended; and what he said before the duke of Northumberland in the same town, and other places more. Also what he said before the king at Windsor, Hampton-court, and Westminster; and what he said in London, in more places than one, when both fires and riotous banquetings were made for the proclaiming of Queen Mary. He foretold these present calamities; not that he delighted in them, as he said, or in the plagues that should befall this unthankful nation. No, his heart mourned; but if he should cease, he should then do against his conscience and knowledge. Then he proceeded to give them the ground of this his certitude, which he took from the Scriptures. And so, in conclusion, he counselled them, as they would avoid the destruction that was coming, that they should have nothing to do with the abominable idol of the mass; that is, the seal of that league which the devil had made with all the pestilent sons of Antichrist," as he phrased it.[1]

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[1] No. LXXXV.

It may be inquired how these exiles were maintained, considering the great numbers of them, and the poverty of many. God stirred up the bowels of the abler sort, both in England and in the parts where they sojourned, to pity and relieve them, by very liberal contributions conveyed unto them from time to time. From London especially came often very large allowances, till Bishop Gardiner, who had his spies everywhere, got knowledge of it, and by casting the benefactors into prison, and finding means to impoverish them, that channel of charity was in a great measure stopped. After this, the senators of Zurich, at the motion of Bullinger their superintendent, opened their treasures unto them. Besides, the great ornaments then of religion and learning, Melancthon, Calvin, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Gesner, and others, sent them daily most comfortable letters, and omitted no duty of love and humanity to them all the time of their banishment. Some of the princes, and persons of wealth and estate, sent also their benevolences; among these was Christopher, duke of Wirtemberg, who gave at one time to the exiled English at Strasburgh three or four hundred dollars, besides what he gave at Frankfort; as Grindal, bishop of London, signified to Secretary Cecil, in the year 1563, when that prince had sent a gentleman upon business to the queen. The bishop desired the secretary to move the queen to make some signification to this person, that she had heard of his master's former kindness to the poor English, that it might appear his liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion; or at least he wished some remembrance thereof might pass from the secretary's own mouth.

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[1] Fox's MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxvi. fol. 47].

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Many recant. Some go to Mass.*

Many of the clergy, that were very forward men under King Edward, now by the terror of the times, recanted and subscribed. And these were of two sorts. Some out of weakness did it, but persisted not in it; but, as soon as they could, revoked their subscriptions and recantations, and, after their releases and escapes out of prison, made a sorrowful confession in public of their falls. Of this sort were Scory and Barlow, bishops; Jewel, and others. But some, after their recantations, persisted in the Popish communion. Of this sort were Bush and Bird, bishops; Harding, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, to whom the Lady Jane sent an expostulatory letter; Sidal and Courtop, of Oxon; Pendleton, West, &c. Of this last-named person let me cast in here one or two remarks. West was in orders, and had been steward to Bishop Ridley; of whom the said bishop wrote thus to Grindal, then in Strasburg; "that his old companion, and sometime his officer, relented, but that the Lord had shortened his days."[1] For it was but a little after his compliance that he died. Fox writes the occasion of it, namely, " that when he had relented, and said mass against his conscience, he shortly after pined away, and died for sorrow."[1] When his master, the bishop, was laid in prison for religion, he shrank away; and out of his compassion to him, being very loth, as it appeared, that his said master should be put to death, he wrote a letter to him, whereby to move him, if he could, to alter his judgment. The contents of whose letter may be gathered out of Ridley's answer. Which answer being so excellent, I have put into the Appendix,[2] as I transcribed it out of a manuscript. Which concluded thus, in answer to a sentence that West had concluded his with: namely, " that he must agree, or die; the bishop told him, in the word of the Lord, that if he and all the rest of his friends did not confess and maintain to their power and knowledge what was grounded upon God's Word, but, either for fear or gain, shrank and played the apostates, they themselves should die the death." After the receipt of which answer, West, either out of compassion to his master, or rather out of anguish for his own prevarication, died within a few days himself; and his master outlived him, and writ the news thereof into Germany to Grindal, his fellow-chaplain, as was said before.

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[1] [See Parker Society's edition of Ridley's Works, p. 391.]

The persecution was carried on against the Gospellers with much fierceness by those of the Roman persuasion, who were generally exceeding hot as well as ignorant; chiefly headed by two most cruel-natured men, Bishop Gardiner and Bishop Bonner; in whose dioceses were London and Southwark, and the next bordering counties, wherein were the greatest numbers of professors. And the servants were of the same temper with their masters. One of Bonner's servants swore, " by his Maker's blood, that wheresoever he met with any of these vile heretics, he would thrust an arrow into him."[3]

Many now, therefore, partly out of fear and terror, and partly out of other worldly considerations, did resort to mass, though they approved not of it, and yet consorted likewise with the Gospellers, holding it not unlawful so to do, viz.: "That their bodies might be there, so long as their spirits did not consent." And those that used this practice bore out themselves by certain arguments, which they scattered abroad.

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 435, where the above remark, attributed by Strype to Fox, is said to be "Coverdale's note."]

[2] No. LXXXVI.

[3] Tim's letter, [for which see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 118].

This extraordinarily troubled the good divines, that were then in prison for the cause of Christ, and particularly Bradford, who complained in a letter to a friend, "That not the tenth person abode in God's ways: and that the more did part stakes with the Papist and Protestant. So that they became mangy mongrels, to the affecting of all the company with them, to their no small peril. For they pretended Popery outwardly, going to mass with the Papists, and tarrying with them personally at their anti-christian and idolatrous service; but with their hearts, they said, and with their spirits they served the Lord. And so by this means (said he), as they saved their pigs, I mean, their worldly pleasures, which they would not leese, so they would please the Protestants, and be counted with them for Gospellers." This whole letter deserveth to be transcribed, as I meet with it in one of the Foxian manuscripts,[1] but that I find it printed already at Oxon, by Dr. Ironside, in the year 1668.

The same Bradford counselled the true Protestants not to consort with these compliers, but to deal with them "as a certain eminent man, named Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, did with Ustazades, an ancient courtier to Sapores, king of Persia: who by his threatenings and persuasions had prevailed with the said courtier, a Christian, to bow his knee to the sun. For which base compliance Simeon, passing by where this Ustazades was, formerly his great friend and acquaintance, would not now look at him, but seemed to contemn and despise him.[2] Which when he perceived, it pierced him so to the heart, that he began to pull asunder his clothes, and to rend his garments, and with weeping eyes cried out, 'Alas! that ever he had so offended God in his body, to bow to the sun: for,' saith he, 'I have herein denied God, although I did it against my will. And how sore is God displeased with me, with whom mine old father and friend Simeon, his dear servant, will not speak, nor look towards me! I may by the servant's countenance perceive the Master's mind.' This lamentation came to the king's ear, and, therefore, he was sent for, and demanded the cause of his mourning. He out of hand told him the cause to be, his unwilling bowing to the sun. 'By it,' said he, 'I have denied God; and, therefore, because He will deny them that deny Him, I have no little cause to complain and mourn. Woe unto me, for I have played the traitor to Christ, and also dissembled with my liege lord. No death, therefore, is sufficient for the least of my faults; and I am worthy of two deaths.' When the king heard this, it went to his stomach; for he loved Ustazades, who had been to him, and to his father, a faithful servant and officer. Howbeit the malice of Satan moved him to cause this man to be put to death. Yet in this point he seemed to gratify him. For Ustazades desired that the cause of his death might be published. 'This I ask,' said he, 'for the guerdon of my time-service to thee, and to thy father;' which the king readily granted, thinking that, when the Christians should all know it, it would make them the more afraid, and sooner to consent to him. But, so soon as it was published, and Ustazades put to death, Lord, how it comforted not only Simeon, then being in prison, but also all the Christians!" Bradford having told this history, improved it after this tenor. "This history I wish," said he, "were marked, as well of us as of all our Popish Gospellers, which have none other things to excuse them than Ustazades had; for his heart was with God, howsoever he framed his body. We should behave ourselves straitly against such brethren, as Simeon did; and then they the sooner would play Ustazades' part. Which thing, no marvel though they do not, so long as we rock them asleep, by regarding them and their companions, as daily we do; and so are partakers of their evil; and at the length shall feel of their smart and punishment."

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[1] [Harl. MSS. ccccxvi. fol. 35.]

[2] "Trispart. Hist." lib. iii. cap. 2.

Of these outward compliers with the mass was one Ann

Hartipol, that formerly harboured the Lady Ann Askew, burnt in King Henry's reign.[1] She now went to mass, pretending her conscience to be sound before God, and that her conscience gave her leave to go. To whom Philpot wrote an excellent letter, which is extant among the Letters of the Martyrs.[2]

The people of this practice had been tampering with the Lady Vane, a pious lady, and a great benefactor to the poor prisoners of Christ; insomuch that she propounded to Bradford three questions concerning the mass, being cases of conscience, what she were best to do, whether to go to it, or not? He told her in a letter, "that the questions would never be well seen nor answered, until the thing whereof they arose were well considered. That is, how great an evil it was; that there was never thing upon the earth so great, and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's Word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that was whereof the questions arose. And that, therefore, a Christian man could not but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or anything pertaining to the same."[3] Bradford also writ a little book on this argument, intituled, "The Hurt of the Mass." This book he sent to his acquaintance, to stop their going to the Popish service; and particularly to Mr. Shalcross, a friend of his in Lancashire; and recommended the reading of it to one Riddleston, that had defiled himself in this false service.

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[1] [For the trouble, persecution, and martyrdom of Anne Askew, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. pp. 537—550.]

[2] Page 247 [p. 189, ed. 1837. This letter may also be seen in the Parker Society's edition of Philpot's Works, pp. 249—251].

[3] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 234.]

## CHAPTER XVII.

*A bloody Time. The Queen's great Belly. A Convocation.*

The year 1555 was a bloody year, and many honest people, both of the clergy and laity, were burnt alive in all parts, because they believed not transubstantiation; insomuch that a tender heart cannot but shrink at the very remembrance thereof.

And as if there were a kind of delight in this sort of cruel executions, instructions were sent abroad, in the beginning of the year, unto the justices of peace through all counties in England, to inquire diligently in every parish for persons disaffected to the Popish religion. And in each parish were some appointed to be secret informers against the rest. And, for the better discovery of such poor professors of the Gospel, that fled from place to place for their safety, the constables, and four or more of the Catholic sort in every parish, were authorized to take examination of all such as might be suspected, how they lived, and where they were. And such as absented from the mass, and conformed not themselves to the Church, were to be brought before the justices, who were to persuade them to conform; and, if they would not, to bind them to good abearing, or commit them to prison. The justices were also commanded, by another order soon after, to deliver such as leaned to erroneous and heretical opinions, and would not be reclaimed by the justices, to the ordinaries, to be by them travailed with, and, continuing obstinate, to have the laws executed upon them.

May 27, these orders came from the king and queen to the justices of Norfolk, which, as I extract from a manuscript, relating the orders sent into that county, were in these special articles:—

"I. To divide themselves into several districtions.

"II. To assist such preachers as should be sent," [for it was thought convenient to send abroad itinerary preachers, as was done in the last king's reign, who should by their doctrine endeavour to reduce the people to the old religion];

"and to use them reverently, and to be present at their sermons; and to travail soberly with such as abstained from coming to church, or, by any other open doings, should appear not persuaded to conform themselves; and to use others that be wilful and perverse more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good behaviour, or by imprisoning them, as the quality of the persons, and the circumstance of their doings, may deserve.

"III. To lay special weight for teachers of heresies, and procurers of secret meetings to that purpose. That they and their families shew good examples, and begin first to reform their servants, if any of them be faulty.

"IV. To apprehend spreaders of false and seditious rumours.

"V. To procure one or more in every parish, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants.

"VI. To charge the constable, and four or more Catholic inhabitants of every parish, to give account of idle vagabonds and suspected persons" [meaning by these the poor professors, or preachers of the Gospel, who crept about for their own safety, and had no settled habitation], "and the retainers of such persons. To observe hue and cry; and to look after the watches in every parish.

"VII. To send an account of felons, &c. when any should be apprehended.

"VIII. To meet every month, and confer about these matters."

Whereupon the justices meeting together, it was resolved by them to obey every of the said orders; particularly concerning the fifth they resolved, that these secret informations should be given to the justices; and that the accused parties should be examined, without knowledge by whom they were accused.

The earl of Sussex lived in that county, and was one of chief trust there; for this earl had command in Norfolk of Queen Mary's army, when she first laid her claim to the crown, and managed it with that prudence and conduct, that others were induced by his means to come in. This earl received several informations against ministers and others; for it seems, notwithstanding all these severe usages, the Popish mass had not yet so prevailed everywhere, but that, in divers places, there were some remainders of King Edward's Reformation and service. Among the rest, the curate of Old Buckenham, and divers in that parish, were complained of, because the ceremonies of the holy time of Easter were not observed there. And, it seems, the bishop's officers themselves were not all so diligent as they should be. The earl signified this information to Hopton, the bishop, who being in his visitation soon after, sent for several of the parish, and made his inquiries, but found things in other sort than were represented to the earl. And, being returned to his house at Norwich, informed him hereof, and desired the earl to inform him further, if anything were amiss, even amongst his own officers, and he would endeavour to reform them.

In these times, for the better taking up of all Gospellers, there were certain spies and secret informers set everywhere, to give notice of any that came not to church, or that spake anything against the superstitions. For London were, John Avales, Beard, and others; for Stepney, one Banbury, a shifter, a dicer, and a whoremonger. By which means none almost could be safe. Yet the professors made some provision against this evil. There were some that kept them company who were honest men, by whom they often had secret intelligence what persons Avales and Beard intended to take up. And so several, by shifting places and houses, were preserved. The knight-marshal, Sir Thomas Holcroft, the under-marshal, the knight-marshal's secretary, were secret friends of the Protestants; and, when designs were laid to take any of them, some signification was often privately brought them, that search would within some few hours be made for them; and, therefore, that they should depart from their lodgings, and conceal themselves. And when any good men were under their hands in prison, they would take all occasions to shew them kindness, as far as safely they might.

But notwithstanding these persecutions, and that very few of the ministers remained, being either burnt or fled, yet the Protestants in London had very frequently their assemblies. And sometimes, for want of preachers of the clergy, laymen exercised. Among these I find one old

Henry Daunce, a bricklayer of Whitechapel, who used to preach the Gospel in his garden every holy-day, where would be present sometimes a thousand people.

The very beginning of May there was exceeding joy among the Papists for the birth of a heir-male to the crown; whereof the report was so confident everywhere, that in the county of Norfolk, the mayor of Norwich sent word of it to the earl of Sussex, and the bishop had *Te Deum* sung in the cathedral and other places of the city. And all expressions of joy both in city and country were shewn. And so it was, no question, in other parts of the nation. And, which is more strange, so long did this bruit hold, that, besides the first intelligence thereof brought to Norwich, within a day or two after came two persons more, averring the truth thereof. The bishop desired the earl, according as he heard, if he had any further knowledge, to impart it to him. The contents of all this may be read in the original letter, which is transcribed into the Appendix.[1]

But the belief of the queen's great belly went not over so. For then it was given out, that in June, about Whitsuntide, was the time that the queen expected her delivery; and midwives, rockers, and nurses were provided. And, just when that time came, another rumour was blown about in London, that the queen was delivered of a child. And the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made; and in most parts of the realm so it was. Nay, in Antwerp guns were shot off by the English ships, and the lady regent[2] rewarded the mariners with a hundred pistoles.

But there happened now two things which make it seem as though all this were but design, to impose upon the belief of the world.[3] The one was this: "There was a woman, living near Aldersgate, delivered June the 11th, 1555, being Whitsunday morning, of a male child. Unto whom the Lord North and another lord came, and desired to have her child from her, with very fair offers. As that her child should be well provided for, and that she should take no care for it, if she would swear that she never knew nor had such child. And, after this, other women came to her, of whom one, they said, should have been the rocker.

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[1] No. LXXXVII.

[2] [The queen of Hungary.]

[3] Fox, p. 1450 [vol. vii. pp. 125, 126].

But she would in no case part with her child. This very woman, before witness, made this declaration unto Mr. Fox and others, about the year 1568, while he was printing his book; but he leaves it to the liberty of the reader to believe what he list." Add to this one other passage of a man within four miles of Berwick, who, speaking of the bonfires for joy of the birth of a prince, said, "There was a joyful triumph, but at length all would not prove worth a mess of pottage."

As the queen's great belly gave these great disappointments, so, while she went with it, it gave her occasion to be more severe against the poor Gospellers, who were now daily burnt. For she thought, and so she said, "she could not be safely and happily delivered, nor that anything could succeed prosperously with her, unless all the heretics in prison were burnt *ad unum*, not sparing one."[1] Which cruelty I do suppose her priests and confessors put into her head.

There was a Convocation in November this year, wherein Cardinal Pole presided. The queen gave him a license under the great seal to hold a synod, wherein she ordered him to decree what canons he thought fit. So he composed a book, with a very specious title, viz. "Reformatio Angliæ, ex decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis," &c. which was printed; a manuscript copy whereof was in the famous library of Mr. Smith, of late years sold by auction. The decrees of this book, in number twelve, were agreed to in February. They are briefly set down by the bishop of Sarum in his history.[2] There was an article made in favour of non-residences, which I meet with in the Benet library; there is no date, but I strongly conjecture it is to be laid to this Convocation.[3] The cardinal seemed not to favour non-residences, but the rich clergy and dignitaries were of another mind, wherefore they made this proposition:

"Decretum perpetuæ residentiæ juxta canonum sanctiones optant pii; sed multa sunt, quæ hodie impediunt, quominus suum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota consequatur." To which are subjoined reasons for this proposition, and remedies for this evil, which may be read in the Appendix.[1]

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[1] Pet. Martyr ad Pet. Alexand.

[2] Part ii. p. 324 [vol. iii. part iii. book 5, No. 34, p. 326].

[3] [C.C.C.C.] vol. intit. "Synodalia" [No. cxxi. fol. 5].

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### *Ridley and Latimer burnt.*

We can declare little this year of the poor archbishop, being now a prisoner at Oxford, and out of all place of action. The archbishopric was sequestered into the hands of Cardinal Pole, and his palace at Lambeth appointed for the cardinal's abode. In a petition, that some of those that were abroad had sent over to the queen this year, to dissuade her from these persecutions that were now so rigorously set on foot in England, they interceded for Cranmer, putting her in mind how he had once preserved her, in her father's time, by his earnest intercessions with him for her. "So that," they said, "she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak the truth to her, than she had of all the rest of the clergy." But, alas, this did little good.

In October Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to their burning; and, passing by Cranmer's prison, Ridley looked up to have seen him, and to have taken his farewell of him; but he was not then at the window, being engaged in dispute with [Soto] a Spanish friar.[2] But he looked after them, and, devoutly falling upon his knees, prayed to God to strengthen their faith and patience in that their last, but painful passage.

And here, for a farewell to these two reverend fathers, let us make a little halt, to take some view of them. Of Ridley sufficient has been said to acquaint us with the worthiness of that man. Of Latimer a word or two. His character is best taken from them who best knew him, and lived in his time. One of these thus speaks of him, while he was yet alive, in the beginning of King Edward.[3] "Latimer was very famous, not only for the pureness of his life, which had always [also] been innocent and blameless, but [before the world] for the sincerity and godliness of his evangelic doctrine, which, since the beginning of his preaching, had in all points been so conformable to the teaching of Christ, and of His apostles, that the very adversaries of God's truth, with all their menacing words, and cruel imprisonments, could not withdraw him from it; but whatsoever he had once preached, he valiantly defended the same before the world, without fear of any mortal creature, although of never so great power and high authority, wishing and minding rather to suffer not only loss of worldly possessions, but also of life, than that the glory of God, and the truth of Christ's Gospel, should in any point be obscured or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, so that he might fulfil his course with joy, and the office that he received of the Lord Jesu, to testify the Gospel of God's favour."—His fame began to grow apace, while he was at Cambridge, [which was some years before 1530], doing abundance of good there among the students by his sermons, which were many, by him preached both in Latin and English. The scholars flocked after him, and took great notice of his doctrine, and commending it sometimes to letters, as most faithful treasures of memory. Before them he, "with manifest authorities, out of God's word, and arguments invincible, besides the allegations of doctors, proved [in his sermons] that the holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christian people, whether they were priests or laymen"—though many friars and others could not abide this doctrine, and would resist him, and preach against him, "notwithstanding he, or rather God in him, got the victory." And it came to pass according to his teaching [when the reading of the Scripture was allowed by the royal authority]. Before the scholars also "he inveighed against temple-works, good intents, blind zeal, superstitious devotion [&c.]; as the painting of tabernacles, gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimage, and such other idle inventions of men, whereby the glory of God was obscured, and the works of mercy the less regarded. He was" also "wont to rebuke the beneficed men, with the authority of God's word for neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being absent from their cures, they themselves being idle, and masting themselves like hogs of Epicurus[' flock], taking no thought, though their poor parishioners miserably pined away, starved, perished, and died for hunger." He would condemn also, at these his university sermons, "foolish, ungodly, and impossible vows [to be fulfilled], as the vow of chastity, wishing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted to them which had so vowed, by the higher powers, than so to continue through single life in all kind of abominable uncleanness. O how vehement was he in rebuking all sins, namely, idolatry, false and idle swearing, covetousness, and whoredom! Again, how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto virtue! He spake nothing, but it left, as it were, certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None, except they were stiff-necked, and uncircumcised in heart, went away from his sermons, which were not led with a faithful repentance of their former life, affected with high detestation of sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue."

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[1] No. LXXXVIII.

[2] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 548.]

[3] Becon, in his Jewel of Joy [Parker Society's edition (Catechism, &c.), p. 424, by which the above passage has been corrected].

The writer of all this said, he knew "certain men, which, through the persuasion of their friends, went unto his sermons swelling, blown full, and puffed up, like [unto] Esop's frog, with envy and malice against him; but when they returned, the sermon being done, and demanded how they liked him and his doctrine? they answered, with the bishops and Pharisees' servants—'There was never man [that] spake like unto this man.'" He would also speak freely "against buying and selling of benefices, against [the] promoting (such) unto the livings of spiritual ministers, which were unlearned and ignorant in the law of God, against Popish pardons, against the reposing our hope in our own works, or in other men's merits [against false religion]." He was also a charitable man, when he was at Cambridge, "according to his possibility, to poor scholars, and other needy people; so conformable was his life to his doctrine,"—insomuch that there was "a common saying" in that university, "'When Master Stafford read, and [Master] Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed.'"[1]

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[1] [A most interesting narrative of Latimer, when at Cambridge, will be found in D'Aubigné's "Reformation of the Sixteenth Century," vol. v.]

But to return to our archbishop when in prison, where he divided his melancholy time, partly in disputings and discourses with learned men of the contrary persuasion, who laboured to bring him over, thinking thereby to obtain a great glory to their church; and partly in preparing an answer to Bishop Gardiner, under the name of "Marcus Antonius," in vindication of his own book concerning the Sacrament. And he finished three parts in prison, two whereof were lost in Oxford, and one came into the hands of John Fox, as he tells us himself; which, he said, was ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord should see good.[1] Bishop Ridley also in his confinement wrote marginal annotations on the side of Gardiner's said book, with the lead of a window, for want of pen and ink. Great pity it is that these last studies of the archbishop are lost; for even that part, which was once in Fox's custody, is gone with his fellows, for aught that I can find among his papers.

It was some time before this that there was a report spread, that the queen was dead. The rumour presently extended itself over the seas, which occasioned the death of one pious professor of the Gospel, namely, Bartlet Green, a lawyer. For Christopher Goodman having writ to him, his former acquaintance in Oxford, to certify him of the truth thereof, he in a letter in answer wrote thus: "The queen is not yet dead." This and divers other letters, that were given to a bearer to carry beyond sea to the exiles there, were intercepted; and, being read at the Council, some would have it to amount to treason, as though there had been a plot carrying on against the queen's life. But the law not making those words treason, he, after long lying in the Tower, was sent by the Council to Bishop Bonner, who upon examination found him too firm to be moved from the doctrine of the Gospel; and so condemned him to the fire.[2]

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[1] [Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 35.]

[2] [For "The Story of Master Bartlet Green," &c., see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. 731—746.]

# CHAPTER XIX.

## *The last Proceedings with Cranmer.*

After Ridley and Latimer were despatched, and had sealed their doctrine with their blood at Oxford, the said course was resolved to be taken with Cranmer, late archbishop, but now the arch-heretic, as he was esteemed by them. They had been all three condemned, and adjudged heretics by Dr. Weston, in the university of Oxford, after their disputations.[1] But that sentence was void in law, because the authority of the Pope was not yet received; therefore, they were tried and judged upon new commissions. The commission for judging the two former was from Pole the cardinal, lord legate, wherein the commissioners constituted were, White, bishop of Lincoln; Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; and Holyman, bishop of Bristol.[2] But there was a new commission sent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. Brooks of Gloucester was the Pope's sub-delegate under Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this process; and Martin and Story, doctors of the civil law, were the queen's commissioners, the former of which was now, or soon after, for his good services, made one of the Masters in Chancery, and was much employed in these trials of poor men. Notwithstanding this man complied in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and took his oath against the Pope now a second time. In this commission from the Pope he decreed, in a formality of words, "that the archbishop should have charity and justice shewed to him, and that he should have the laws in most ample manner to answer in his behalf." He decreed also, "that the said archbishop should come before the bishop of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his Holiness, for the examination of such articles as should be produced against him; and that Martin and Story should require, in the king and queen's name, the examination of him." In pursuance of this command from the Pope, and in obedience to the king and queen, they came down to Oxford upon this commission;

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 534.]

[2] [Id. vol. vii. p. 517.]

and, September 12, (which was seven days before the condemnation of Latimer and Ridley), sat in St. Mary's Church, accompanied with many other doctors, and such-like; and, among the rest, the Pope's collector. The archbishop was brought forth out of prison habited in a fair black gown, and his hood of doctor of divinity on both shoulders. Then some proctor said aloud, "Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to that which shall be laid to thy charge for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy." What due honour the archbishop gave unto the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, and how he gave none to Brooks, the Pope's representative, keeping on his cap, and the speeches, that the said Brooks and the other two made unto him, with the archbishop's discreet and excellent answers, still interposing his protestation against Brooks' authority, may be seen at large in Fox's Monuments.[1]

Only it may not be amiss here briefly to mention, (for the better understanding of the form of the process), that, after the archbishop was cited, as before was said, into the court, the bishop of Gloucester first made an oration, directed unto the archbishop at the opening of his commission. Next, Dr. Martin made a short speech; and, being with Dr. Story appointed the king's and queen's attorneys, he offered unto the said bishop their proxy, sealed with the broad seal of England; and then presenting himself to be proctor on their behalf. After that, he proceeded to exhibit certain articles against the archbishop, containing adultery and perjury, the one for being married, the other for breaking his oath to the Pope. Also he exhibited books of heresy, made partly by him, and partly by his authority published. And so produced him as a party principal to answer to his lordship. After this, having leave given him, the archbishop, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and Creed, made a long and learned apology for himself, which is preserved to posterity in the Acts and Monuments.

By his discourse before the commissioners it appeared, how little he was taken with the splendour of worldly things. For he professed, "that the loss of his promotions grieved him not. He thanked God as heartily for that poor and afflicted state in which he then was, as ever he did for the times of his prosperity. But that which stuck closest to him, as he said, and created him the greatest sorrow, was, to think that all that pains and trouble, that had been taken by King Henry and himself for so many years, to retrieve the ancient authority of the kings of England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign power, and from the baseness and infinite inconveniences of crouching to the bishops of Rome, should now thus easily be quite undone again. And therefore, he said, all his trouble at that time, and the greatest that ever he had in his life, was to see the king and queen's majesties, by their proctors there, to become his accusers, and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. For that, if he had transgressed the laws of the land, their majesties had sufficient authority and power, both from God and the ordinance of the realm, to punish him. Whereunto he would be at all times content to submit himself."

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[1] [Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 44—90, from which Strype has drawn nearly every particular of his narrative.]

At this time of his trial, several interrogatories were administered unto him, to make answer to, as concerning his marriage, concerning his setting abroad heresies, and making and publishing certain books of heresy. To which he confessed, that the Catechism, and the book of Articles, and the book against Bishop Gardiner, were of his doing. Concerning subscribing those articles, and his compelling persons to subscribe; which he denied, but that he exhorted them that were willing to subscribe, he acknowledged. Concerning his open maintaining his errors in Oxford [whereas they brought him to the disputation themselves]. Concerning his being noted with the infamy of schism; and that he moved the king, and subjects of his realm, to recede from the Catholic church and see of Rome; which he acknowledged; but that their departure, or recess, had in it no matter of schism. Concerning his being twice sworn to the Pope. And Dr. Martin then shewed a copy of his protestation against the Pope at his consecration, under a public notary's hand. That he took upon him the see of Rome in consecrating bishops and priests, without leave or license from the said see; to which he answered, that it was permitted to him by the public laws of the realm.

Concerning his standing out still to subscribe to the Pope's authority, when the whole nation had. This being done, a public notary entered his answers. Then [Brooks] the bishop of Gloucester made another speech at breaking up of this meeting, and Dr. Story another, reflecting upon what Cranmer had said, with reviling and taunts.

The last thing they did at this meeting was, to swear several persons, who were the next day to declare what they knew, or could remember, against this reverend father. And these were, Dr. Marshal, dean of Christ Church, a most furious and zelotical man, and who, to shew his spite against the Reformation, had caused Peter Martyr's wife, who deceased while he was the king's professor, to be taken out of her grave, and buried in his dunghill; Dr. Smith, public professor, who had recanted most solemnly in King Edward's days, and to whom the archbishop was a good friend, yet not long afterwards he wrote against his book, and was now sworn a witness against him; Dr. Tresham, a canon of Christ Church, who was one of the disputers against Cranmer, and had said, in his Popish zeal, "that there were six hundred errors in his book of the Sacrament;" Dr. Crook, Mr. London, a relation, I suppose, of Dr. London, who came to shame for his false accusation of Cranmer and others in King Henry's reign;[1] and now this man, it is like, was willing to be even with Cranmer, for his relation's sake; Mr. Curtop, another canon of Christ Church, formerly a great hearer of Peter Martyr, Mr. Warde, Mr. Serles, the same, I suppose, who belonged to the church of Canterbury, and had been among the number of the conspirators against him in King Henry's days.[2] And these being sworn, the archbishop was allowed to make his exceptions against any of them, who resolutely said, "He would admit none of them all, being perjured men, having sworn against the Pope, and now received and defended him, and that therefore they were not in Christian religion." And so the good father was remitted back, for that time, to prison again.

I know not what the depositions of these witnesses were, given in against him the next day; for Fox relates nothing thereof, nor any other, as I know of. Doubtless they were some of the doctrines that he preached, or taught, or

[1] [See vol. i. pp. 159, *et sqq.*]

[2] [See vol. i. pp. 160, *et sqq.*]

defended, in Canterbury formerly, or more lately in his disputations in the schools, or in his discourses in his prison, or at Christ Church, where he sometimes was entertained. But to all that was objected against him he made his answers. And the last thing they of this commission did, was to cite him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, to make there his answer in person, which, he said, he would be content to do if the king and queen would send him. And so he was again remanded back to durance, where he still remained. And an account of what these commissioners had done was despatched to Rome forthwith; from whence the final sentence was sent in December next.

Then Pope Paul [IV.] sent his letters executory unto the king and queen, and to the bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him; and in the end of those fourscore days, he was declared *contumax*, as wilfully absenting himself from Rome, when he was summoned to go, though he was detained in prison, which might have been a lawful and just excuse. But these matters must proceed in their form, whatsoever absurdity or falsehood there were in them.

By these letters executory, (which are in the first edition of Fox, but omitted in all the rest),[1] we may collect how the process went against Cranmer at Rome, which I shall here briefly set down. First, the king and queen sent their information to the Pope against Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, viz.: "That he had brought this noble realm from the unity of the Catholic church; that he was a person guilty of heresy, and many other grand crimes, and not worthy to enjoy his bishopric, and most worthy greater punishments; and they requested that process might be made against him." For the better inquiry into, and taking cognizance of, the truth of these accusations, the Pope gave a special commission, signed with his hand, to James Puteo, cardinal of St. Mary's, and afterwards of St. Simeon, to cite the said Thomas before him, and all such witnesses as should be needful, to come to a true knowledge of the archbishop's crimes; and accordingly to give the Pope an account of all he should find. This he was to do in his own person, or to constitute any dignified person, abiding in these parts, to do the same. So the said cardinal appointed Brooks, bishop of

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[1] [For this "Commission sent from the Pope," see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 69.]

Gloucester, and some colleagues with him, to manage this commission in his stead. This Brooks, having been Bishop Gardiner's chaplain, was probably nominated and recommended by the said Gardiner, as I do suppose he was the person that directed the whole managery of this process against the archbishop. And so Brooks, being now by this deputation the Pope's sub-delegate, proceeded in this cause, as was said before.[1] In regard of the archbishop's citation to Rome, to answer there, and make his personal appearance before the Pope, the letters executory say, *comparere non curaret*, as an aggravation of his crime, that "he took no care to appear," which was false; and that, therefore, as the said letters ran, the king and queen's proctors at Rome, named Peter Rovilius, and Anthony Massa de Gallesio, and Alexander Palentarius, the proctor of the Pope's treasury, had sued that contumacy might be definitively pronounced against the said Thomas Cranmer, being cited and not appearing. Therefore, "He, Pope Paul IV. sitting in the throne of justice, and having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness, did make this definitive sentence, pronouncing and decreeing the said Thomas Cranmer to be found guilty of the crimes of heresy and other excesses, to be wholly unmindful of the health of his soul, to go against the rules and ecclesiastical doctrines of the holy fathers, and against the apostolical traditions of the Roman church and sacred councils, and the rites of the Christian religion hitherto used in the Church; especially against the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, and holy orders; by thinking and teaching otherwise than the holy mother church preacheth and observeth; and by denying the primacy and authority of the Apostolic See; and against the processions, which every year, on Corpus Christi day, were wont to be celebrated by the Pope's predecessors." Mention also is made of his "bringing again in the heresy abjured by Berengarius, of his believing the false and heretical doctrines of Wickliffe and Luther, those arch-heretics; printing of books of that nature, and publishing them, and defending those doctrines in public disputations, and that before his sub-delegate, and persisting herein with obstinacy. Therefore the Pope excommunicated him, and deprived him of his archbishopric, and all other places and privileges whatsoever, and adjudged him to be delivered over to the secular court, and all his goods to be confiscate. And the Pope absolved all persons from any oath of fidelity given to Cranmer, and imposed perpetual silence upon him. And, moreover, upon the instance of the above-said proctors, commanded the bishops of London and Ely to degrade him, and so to deliver him over to the secular court. This bore date December 14."[1]

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[1] [See above, p. 102.]

In obedience to these letters from Rome, the two bishops, the Pope's delegates, came down to Oxford; and, sitting in the choir of Christ Church, before the high altar, the said commissional letters were read, wherein it was specified, "That all things were indifferently examined on both parties, and counsel heard as well on the king's and queen's behalf, who were Cranmer's accusers, as on the behalf of Cranmer, so that he wanted nothing to his necessary defence." Whereat the archbishop could not but exclaim, while these things were reading, against such manifest lies, "That," as he said, "when he was continually in prison, and could never be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, he should produce witness, and appoint his counsel at Rome. God must needs punish," added he, "this open and shameless lying."

But this command of degrading our archbishop was presently proceeded upon; Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, his old friend, infinitely beforetime obliged by the archbishop, shed many tears at the doing of it. So that Cranmer, moved at it, was fain to comfort him, and told him, he was well contented with it. So they apparelled the archbishop in all the garments and ornaments of an archbishop; only in mockery, everything was of canvas, and old clouts. And the crosier was put into his hand. And then he was, piece by piece, stripped of all again. When they began to take away his pall, he asked them, "Which of them had a pall, to take away his pall? They then answered, acknowledging they were his inferiors, as bishops; but, as they were the Pope's delegates, they might take away his pall." While they were thus spoiling him of all his garments, he told them, "That it needed not, for that he had done with this gear long ago." While this was doing, Bonner made a triumphant speech against the poor archbishop. But when he came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and would not deliver it; but pulled out an appeal out of his left sleeve under his wrist, and said, "I appeal unto the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause, and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted. And prayed divers times to the standers-by to be witnesses, naming them by their names." This appeal is preserved in Fox, which is well worthy the reading.[1]

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[1] ["The Latin process against Cranmer, and his condemnation, together with his recantation, as found in the Bonner Register, fol. 421-3," are given in the Appendix, No. ii. to vol. viii. of the edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, which is quoted throughout these volumes of Strype's "Memorials of Abp. Cranmer."]

The archbishop was all along ill dealt with in divers respects in this his process, which himself was well sensible of. One was, that he had desired the court, that considering he was upon his life, he might have the use of proctors, advocates, and lawyers. But they would allow him none. After the court, wherein Brooks was sub-delegate, had done, they promised him that he should see his answers to sixteen articles, that they had laid against him, that he might correct, amend, and change them, where he thought good. And that promise they performed not, and so entered his answers upon record, though his answer was not made upon oath, nor reserved, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*, which Cranmer made a protest of; but not to [Brooks] the bishop of Gloucester, as judge, whom he would not own, but to the king and queen's proctors, Martin and Story. To them, for these reasons, he wrote a letter, "that he trusted they would deal sincerely with him, without fraud or craft, and use him as they would wish to be used in the like case themselves; bidding them remember that with what measure they mete, it should be measured to them again."[2]

Therefore, to make himself some amends for all this foul dealing, his last refuge was an appeal; whereof he seriously bethought himself when, and in what manner, to make it.

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 73-76.]

[2] [For this letter, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 97; and Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 446.]

The causes for his resolving upon it, besides those already mentioned, were, because he remembered Luther once did so in such a case; and that he might not seem rashly to cast away his own life; and because he was bound by his oath never to receive the Pope's authority in this realm; and because the commissioners had broken their promise with him, as above was said; and because he thought the bishop of Rome was not an indifferent judge in this cause, which was his own cause; for all the archbishop's troubles came upon him for departing from him. He, therefore, wrote privately to a trusty friend, and learned in the law, then in the university, to instruct him in the order and form of an appeal; and whether he should first appeal from the judge-delegate to the Pope, or else from that judge immediately to a general council. And so earnestly entreated him to lay aside all other studies, and to take this in hand presently, because he was summoned to make his answer at Rome, the sixteenth day of this month, that is of February. There was one reason more moved him to appeal, which must not be omitted, namely, that he might gain time to finish his answer to Marcus Antonius. "He feared, after all, they would not admit his appeal. But he did not much pass, and desired God's will might be done: so that God might be glorified by his life or death. He thought it much better to die in Christ's quarrel, than to be shut in the prison of the body, unless it were for the advancement of God's glory, and the profit of his brethren." This letter of the archbishop, being writ with so much strength and presence of mind, and shewing so much prudence and wit, is happily preserved in Fox's Monuments, where it may be read.[1]

This appeal, when the archbishop had produced and preferred to the bishop of Ely, he told him, "That they could not admit of it, because their commission was to proceed against him, *omni appellatione remota*." Cranmer replied, "That this cause was not every private man's cause, but that it was between the Pope and him immediately, and none otherwise, and that no man ought to be judge in his own cause. And, therefore, they did him the more wrong."

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[1] [Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 98—100.]

So at last Thirlby received it of him, and said, if it might be admitted, it should.

And so, after this interruption, they proceeded to degrade him, taking off the rest of his habits. And then put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, threadbare, and a townsman's cap. And Bonner told him, "He was no lord any more:" and so was sent to prison.

## CHAPTER XX.

### *Cranmer writes to the Queen.*

And now, having undergone these brunts with all this gravity, discretion, learning, and courage, he next resolved to give the queen a true and impartial account of these transactions, to prevent misreports, and to justify himself in what he had said and done. Two letters, therefore, he wrote to her,[1] but thought not fit to intrust them with the commissioners, since Weston had served him such a trick in the like case before. In these letters he related the reason of his refusing the bishop of Gloucester for his judge, and of his appeal. For as he thought it his duty, at that juncture, to declare himself in that public manner against the bishop of Rome, so he reckoned he ought to declare himself also to the supreme magistrate. And, therefore, before the bishop of Gloucester and the commissioners, he said, "That as he had thus discharged his own conscience towards the world, so he would also write his mind to her grace touching this matter."

He wrote to her, "That the twelfth day of that month he was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after. And that it could not but grieve the heart of a natural subject to be accused by the king and queen of his own country, and before any outward judge; as if the king and queen were subjects within their own realm, and were fain to complain and require justice at a stranger's hand against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. As though the king and queen could not have or do justice within their own realm, against their own subjects, but they must seek it at a stranger's hand, in a strange land."

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[1] [For which letters, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 91—97; and Parker's Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 447—454.]

Then he proceeded to shew her, why he refused the Pope's authority, when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, came to try him, namely: "because he was sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in the realm of England. Another reason why he denied his authority, was, because his authority repugned to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same. For the Pope saith, all manner of power, both temporal and spiritual, is given unto him of God, and that temporal power is given to kings and emperors to use it under him. Whereas, contrary to this claim, said the archbishop, the imperial crown of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject to none but God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws of this realm all the kings in their coronations, and all justices when they receive their offices, are sworn, and all the whole realm bound to defend them. But, contrary hereunto, the Pope, he said, made void, and commanded to blot out of our books, all laws and customs repugnant to his laws.

"Then he proceeded to show, how contrary the laws of the realm and the Pope's laws were. And, therefore, that the kings of this realm had provided for their laws by the *præmunire*. So that, if any man let the execution of the law by any authority from the see of Rome, he fell into the *præmunire*. And, to meet with this, the popes had provided for their law by cursing.

"He supposed that these things were not fully opened in the Parliament-house, when the Pope's authority was received again; for, if they were, he could not believe that the king and queen, the nobles and commons, would again receive a foreign authority, so hurtful and prejudicial to the crown, and to the laws and state of this realm. He rebuked the clergy, who were the main movers of this at the Parliament, for their own ends. For they desired to have the Pope their chief head, to the intent that they might have, as it were a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man. And then he glanced at some of the clergy [probably meaning Thirlby, Heath, Tunstal, &c.], that they held their peace for this consideration, though they knew this well enough; who, if they had done their duty to the crown and realm, should have opened their mouths at this time, and shewn the peril and danger that might ensue to the crown hereby.

"Another cause he urged to the queen, why he could not allow the Pope's authority, was, because he subverted, not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of God. So that, whosoever be under his authority, he suffered them not to be under Christ's religion purely. For proof of which he gave these instances. God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together to serve God, the ministers should use such a language as the people might understand, and take profit thereby. For God said by the mouth of St. Paul, 'As a harp or lute, if it give no certain sound, that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? it is but in vain.' So it is in vain, profiteth nothing, if the priest speak to the people in a language they know not. And whereas, when he urged this to the commissioners, they told him, that That place respected preaching only. He told the queen, that St. Paul's words meant it not only of preaching, for that he spake expressly of praying, singing and giving thanks, and of all other things, which the priests say in the churches. And so, he said, all interpreters, Greek and Latin, old and new, school authors, and others, that he had read, understood it, till about thirty years past, Eckius, and others of his sort, began to invent this new exposition. And so, he said, all the best-learned divines, that met at Windsor, 1549, for the reformation of the Church, both of the new learning and the old, agreed without controversy, (not one opposing), that the service of the Church ought to be in the mother tongue, and that that place of St. Paul was so to be understood.

"Again, Christ ordained the sacrament to be received of Christian people, under both forms of bread and wine, and said, '*Drink ye all of this.*' The Pope gives a clean contrary command, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation. So that, if he should obey the Pope in these things, he must needs disobey his Saviour."

Again, "He instanced in the Pope's taking upon him to give the temporal sword to kings and princes, and to depose them from their imperial states, if they were disobedient to him; and in commanding subjects to disobey their princes; assoiling them as well from their obedience, as their lawful oaths made unto them; directly contrary to God's commandment, that commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, and their rulers under them.

"Then he spake of the superiority the Pope claimed above kings and emperors, and making himself universal bishop. And how his flatterers told him he might dispense against God's Word, both against the Old and New Testament; and that whatsoever he did, though he drew innumerable people by heaps with himself to hell, yet might no mortal man reprove him; because he is the judge of all men, and might be judged by no man. And thus he sat in the temple of God, as he were a God, and named himself God, and dispensed against God. If this were not, he said, to play Antichrist's part, he knew not what Antichrist was—that is, Christ's enemy and adversary. Now, added he, until the time that such a person might be found, men might easily conjecture where to find Antichrist.

"He took God to record, that what he spake against the power and authority of the Pope, he spake it not for any malice he owed to the Pope's person, whom he knew not; nor for fear of punishment, or to avoid the same; thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate, than to diminish the same; but for his most bounden duty to the crown, liberty, laws, and customs of this realm of England; and most especially to discharge his conscience in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort, which he had in Christ, who saith, 'Fear not them that kill the body.'"

As touching the sacrament, he said, "That forasmuch as the whole matter stood in the understanding those words of Christ, 'This is my body; this is my blood;' he told the commissioners, that Christ in those words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread His body, and wine His blood; because He ordained them to be sacraments of His body and blood. And he told them, he would be judged by the old Church, which doctrine could be proved elder, and that he would stand to. And that, forasmuch as he had urged in his book Greek and Latin authors, which above a thousand years continually taught as he did; if they could bring forth but one old author that said in these two points as they said, he offered six or seven years ago, and offered so still, that he would give place.

"Then he shewed her how fond and uncomfortable the Papists' doctrine of the sacrament is; for of one body of Christ is made two bodies; one natural, having distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body; and this body is in heaven. But the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament, teach they, as goes into the mouth with the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goes, nor tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by natural heat digesting; so that, when the form of bread is digested, the body of Christ is gone. And what comfort, said he, can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and depart by-and-bye as soon as the bread is consumed? It seemed to him a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body, which body spiritually entereth into the whole man, body and soul. And though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsaketh Him.

"That if it could be shewed him, that the Pope's authority be not prejudicial to the things before mentioned; or that his doctrine of the sacrament be erroneous, then he would never stand perversely in his own opinion, but with all humility submit himself to the Pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

"For all these reasons he could not take the bishop of

Gloucester for his judge, representing, as he did, this Pope. But another reason was, in respect of his own person, being more than once perjured, having been divers times sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme heads thereof. And he was perjured again, in taking his bishopric both of the queen and the Pope, making to each of them a solemn oath, which oaths be so contrary, that the one must needs be perjury. And further, in swearing to the Pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, and ordinances, he declared himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws of the realm; whereby he shewed himself not worthy to sit as a judge in this realm." This was the sum of this excellent letter of the archbishop to the queen.

He wrote another[1] to her soon after; wherein he plainly told her, "That, at her coronation, she took an oath to the Pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges; and at the same time another oath to the kingdom, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. He prayed her to weigh both oaths, and see how they did agree; and then to do as her grace's conscience should give her; for he was sure, he said, she would not willingly offend. He feared there were contradictions in her oaths, and that those that should have informed her majesty thoroughly, did not their duties herein. He complained that he was now kept from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen and ink, saving to write to her majesty at that time; and as to his appearance at Rome, he said, if she would give him leave, he would appear there; and he trusted God would put in his mouth to defend His truth there as well as here."

These letters of his one of the bailiffs of Oxon carried up to the queen. Something else he wrote to her, enclosed and sealed, which he required Martin and Story to be delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it were delivered unto her own hands. These and other of his smart and learned letters, no question, made impression upon the queen, or at least upon those that read them; for they were delivered by the queen to no less a person than the holy father Cardinal Pole himself, who was advised to frame an answer to them.

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[1] [For which, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 987, and Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 454.]

So he wrote to the archbishop, in answer to one of them, a long letter, dated from St. James', November 6, "wherein he pretended a great deal of compassion to his soul, which, he told him, was ready to be lost, as well as his body; and that the condemnation that was lately passed on him was so horrible to him to hear, that he testified to him before God, and upon the salvation of his soul, that he would rather choose to be the means of bringing him to repentance, than to receive the greatest benefit that could be given him under heaven in this world." Which the cardinal might say, to take off the odium of the suspicion, as though he hastened Cranmer's death, that he might jump into his place. And so the cardinal proceeded to attempt to convince him in the two great points of his letter, viz., concerning the authority of the Pope, and concerning the sacrament of the altar; especially because Cranmer had said in his letter, "that he would not be perverse, to stand wilfully in his own opinion, if any could shew him by reason that his doctrines were erroneous." But I refer the reader to the Appendix,[1] if he be minded to read the cardinal's letter, which I met with among Fox's manuscripts. By comparing of this letter of Pole's with that of Cranmer's, any one may see a mighty difference; strength, evidence, and conviction in the archbishop's, who had truth on his side; but a flashiness and debility in the cardinal's, made up of poor shifts and weak arguings, and impertinent allegations of Scripture, and personal reflections, to help out a bad cause.

To mention some few of this sort. He charged the archbishop with covetousness and ambition in affecting the archbishopric; and then, by-and-bye, not well remembering what he had said before, in his heat against the good archbishop, he gives a contrary reason thereof, namely: "That he might be in a capacity to reform the Church according to his mind; and that it was for the sake of that, that he took an oath to the Pope at his consecration, though he were fain to make a protestation against the said oath." He said in this letter,

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[1] No. LXXXIX.

"That the archbishop's fall into error was not as the fall of others usually were, by frailty or curiosity, but by deliberate malice; and that the archbishop, by his protestation that he made before he took his oath to the Pope, brake his oath, and was forsworn before he did swear." Which, methinks, is pretty strange. And, concerning this protestation, he said, "It was a privy protestation, and that he had privy witnesses of it;" whereas it was done in the most open and public manner that could be, two or three times over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, on purpose that all might take notice of it. And, whereas, the archbishop had said, "That it was much more probable that the bread and wine should be a figure, than the real body and blood," the cardinal said, "The more probable it was, the more false; because the great sophister and father of lies deceived by probability of reason." The consequence whereof one would think should be, the more improbable any opinion in religion was, the more true. "But, he said, the true doctrine was taught another way. He represented the archbishop as challenging them of the other side to bring any one single doctor of the Church, that ever spake in favour of transubstantiation;" leaving out, "for a thousand years next after Christ," which the archbishop expressly had said. And, in fine, everywhere he triumphed over the archbishop's "wilful blindness and ignorance;" and told him, in much charity, "That he was under the vengeance of God, a member of Satan, and damned." This, and a great deal more, may be seen in Pole's letter.

To which I might have added another letter of the said cardinal to the same archbishop, concerning the sacrament, a little after the disputation at Oxford, but that it would be too prolix, being a just treatise against Cranmer's book of that argument. This treatise bears this title:—"REGINALDI POLI Cardinalis Legati apostolici epistola ad Thomam Cranmerum, qui archiepiscopalem sedem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ tenens, novam de sacramento eucharistiæ doctrinam contra perpetuum Catholicæ ecclesiæ consensum professus est, ac tradidit. Qua epistola eum nec magistrum tanti mysterii, neque discipulum idoneum esse posse; simulque unde hic ejus error manarit, ostendit, et ad pœnitentiam hortatur."

## CHAPTER XXI.

### *He recants, repents, and is burnt.*

Having brought the archbishop unto his degradation and appeal, wherein he shewed so much Christian courage, wisdom, and fortitude, I must now represent him making a great trip and a sad fall, and mention one of the greatest blemishes of his life. For now the Popish party, thinking what a piece of glory it would be to gain this great man to their Church, used all means, all arts, as well as arguments, to bring him to recant. They set the doctors of the university upon him. He was entertained at the dean's (of Christ Church) lodgings; there they treated him with good fare. They got him to bowls with them. They let him have his pleasure in taking the air. Sometimes they accosted him with arguments and disputations; sometimes by flatteries, promises, and threatenings. They told him, "the noblemen bare him good will; that his return would be highly acceptable to the king and queen. That he should enjoy his former dignity in the Church; or, if it liked him better, he should lead a quiet life in more privacy; and that it was but setting his name in two words in a piece of paper. They told him, the queen was resolved to have Cranmer a Catholic, or no Cranmer at all. That he was still lusty and strong, and might live many a year more if he would not willingly cut off his own life by the terrible death of burning." He rejected these temptations a long while, but at last was overcome and yielded. The recantation I shall not repeat, it being to be seen at large in Fox.[1] It was signed by his hand. The witnesses thereunto were two or three, who had been exceedingly busy in tampering with him, one Sydal, a great professor in the last reign, and John and Richard, two Spanish friars.

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[1] [Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 82. The Rev. J. E. Cox, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, having been enabled to clear up many of the difficulties respecting Cranmer's recantations, the particulars which he has given, vol. ii. pp. 563—565, and pp. 567—570, will be added in the Appendix of this volume after the *Processus contra Cranmerum.*]

The doctors and prelates caused this recantation speedily to be printed and dispersed. When the queen saw his subscription, she was glad of it, but would not alter her determination to have him burned, by the instigation, as I suppose, of Pole the legate; the writ for which was sent down by Heath, lord chancellor, in the latter end of February, under the broad seal. It was charged upon his converters, that they were negligent in procuring his life from the queen; but the true reason was, the queen was resolved not to grant it. She privately gave instruction to Cole to prepare a sermon to preach at his burning; and several lords, and other justices of the peace in those parts,[1] were ordered to attend there, with their servants and retinue, to keep peace, and to see him executed. Cole, coming with his errand to Oxon, visited him in the prison, and asked him if he stood firm to what he had subscribed; this was the day before his execution, but saying nothing to him of his determined death. The next day, being the day he was to be burnt, viz. March 21, he came again, and asked him if he had any money? And, having none, he gave him certain crowns[2] to bestow to what poor he would, and so departed, exhorting him to constancy. But the disconsolate archbishop perceived to what this tended, and, being by-and-bye to be brought to St. Mary's, where Cole was to preach, there openly to confess what he had more privately subscribed, he resolved with himself to disburden his conscience, and to revoke his recantation. And he prepared a prayer, and a declaration of his faith, which he drew up in writing, and carried it privately along with him, to make use of it when he saw his occasion. The manner how he behaved himself after Cole's sermon, and how he delivered his last mind, and with what bitterness and tears he did it, and how he was pulled down by the scholars, priests, and friars, with the greatest indignation, at this their disappointment, and how he was led out of the church forthwith to the place of burning, over against Balliol College, and how he there first put his right hand into the flames to be consumed, for that base subscription that it made, and how his heart was found whole and unconsumed in the ashes, after he was burnt, these, and the rest of the particulars of his martyrdom, I might leave to Fox,[1] and other historians from him, to relate.

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[1] [Fox states them to have been, "the Lord Williams, of Thame, the Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, with other worshipful men, and justices;" vol. viii. p. 83.]

[2] ["Fifteen;" Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 83.]

Yet, because it is not convenient so briefly to pass over such a remarkable scene of his life, being his last appearance upon the stage of this world, I shall represent it in the words of a certain grave person unknown, but a Papist, who was an eye or ear witness, and related these matters, as it seems, very justly, in a letter from Oxon to his friend. Which is as followeth:[2]—

"But that I know for our great friendship, and long-continued love, you look even of duty that I should signify to you of the truth of such things as here chanceth among us; I would not at this time have written to you the unfortunate end and doubtful tragedy of T. C. late bishop of Canterbury, because I little pleasure take in beholding of such heavy sights. And, when they are once overpassed, I like not to rehearse them again; being but a renewing of my woe, and doubling my grief. For although his former life, and wretched end deserves a greater misery, (if any greater might have chanced than chanced unto him), yet, setting aside his offences to God and his country, and beholding the man without his faults, I think there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life. I have no delight to increase it. Alas! it is too much of itself, that ever so heavy a case should betide to man, and man to deserve it.

"But to come to the matter. On Saturday last, being the 21st of March, was his day appointed to die. And, because the morning was much rainy, the sermon appointed by Mr.

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[1] [Id. vol. viii. pp. 85—90.]

[2] Inter Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxxii. fol. 48].

Dr. Cole to be made at the stake, was made in St. Mary's church, whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by the mayor and aldermen, and my Lord Williams, with whom came divers gentlemen of the shire, Sir T. A. Bridges, Sir John Browne, and others. Where was prepared, over against the pulpit, an high place for him, that all the people might see him. And, when he had ascended it, he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly, which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance.

"Then Mr. Cole began his sermon. The sum whereof was this. First, he declared causes why it was expedient that he should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation. The chief are these. One was, for that he had been a great cause of all this alteration in this realm of England. And, when the matter of the divorce between King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine was commenced in the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, set upon it as judge, which was the entry to all the inconveniences that followed. Yet in that he excused him, that he thought he did it not of malice, but by the persuasions and advice of certain learned men. Another was, that he had been the great setter forth of all this heresy received into the Church in this last time, had written in it, had disputed, had continued it, even to the last hour, and that it had never been seen in this realm, (but in the time of schism), that any man continuing so long hath been pardoned; and that it was not to be remitted for ensample's sake. Other causes he alleged, but these were the chief, why it was not thought good to pardon him. Other causes beside, he said, moved the queen and the Council thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every one to understand them.

"The second part touched the audience, how they should consider this thing; that they should hereby take example to fear God; and that there was no power against the Lord; having before their eyes a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates of the Church, an archbishop, the chief of the Council, the second peer in the realm of long time; a man, as might be thought, in greatest assurance, a king of his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from an high estate to a low degree;

of a counsellor to be a caitiff; and to be set in so wretched estate, that the poorest wretch would not change conditions with him.

"The last and end appertained unto him, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture. And with these, and such, bidding him nothing mistrust but he should incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ said, 'Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.' And out of St. Paul armed him against the terrors of the fire, by this; 'Dominus fidelis est; non sinet nos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis;' by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant dew. He added hereunto the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross; the patience of St. Laurence on the fire; ascertaining him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in His faith, either will abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work; declaring what travail and conference had been used with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of His mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doing.

"And I had almost forgotten to tell you, that Mr. Cole promised him, that he should be prayed for in every church in Oxford, and should have mass and *dirige* sung for him; and spake to all the priests present to say mass for his soul.

"When he had ended his sermon, he desired all the people to pray for him, Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with them and praying for himself. I think there was never such a number so earnestly praying together. For they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion, and hope of continuance. They that loved him before could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side.

"I shall not need, for the time of sermon, to describe his behaviour, his sorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his face bedewed with tears; sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth for shame; to be brief, an image of sorrow; the dolor of his heart bursting out at his eyes in plenty of tears; retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour, which increased the pity in men's hearts, that they unfeignedly loved him, hoping it had been his repentance for his transgression and error. I shall not need, I say, to point it out unto you, you can much better imagine it yourself.

" When praying was done, he stood up, and having leave to speak, said, 'Good people, I had intended indeed to desire you to pray for me, which because Mr. Doctor hath desired, and you have done already, I thank you most heartily for it. And now will I pray for myself, as I could best devise for mine own comfort, and say the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it.' And he read it standing; and after kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer; and all the people on their knees devoutly praying with him. His prayer was thus:—

" 'O FATHER of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner. I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither should I fly for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no refuge. What shall I then do; shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that come unto thee for succour. To thee therefore do I run. To thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences. Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world; so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. For although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby; and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, Our Father which art in heaven, &c.'

"Then rising, he said, 'Every man desireth, good people, at the time of their deaths, to give some good exhortation, that other may remember after their deaths, and be the better thereby. So I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something, at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"'First, It is an heavy case to see, that many folks be so much doted upon the love of this false world, and so careful for it, that or the love of God, or the love of the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing therefore. This shall be my first exhortation. That you set not overmuch by this false glosing world, but upon God and the world to come; and learn to know what this lesson meaneth which St. John teacheth, 'That the love of this world is hatred against God.'

"'The second exhortation is, that, next unto God, you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmur or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God, knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And therefore, whoso resisteth them resisteth God's ordinance.

"'The third exhortation is, that you love all together like brethren and sistern. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man hath to another, not taking each other as sisters and brothers, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good to all men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

"'The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh those sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, 'It is hard for a rich man to enter into heaven;' a sore saying, and yet spoke by Him that knew the truth. The second is of St. John, whose saying is this, 'He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say he loveth God?'[1] Much more might I speak of every part; but time sufficeth not. I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them that be rich, ponder well those sentences, for if ever they had any occasion to shew their charity, they have now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear. For though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider that that which is given to the poor is given to God, whom we have not otherwise present corporally with us, but in the poor.

" 'And now, for so much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes, presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without colour or dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

" 'First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c., and every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, His Apostles, and Prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

" 'And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life, and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished; for if

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[1] He quoted also a third place out of James, against covetous rich men:—"Weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you; your riches doth rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver is cankered," &c.

I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.'

" And here, being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, he said, ' Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for.' He added hereunto, that, for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more.

" So that his speech contained chiefly three points, love to God, love to the king, and love to the neighbour. In the which talk he held men very suspense, which all depended upon the conclusion; where he so far deceived all men's expectations, that, at the hearing thereat, they were much amazed; and let him go on awhile, till my Lord Williams bade him play the Christian man and remember himself. To whom he answered, that he so did, for now he spake truth.

" Then he was carried away, and a great number that did run to see him go so wickedly to his death, ran after him, exhorting him, while time was, to remember himself. And one Friar John, a godly and well-learned man, all the way travelled with him to reduce him. But it would not be. What they said in particular I cannot tell, but the effect appeared in the end; for at the stake he professed that he died in all such opinions as he had taught, and oft repented him of his recantation.

" Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in his shirt; and a bachelor of divinity, named Elye, of Braze-nose College, laboured to convert him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. But when the friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin one to another, ' Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him, for the devil is with him.' But the bachelor in divinity was more earnest with him; unto whom he answered, that as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore, because he knew it was against the truth, with other words more. Whereupon the Lord Williams cried, ' Make short, make short.' Then the bishop took certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and said, he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet again he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop answered, (shewing his hand), 'This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment.'

"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while.

"His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time; but, seeing that not the death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every man; but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcass, that counted not of the folly. Other, that passed not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love, his enemies for pity; strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myself, for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind; and, being more than half-weary, I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life, with less honour, and easier death, with more praise. The 23rd of March.

"Yours, J. A."

All this is the testimony of an adversary, and therefore we must allow for some of his words; but may be the more certain of the archbishop's brave courage, constancy, patience, Christian and holy behaviour, being related by one so affected.[1]

In regard of this holy prelate's life, taken away by martyrdom, I cannot but take notice here of two things, as though God had given him some intimation thereof long before it happened. The one is, that whereas his paternal coat of arms was three cranes (alluding to his name), King Henry appointed him to bear in the room thereof three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood. The like coat of arms, or much resembling it, I find several of Queen Elizabeth's first bishops took; whether to imitate Cranmer, or to signify their zeal to the Gospel, and their readiness to suffer for it, I do not determine. The other remark I make is, what his friend Andreas Osiander, in an epistle to him in the year 1537,[2] told him; which was, that he had *animum vel martyrio parem*, "a mind fit or ready for martyrdom." And so took occasion to exhort him at large to bear the afflictions that were to attend him, as though God had inspired that great German divine with a prophetic spirit, to acquaint this his faithful servant by what death he should glorify God, and what sufferings he must undergo for His sake. He urged him to "contemn all dangers in asserting and preserving the sincere doctrine of Christ, since, as St. Paul testified, that 'all that would live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.' How much, said he, ought we to reckon that you are to receive the various assaults of Satan, seeing that you are thus good for the good of many. But,

'Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.'

'Yield not to these evils, but go on the more boldly.' And, seeing you must bear adversity, remember that we are baptized into the death of Christ, and buried together with Him, that we may be once made partakers of his resurrection and eternal happiness."

I do not find who were the queen's great instigators, (now Winchester[3] was dead), stirring her up not to spare this prelate, but by any means to put him to death, and that even after his subscription; nor for what reason of state this resolution was taken at court, notwithstanding his former good merits towards the queen, who therefore certainly must have felt great strugglings before she could yield to have him die; but I am apt to suspect the cardinal, who now governed the queen, had no small hand in it, to show his zeal for the papacy, and to revenge the injuries done it in King Henry's reign, as well as to succeed in his place. For his Latin letter to the archbishop, mentioned above,[1] savoured of a great deal of malice and mortal hatred towards him. In this letter, it appears, the cardinal looked upon our archbishop as a mere infidel and apostate from Christianity, and so to be treated. For in the very beginning he makes it a matter of conscience to write to him, "It being in effect as much as receiving him into his house; against which St. John gave a charge, speaking of Christians turned heathens, that 'they should not be received into our houses, nor bid God speed.'[2] And therefore he wrote he was once in his mind not to speak at all to him, but to God rather concerning him, to send fire from heaven and consume him. And asketh the question, [as though it could not be reasonably gainsaid], whether he should not do justly in this imprecation upon him, who had before cast out the king out of the house of God, that is, the Church. He meant, as he explained himself, casting him out, as Satan cast out man from paradise, not by force, but by deceivable counsels. That him the archbishop had followed, and by his impious advice, forced the king to disjoin himself from the communion of the Church, and his country, together with himself, and wickedly betrayed the Church, the mother of us all; to the opposing whereof he gave Satan all advantages, to the destruction as well of souls as bodies. That he was the worst of all others. For they, being beset on all sides with divers temptations, a great while resisted, and at last indeed gave way; but he, the archbishop, of his own free accord, walked in the counsel of the ungodly; and not only so, but stood in it, and in the way of sinners, and confirmed the king therein; and moreover sat in the seat of the scornful. That when he came first to the episcopal chair, he was called to it to cheat both God and man: and that he began his actions with putting a cheat upon the king; and, together with him, upon the Church and his country." This, and a great deal more to the same purpose, he tells the archbishop plainly and expressly, though under a show of great sanctity, which shows with what an implacable mind he stood affected towards him.

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[1] [See vol. i. pp. 181, 182.]
[2] Ep. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evan.
[3] [*I.e.* Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.]

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[1] [Page 117.]

[2] Ep. John ii. 10.

And thus we have brought this excellent prelate unto his end, after two years and a half's hard imprisonment. His body was not carried to the grave in state, nor buried, as many of his predecessors were, in his own cathedral church, nor enclosed in a monument of marble or touchstone. Nor had he any inscription to set forth his praises to posterity; no shrine to be visited by devout pilgrims, as his predecessors St. Dunstan and St. Thomas had. Shall we therefore say, as the poet doth,

> "Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
> Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse deos?"

No; we are better Christians, I trust, than so, who are taught, that the rewards of God's elect are not temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlast an epitaph or a shrine. But methinks it is pity, that his heart, that remained sound in the fire, and was found unconsumed in his ashes, was not preserved in some urn, which, when the better times of Queen Elizabeth came, might, in memory of this truly great and good Thomas of Canterbury, have been placed among his predecessors in his church there, as one of the truest glories of that see.

Though these three martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were parted asunder, and placed in separate lodgings, that they might not confer together, yet they were suffered sometimes to eat together in the prison of Bocardo. I have seen a book of their diet every dinner and supper, and the charge thereof,[1] which was at the expense of [Thomas] Winkle and [John] Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time, under whose custody they were. As for example in this method:—

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[1] MSS. C.C.C.C. [No. cxxviii. fol. 365].

The 1st of October dinner.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bread and ale | ii d. |
| Item, oisters | i d. |
| Item, butter | ii d. |
| Item, eggs | ii d. |
| Item, lyng[1] | viii d. |
| Item, a piece of fresh salmon | x d. |
| Wine | iii d. |
| Cheese and pears | ii d. |
| | ii s. vi d. |

From this book of their expenses give me leave to make these few observations. They ate constantly suppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three or four shillings, seldom exceeding four. Their bread and ale commonly came to twopence or threepence. They had constantly cheese and pears for their last dish, both at dinner and supper, and always wine, the price whereof was ever threepence, and no more. The prices of their provisions (it being now an extraordinary dear time) were as follow:—A goose, 14d. A pig, 12d. or 13d. A cony, 6d. A woodcock, 3d. and sometimes 5d. A couple of chickens, 6d. Three plovers, 10d. Half a dozen larks, 3d. A dozen of larks and two plovers, 10d. A breast of veal, 11d. A shoulder of mutton, 10d. Roast beef, 12d.

The last disbursements (which have melancholy in the reading) were these:—

| | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|
| For three loads of wood-fagots to burn Ridley and Latimer | 12 | 0 |
| Item, one load of furs-fagots | 3 | 4 |
| For the carriage of these four loads | 2 | 0 |
| Item, a post | 1 | 4 |
| Item, two chains | 3 | 4 |
| Item, two staples | 0 | 6 |
| Item, four labourers | 2 | 8 |

Then follow the charges for burning Cranmer:—

| | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|
| For an 100 of wood-fagots | 6 | 0 |
| For an 100 and half of furs-fagots | 3 | 4 |
| For the carriage of them | 0 | 8 |
| To two labourers | 1 | 4 |

It seems the superiors in those days were more zealous to send these three good men to Oxon, and there to serve their ends upon them, and afterwards to burn them, than they were careful honestly to pay the charges thereof. For Winkle and Wells, notwithstanding all their endeavours to get themselves reimbursed of what they had laid out, which came to sixty-three pounds ten shillings and twopence, could never get but twenty pounds, which they received by the means of Sir William Petre, secretary of state. Insomuch that, in the year 1566, they put up a petition to Archbishop Parker and the other bishops, that they would among themselves raise and repay that sum, which the said bailiffs were out of purse in feeding of these three reverend fathers. In which petition they set forth, "That, in the second and third years of King Philip and Queen Mary, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, and Bishop Ridley, were by order of council committed to the custody of them, and so continued a certain time; and for them they disbursed the sum of £63. 10s. 2d.; whereof but £20 was paid to them. Therefore they pray his grace, and the rest of his bishops, to be a means among themselves that the remaining sum may be paid to them, being £43. 10s. 2d., or some part thereof; otherwise they, and their poor wives and children, should be utterly undone." And, to give the better countenance to these men that were going to carry up their petition, Laurence Humfrey, president of Magdalen College, and the queen's professor, wrote this letter on their behalf to Archbishop Parker.

*JEH.*

"My humble commendations presupposed in the Lord. To be a suitor in another man's case, it seemeth boldness; and, in a matter of money, to write to your grace, is more than sauciness: yet charity, 'operiens multitudinem peccatorum,' doth move me, and will persuade you to hear him. A debt is due unto him for the table of Mr. Dr. Cranmer, by the queen's majesty's appointment. And Mr. Secretary in Oxford wished him, at that time of business in progress, to make some motion to the bishops for some relief. The case is miserable. The debt is just. His charges in the suit have been great. His honesty, I assure your grace, deserves pitiful consideration. And for that my lord of Sarum[1] writeth to me, as here, in Oxford, he promised that his part shall not be behind, what order soever it please my lords to take for the despatch of the same. I request your grace, as successor to that right reverend father, and chief patron of such poor suitors, to make, by your good means, some collection for him among the rest of my lords the bishops, that his goodwill, showed to that worthy martyr, may of you be considered, and so be bound to your goodness, of his part altogether undeserved. Thus recommending the common cause of reformation to you, and myself and this poor man to your good remembrance, I leave to trouble you. Requesting you once again to hear him, and tender his cause even of charity for God his sake, to whose protection I commend your grace. From Oxon, November 22, anno 1566.

"Your grace's humble orator, LAUR. HUMFREY."[2]

Though I cannot trace this any further, yet I make no doubt this petition was favourably received with the archbishop and bishops. It seems, in Cranmer's lifetime, money was sent to Oxford for the sustentation of these prisoners of Christ, but embezzled. For one W. Pantry, of Oxford, received forty pounds at Mr. Stonelye's hand for my Lord Cranmer, and the other two in like case. This was declared by the bailiffs to Thomas Doyley, Esq., steward to Archbishop Parker.

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[1] [John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury.]

[2] Ex Biblioth. C.C.C.C. [No. cxxviii. (s.)].

# CHAPTER XXII.

## *Cranmer's Books and Writings.*

Having brought our history of this singular and extraordinary light of the Church to this period, we will, before we take our leave of him, gather up some few fragments more, thinking it pity that anything should be lost that may either serve to communicate any knowledge of him to posterity, or to clear and vindicate him from aspersions or misrepresentations, vulgarly conceived of him. And here will fall under our consideration, first, his books and writings; after them, his acquaintance with learned men, and his favour to them and learning; then, some matters relating to his family and officers; and lastly, we shall conclude with some observations upon him.

For the pen of this great divine was not idle, being employed, as earnestly as his authority and influence, for the furtherance of religion, and rescue of this Church from Popish superstition and foreign jurisdiction. He laid a solid foundation in learning by his long and serious studies in the university, to which he was much addicted, insomuch that this was one of the causes which made him so labour, by the interest of his friends with King Henry, to be excused from taking the archbishopric of Canterbury; because this promotion would so much interrupt his beloved studies, desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book. And as he had been a hard student, so he was a very great writer, both in respect of the number of books and treatises he compiled, as of the learning, judgment, and moment of them.

The first treatise he wrote was that which was done at the command of Henry VIII. viz. concerning the unlawfulness of his marriage with his brother Arthur's widow, which he made appear to be both against the word of God, and against the judgment of the ancient Fathers of the Church, and therefore a case indispensable by the Pope. And so well had he studied the point, and so well was assured of what he had wrote, that he undertook, before the king, to maintain the truth of it at Rome, in the presence of the Pope himself. The king accordingly dismissed him to the Pope, in joint embassy with the earl of Wiltshire, and some others for that purpose. He presented his book to the Pope, offering to stand by it against any whomsoever that should attempt to gainsay it. But the Pope thought not fit to suffer so tender a point to be disputed, wherein his prerogative was so much touched. When he had finished this discourse, it was sent to Cambridge, and had the approbation and subscription of the eminentest doctors there, viz. Salcot, Repps, Crome, and divers others. Among which, I suppose, were Heynes, Latimer, Shaxton, Skip, Goodrich, Heath, who were then gremials.

After this book, he was much employed in writing more, at various times, and upon various occasions. Fox mentioneth Cranmer's book of the Reformation, (which I suppose was that of the public service), the Catechism, the book of Homilies, which was part by him composed, and part by his procurement, and by him approved and published. Likewise the confutation of eighty-eight articles, devised and propounded by a Convocation in King Henry's reign, and laboured to be received and enjoined, though they were not.[1]

But his discourse, wherein he stated the doctrine of the Sacrament in five books, must especially be remembered, which he wrote on purpose for the public instruction of the Church of England. And it is the more to be valued, as being writ by him in his mature age, after all his great readings and studies, and most diligent and serious perusals of all the ecclesiastical writers, whereby he became thoroughly acquainted with their judgments and opinions in that doctrine. And in it are contained his last and ripest thoughts on that argument. This book displayeth the great weakness of that distinguishing doctrine of the Church of Rome, that asserts transubstantiation.

Besides these, many other writings and discourses were made by him, which we are beholden to the bishop of Sarum for retrieving the memory of, and preserving the substance of divers of them in his excellent History, viz.:—

A learned Speech, made to the lords concerning the Pope and a general council,[1] which that right reverend author thinks was made about the year 1534, which was soon after his being made archbishop.

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 35, 36.]

Some Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses in religion, whereby the people had been deceived.[2]

Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the answers which were given to them by Archbishop Cranmer.[3]

Some Considerations to induce the king to proceed to a further Reformation.[4] These three last were presented by the archbishop to the king, about the year 1536, as the bishop of Sarum supposeth; and, having seen the originals thereof in the Cotton library,[5] hath transcribed them to us in the Addenda to the Collections.

His Resolution of Seventeen Questions concerning the Sacraments, anno 1540.[6]

A Collection of Passages out of the Canon Law, to show the necessity of reforming it, anno 1542.[7]

His letters to Osiander, and letters of Osiander to him, concerning the proceedings of the German divines, whose violence the archbishop disliked.[8]

A speech made in the Convocation, wherein he exhorted the clergy to give themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and to consider seriously what things in the Church needed reformation, anno 1547.[9]

His answer to the demands of the rebels in the west; drawn up by him by order of the council, anno 1549.[10]

His declaration, to vindicate himself from an aspersion, that he had caused mass [to be] sung in Canterbury, and offering therein a public dispute to maintain the Reformation, anno 1553.[1]

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[1] Hist. Ref. part i. p. 174 [vol. i. p. 353].

[2] [Hist. Ref.] ubi supra, p. 364 [vol. i. part ii. Add. No. 2, pp. 476—479].

[3] Ibid. [vol i. part ii. Add. No. 3, p. 479].

[4] Ibid. [vol. i. part ii. Add. No. 4, pp. 480—482].

[5] [Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. v. 50.]

[6] Ubi supra, p. 289 [vol. i. pp. 578—582, and part ii. book iii. No. 21, pp. 314—367].

[7] Ubi supra, p. 330 [vol. i. part ii. book iii. No. 27, pp. 391—398. For this Collection, &c. see Parker Society's edition of Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 68—75, where all the references to the Corpus Juris Canonici have been supplied with singular labour and accuracy by the editor, the Rev. J. E. Cox].

[8] Page 171 [vol. i. p. 348].

[9] Hist. Ref. part ii. p. 40.

[10] Page 116 [vol. ii. pp. 239—241. See Appendix, No. XL.].

Besides two volumes in folio, writ by Cranmer's own hand, upon all the heads of religion, consisting of allegations of texts of Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen, upon each subject.[2] There were also six or seven volumes of his writings, which were in the Lord Burleigh's possession, as appeared by a letter of the said lord, which the bishop of Sarum saw; but he thought these may now be lost.[3] Most of the forementioned writings are preserved in the Cotton library, or in that of Corpus Christi, Cambridge; or among the manuscripts of the right reverend Bishop Stillingfleet.

To which we must add the mention of a bundle of books lying in the palace treasury in Westminster, in defence of the king's title of Supreme Head, and concerning the divorce, and several other matters, against Cardinal Pole, which are supposed to be written partly by Dr. Clark, bishop of Bath and Wells, and partly by our archbishop.[4]

Several other letters, speeches, and arguments of our archbishop, may be found in these memorials, which I omit here rehearsing. But I will add to these divers pieces besides of this prelate's writing, as they are set down by Melchior Adam, at the end of Cranmer's life, who indeed did but transcribe them from Gesner, and he from John Bale's Centuries.[5]

I. A Preface to the English translation of the Bible. This is transcribed in the Appendix.

II. A Catechism of Christian Doctrine, printed by Gualter Lynn, anno 1548. This catechism was first framed in Germany, and by the archbishop himself, or his special order, turned into English.[1] And, to fix an authority to the same, he caused it to be published in his own name, and owned it for his own book. This Dr. Rowland Taylor, who lived in the archbishop's family, declared before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, at his examination before him.[2] And in this sense we must understand the author of the History of the Reformation, when, speaking of this Catechism, he styles it, "a work that was wholly his own."[3] It was said that before that Justus Jonas, (he, I suppose, that dwelt with the archbishop), was the translator of it into Latin.[4] It treated of the sacrament after the Lutheran way; which way the archbishop embraced next after his rejection of the gross papal transubstantiation. This Catechism was printed first, by the archbishop's order, about the time of King Henry's death, or soon after. In a second edition the word *not* was inserted in a certain place of the book, to alter the doctrine of the real presence, which was asserted in the first edition. This Dr. Martin, one of Queen Mary's commissioners, threw in his dish at his examination in Oxford. But the archbishop professed his ignorance concerning the foisting of that word. The addition of which word, indeed, he thought was needless, still holding the body and blood *truly* present in the holy supper, though after a spiritual manner.[5]

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[1] Hist. Ref. page 248 [vol. ii. part ii. book ii. No. 8, pp. 349—351. See also Parker Society's edition of Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i. p. 428].

[2] Hist. Ref. part ii. p. 171 [vol. i. pp. 576, 577. See also Parker Society's edition of Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 203—211].

[3] [Vol. i. p. 348.]

[4] [Wood's] Athen. Oxon. p. 578.

[5] [For a list of Cranmer's writings, as given by Bale, Script. Illustr. Maj. Brit. Cat. see Biographical Notice, vol. ii. p. 12, of Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works.]

III. The ordinances or appointments of the Reformed Church. This was the book of Common Prayer, with the preface before it, beginning, "There was never anything,"[6] &c. as I learn out of Bale.

IV. One book of ordaining ministers. Which I suppose was the form of ordination published in the year 1550.[7]

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[1] ["This Catechism was first made in Latin by another, but translated by Cranmer's order; and it was reviewed by him."—Burnet, Hist. of Reformat. vol. iii. part ii. p. 545. See also vol. ii. pp. 145 and 147, where Burnet had said, "the work was wholly Cranmer's own." This opinion it will be seen Burnet corrected in the above quotation.]

[2] See Dr. Taylor's Letter, in Fox [vol. vi. p. 685].

[3] Hist. Ref. part ii. p. 71 [vol. ii. p. 147].

[4] [See vol. i. p. 227 of this edition.]

[5] [See "Talk between Cranmer and Dr. Martin:" Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 57.]

[6] [See Parker Society's edition of Liturgies of Edward VI. p. 18.]

[7] [Id. pp. 159—186.]

V. One book concerning the Eucharist with Luther, with whom Cranmer once consented in the doctrine of the presence.[1]

VI. A Defence of the Catholic Doctrine, in five books. Which was his excellent work, in vindication of himself against Bishop Gardiner, and Dr. Richard Smith, whereof much hath been said before.[2]

VII. Ecclesiastical Laws in the time of King Edward. This was the book of the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, the management of which was, by the king's letters, committed to eight, whereof Cranmer was the chief.

VIII. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; against Gardiner's sermon. This sermon is the same, I suppose, with that book of his, intituled, "A Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned People of the true Belief of the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar." Which gave occasion to the archbishop's first writing upon this argument.

IX. One book against the error of transubstantiation.

X. One book, how Christ is present in the Supper.

XI. One book, concerning eating the Lord's Supper.

XII. One book, concerning the offering up of Christ. These five books last mentioned are nothing else but the five parts of his book of the holy Sacrament, mentioned before.

XIII. One book of Christian Homilies, which must be the first part of our book of Homilies, published under King Edward.[3]

XIV. One book in answer to the calumnies of Richard Smith. For this man had writ against Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, as well as Gardiner; but done it so scurrilously, that Cranmer calls it, his *calumnies*.[4]

XV. Confutations of Unwritten Verities. Written against a book of the same Smith, intituled, "De veritatibus non scriptis," which he afterwards recanted.[5]

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[1] [For these books, see Parker Society's edition of the Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. i.]

[2] [See Parker Society's edition of Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 498—505.]

[3] [See Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 128—149.]

[4] [Id. vol. i. pp. 368—379.]

[5] [Id. vol. ii. pp. 1—67.]

XVI. Twelve books of Common-places, taken out of the doctors. Those volumes mentioned by Bishop Burnet, I suppose, were some of these common-place books.[1]

XVII. Concerning not marrying the Brother's Wife: two books. Which must be those drawn up for the use, and by the command, of King Henry.

XVIII. Against the Pope's supremacy: two books. This was the declaration against the papal supremacy, said to be put forth by the bishops, in the year 1536, upon occasion of Pole's book of "Ecclesiastical Union."

XIX. Against the Pope's Purgatory: two books.

XX. Concerning Justification: two books. I cannot trace these two last-mentioned books, unless by them be meant those two treatises of justification and purgatory, that are set at the end of the Institution.

XXI. Pious Prayers: one book. This book, I suppose, was the "Orarium, seu libellus precationum," put forth by the king and clergy, 1545. From whence a book of prayers was translated into English, anno 1552.

XXII. Letters to learned Men: one book. This I cannot hear any tidings of.[2]

XXIII. Against the Sacrifice of the Mass, and against the Adoration of the Bread, one book; said to be writ while he was a prisoner,[3] which makes me conclude it to be part of his reply to Gardiner's second assault of him, under the name of *Constantius*.

XXIV. To Queen Mary, one book, or rather one letter; which was that he writ after his examinations before her commissioners, and the pope's sub-delegate.[4]

If somebody of leisure, and that had the opportunity of libraries, would take the pains to collect together all these books, and other writings of this archbishop, and publish them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the memory of this extraordinary man, who deserved so well of this Church, and serving also much to illustrate the history of its reformation. But I know nothing of this nature done since the industrious John Day, in the year 1580, printed a book in folio, containing our archbishop's "Answer unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the true Doctrine of the Sacrament: also to Richard Smith. Also, A true Copy of the Book writ by Stephen Gardiner. Also, The Life and Martyrdom of Cranmer, extracted out of the Book of Martyrs." [1]

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[1] [See above, p. 138.]

[2] [For the Letters of Cranmer, see Jenkyns' Remains, and also Parker Society's edition of his Works.]

[3] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 35.]

[4] [Id. vol. viii. p. 91.]

And now we are mentioning this great prelate's writings, it may not be unworthy to take notice of what I meet with in a letter of Archbishop Parker to Secretary Cecil, in the year 1563, his grace being then at Canterbury. Where he spake of the *great notable written books*, as he styles them, of his predecessor Dr. Cranmer, which he had left behind him at some of his houses at or near Canterbury, whether Ford or Beakesbourne, or both, or with some friends in those parts. These manuscripts, it seems, were embezzled and surreptitiously taken away by private hands, probably during his restraint in Queen Mary's days, and now studiously concealed by some that were minded, it may be, to stifle them, being chiefly levelled against the Roman Church and bishop. Parker, who was a great and painful searcher after ancient and learned manuscripts, and a diligent retriever of eminent men's writings, had, by credible information, learned in what hands many of those books were, and had sent either for the persons concerned, or to them, to demand the said books. But they denied them; whereupon, knowing no other way to recover them, he desired the secretary, by some power from the queen's council, to authorize him to inquire and search for those books, and such-like monuments, by all ways, as by the said Parker's discretion should be thought good, whether giving the parties an oath, or viewing their studies. Wishing he might recover them to be afterwards at the queen's commandment; adding, that he should be as glad to win them, as he would be to restore an old chancel to reparation. This letter of Archbishop Parker I have inserted in the Appendix.[2] But whether, after all his diligence, he succeeded in the recovery of those manuscripts, I know not. I am apt to think he did, and that these writings of Cranmer, that were in his possession, and afterwards bequeathed unto the library of Benet College, and those other divers volumes, which were, as was before said, in the keeping of the Lord Burghley,[1] might be some at least of them.

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[1] [That which Strype thought would be so "worthy a work," has at length been accomplished by Dr. Jenkyns in his Remains of Abp. Cranmer, and also by the Rev. J. E. Cox, for the Parker Society.]

[2] No. XC.

An inquisitive man would be glad to know what the matter and contents of these numerous writings of our archbishop were; and that, seeing so many of them are perished, the knowledge of the various subjects of them at least might be preserved. This, besides what hath been shown already, may be gathered by what I find in a supplication made to Queen Elizabeth by Ralph Morice, that had been his secretary for the space of twenty years, during which time he was employed by that most reverend father, in writing for him, "about the serious affairs of the prince and realm, committed unto him by those most noble and worthy princes, King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., concerning as well the writings of those great and weighty matrimonial causes of the said King Henry VIII. as also about the extirpation of the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority, the reformation of corrupt religion and ecclesiastical laws, and alteration of divine service; and of divers and sundry conferences of learned men for the establishing and advancement of sincere religion, with such like. Wherein, he said, he was most painfully occupied in writing of no small volumes from time to time."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### *The Archbishop's regard to learned Men.*

From these truly noble and useful exercises of his great knowledge and learning, let us descend unto the respect he bare to good letters, which appeared from his favour to places of learning, and men of learning. We shewed before what were the applications of the University of Cambridge to him, and what a gracious patron he was to it and its members.[1]

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[1] [See above, p. 138.]

Among whose good offices to that university, besides those already mentioned, it must not be omitted, that he was the great instrument of placing there those two very learned foreign divines, Paulus Fagius and Martin Bucer. By his frequent letters to them, then at Strasburgh, urging them with the distracted and dangerous state of Germany, he first brought them over into England in the year 1548: and, having entertained them in his family, the next year he preferred them both in Cambridge; Fagius to be public professor of the Hebrew tongue, and Bucer of divinity. And, beside the university salary, he procured for each of them from the king in the third year of his reign, patents for an honorary stipend of an hundred pounds per annum each, "de gratia speciali domini regis," to be paid by the hands of the clerk of the hanaper, or out of the treasury of the court of augmentations, "durante beneplacito domini regis:" as I find by King Edward VI.'s book of sales, formerly mentioned. Which patents bear date September 26, anno 1549, and their salaries payable from the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin. By the way, I do not see anywhere in the said book of sales that Peter Martyr, placed professor of divinity in the other university of Oxon, enjoyed any such royal salary, though he also had been invited over by Canterbury with the king's knowledge and allowance, and placed there by that archbishop's means.

Yet he, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowances from the king; and so, I suppose, had all other learned foreigners here. Melancthon also, who was now expected over, was intended some more extraordinary gratuity. Unto this noble Christian hospitality and liberality, Latimer, the great court preacher, excited the king in one of his sermons before him. The passage may deserve to be repeated: "I heard say Master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, [to have] two hundred pounds a year: the king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr and Barnard Ochin, which have a hundred marks apiece: I would the king would bestow a thousand pound on that sort."[1] These matters, I doubt not, were concerted between Latimer and our archbishop before; at whose palace he now was for the most part; as I find by one of his sermons, wherein he speaks of his taking boat at Lambeth;[2] and, in another place, he mentioneth a book he met with in my lord of Canterbury's library,[3] and elsewhere of many suitors that applied to him at my lord of Canterbury's, that interrupted his studies there.[4] The use I make of this is, that it is a fair conjecture hence, that this, and the many other excellent things so plainly propounded by this preacher to King Edward, happened by the counsel and suggestion of the archbishop. But to return.

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[1] [See vol. i. p. 232, of this edition.]

There was one Dr. William Mowse, a civilian, and probably one of his officers, whom, for his merits and learning, our archbishop for many a year had been a special benefactor to. Sir John Cheke also bare him a very good will. Upon the removal of Dr. Haddon to some other preferment, this Dr. Mowse succeeded master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. And, in the year 1552, the archbishop, valuing his worth and integrity, was a suitor at court for some further preferment for him, whatever it were, which the study of the civil law had qualified him for; writing his letters on Mowse's behalf to Secretary Cecil, who was then with the king in his progress, not to forget him. And accordingly he was remembered, and obtained the place; for which the archbishop afterwards gave him his most hearty thanks. And Dr. Mowse also sent the same secretary a letter of thanks from Cambridge for the preferment he had obtained by his means: the main drift thereof was, to excuse himself for his neglect, in that he had not sooner paid his acknowledgments, which, as it seems, the secretary had taken some notice of, having expected to be thanked for the kindness he had done him. This letter, because there is therein mention made of our archbishop's singular munificence, and Cheke's affection towards him, and Mowse himself once making a figure in that university, I have thought it not amiss to insert in the Appendix;[1] though this man seemed to be none of the steadiest in his religion. For I find him put out of his mastership of Trinity Hall, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, for having been a Protestant, and to make way for the restoration of Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had been outed before. Upon whose death that mastership falling void, and Mowse having complied with the Romish religion, he became master there again. And soon after, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was deprived by her commissioners for being a Papist, and one Harvey came in his room.

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[1] [See Parker Society's edition of Works of Latimer, vol. i. p. 141, by which the above quotation has been corrected.]

[2] [Id. p. 205.]

[3] [Id. p. 209.]

[4] [Id. p. 127.]

Dr. Mowse's fickleness appeared, that, upon the first tidings that fled to Cambridge of Queen Mary's success against the Lady Jane's party, he, with several other temporizing university-men, changed his religion, and, in four and twenty hours, was both Protestant and Papist. The truth is, his judgment varied according to his worldly interest, and, being one of those that came about so roundly, he was appointed, by the complying party of the university, to be one of the two, (Dr. Hatcher being the other), that should repair unto Dr. Sands, then the vice-chancellor, to demand of him, without any colour of reason or authority, the university-books, the keys, and such other things as were in his keeping. And so they did. And my author makes an observation of his ingratitude, as well as of his inconstancy: viz. "That he that was an earnest Protestant but the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done much good for, was now become a Papist, and his great enemy."[2]

Thus was our archbishop a friend to this man, and divers others, who went along with him as far as he and the times favoured them; but, when these failed them, they failed the archbishop through timorousness in some, and worldly respects in others.

But once more of this Dr. Mowse, and I have done with him. As a reward of his forwardness at Cambridge, before mentioned, I find he was soon after incorporated at Oxon,

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[1] No. XCI.

[2] Fox['s Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 591].

(together with Andrew Pern, D.D., a man of the same inconstancy), and preferred to be reader of the civil law there, in the room of Dr. Aubrey, who probably was removed for incompliance.[1] And, when the next change happened under Queen Elizabeth, Mowse came about again, and, in the year 1560, obtained a prebend in the church of York. He lived till the year 1588, leaving some benefactions to his old college.

The archbishop was indeed a great patron to all learned and pious men, especially those of the Reformation, cherishing those not only of his own country, but foreigners and strangers also. And as he brought over divers with him, when he returned into England from his embassy in Germany, so he sent for more; and such as came to him he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to, keeping them at his own cost, till he had made provisions for them either in the church, or university.

For Erasmus our archbishop had a great value, whose worth and service to the Church he well knew. He allowed him an honorary pension, promising him, that he would be no less kind unto him than his predecessor Warham had been before him, which archbishop was one of Erasmus' best and most extraordinary friends and benefactors. Of whom he used these words, to a friend of his, "Qui mihi unus multorum instar erat."[2] Soon after the succession of Cranmer into this archbishop's room, Sir Thomas More wrote to Erasmus, that he, that then filled the see of Canterbury, bore no less love to him than Warham had done before; and "Quo non alius vixit tui amantior," "that there was no man living loved him better." And Erasmus himself, mentioning his great loss in Archbishop Warham, and divers other patrons of his, that were taken off by death, comforted himself that God had made up those losses to him by raising him up other friends. "So," saith he, "in the room of Warham succeeded the reverend Thomas Cranmer, (professione theologus, vir integerrimus, candidissimisque moribus, qui ultro pollicitus est sese in studio ac beneficentia erga me, priori nequaquam cessurum: et quod sponte pollicitus est, sponte præstare cœpit: ut mihi

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[1] [Wood's] Athen. Oxon. [p. 668].

[2] Eras. Ep. 10, lib. 27 [p. 1510].

Vuaramus non ereptus, sed in Crannero renatus videri queat); by profession a divine, a person of the greatest integrity, and most unblameable behaviour, who of his own accord promised, that, in favour and kindness toward me, he would be no ways behind his predecessor. And that which he voluntarily promised, he hath voluntarily begun to make good. So that, methinks, Warham is not taken away from me, but rather born again to me in Cranmer."[1] One specimen of his munificence towards this learned man I met with in one of his letters, wherein he acknowledged to have received of Cranmer eighteen angels, when the bishop of Lincoln sent him also fifteen, and the Lord Crumwel twenty.

Alexander Aless was another learned stranger, whom our archbishop gave harbour and shewed favour to, a Scotchman by birth, but that had long lived and conversed with Melancthon in Germany, who, knowing the generous and hospitable disposition of the archbishop, recommended this Aless to him, giving a high character of him for his learning, probity, and diligence in every good office. In the year 1535, he brought over from Melancthon a book, to be presented to the archbishop: wherein "that learned German laboured, (as he told the archbishop in his letter, sent at the same time), to state diligently and profitably most of the controversies, and, as much as he could, to mitigate them: leaving the judgment of the whole unto his grace, and such learned and pious men as he, from whose judgment, (he said), he would never differ in the church of Christ: desiring him also to acquaint Aless what his grace's own judgment was of the book, that Aless might signify the same unto him."[2] Such was the deference Melancthon gave unto the learning and censure of Cranmer. This book I should suppose to have been his Common-places, but that they came out a year after. By the same messenger he sent another of these books to be presented in his name to the king; and, in case the archbishop approved of what he had wrote, he entreated him to introduce the bringer, and to assist him in the presenting of it. Upon these recommendations of Aless, and the archbishop's own satisfaction in the worth of the man, he retained him with him at Lambeth, and much esteemed him. This was that Aless that Crumwel, probably by Cranmer's means, brought with him to the Convocation in the year 1536, whom he desired to deliver there his opinion about the sacrament; who did so, and enlarged in a discourse, asserting two sacraments only instituted by Christ; namely, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper: as the author of the British Antiquities relates, *ad ann.* 1537, calling him there "virum in theologia perductum," a thorough-paced divine.[1]

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[1] Epist. 7, lib. 27 [p. 1498].

[2] Melancth. Epist.

This man compiled a useful treatise against the schism laid to the charge of Protestants by those of the church of Rome; the substance and arguments of which book were Melancthon's own invention, but Aless composed and brought it into method and words. This book Melancthon sent unto George, prince of Anhalt. The consolations of which, as he wrote to that noble and religious man, he was wont to inculcate upon himself, against those who objected commonly to them "the horrible crime of schism,"[2] as he styles it: "for," saith he, "their monstrous cruelty is sufficient to excuse us;" which, it seems, was one of the arguments whereby they defended themselves against that charge; esteeming it lawful and necessary to leave the communion of a church which countenanced and practised cruelty, a thing so contrary to one of the great and fundamental laws of Christian religion, namely, that of love; and that their abiding in a church where such bloody and barbarous practices were, would argue their approbation and concurrence.

And as Melancthon made use of him in composing his thoughts into a handsome style, so did another great light of the same nation; I mean Bucer. In King Edward's days he had wrote a book in the German, that is, in his own country language, about ordination to the ministry in this kingdom of England, intituled, "Ordinatio ecclesiæ, seu ministerii ecclesiastici in florentissimo Angliæ regno." This our Aless turned into Latin, and published, "for the consolation of the churches everywhere in those sad times," as it ran in the title.

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[1] [Parker, Antiq. Brit. "Cranmer."]

[2] "Atrox schismatis crimen," Epist. 36, lib. 1. "Satis excusat nos istorum horribilis crudelitas, quam profecto neque adjuvare neque approbare debemus."—Ubi supra.

If any desire to look backward unto the more early times of this man, the first tidings we have of him was about the year 1534, when, upon a sharp persecution raised in Scotland, he, with other learned men, fled thence into England, and was received into Crumwel's family.[1] And it is said that he became known to, and grew into such favour with, King Henry, that he called him *his scholar*. But, after Crumwel's death, in the year 1540, he, taking one Fife with him, went into Saxony; where both of them were, for their great learning, made professors in the university of Leipsic.

In the year 1557 I find this man at Leipsic, where he was professor of divinity, as was said before. Hither this year Melancthon sent to him from Worms, giving him some account of the preparations that were making by the Roman Catholic party, in order to a conference with the Protestants;[2] at which the said Aless was to be present, and make one of the disputants on the Protestant side. And, ten years before this, viz. 1547, he was the public moderator of divinity, both in the schools and pulpits of Leipsic, or some other university.[3]

Besides this Aless, there were four other pious and learned persons, foreigners, who, bringing along with them letters of recommendation from the said Melancthon, were courteously received, and freely entertained by our hospitable archbishop, all of them, in the year 1548, at which time the persecution grew hot upon the Interim. One of these was Gualter, another Scot by nation. A second was one named Francis Dryander, an acquaintance of Melancthon's of long continuance. "Whom," as he told the archbishop, "he had tried and known inwardly, and found him endowed with excellent parts, well furnished with learning; that he judged rightly of the controversies, altogether free from all wild and seditious opinions; and that he would soon perceive the singular gravity of his manners, after some few days' knowledge of him; motioning withal to the archbishop his fitness to be preferred in either of our universities. As he did also to King Edward, in letters brought at this time to him by the said Dryander;"[1] wherein he recommended him to that king, as one that would prove a very useful person, either in his universities, or elsewhere in his kingdom.

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[1] Hist. Ref. part i. p. 308 [vol. i. pp. 616, 617].

[2] Mel. Ep. [111, lib. iii. Alexand. Aless] p. 359, edit. 1647.

[3] "Cum et in templis, et in scholis doctrinam gubernes."—Mel. Ep. 111, lib. 3 [ut supra].

This recommendation had so much force, that this man seemed soon after to be sent and placed at Oxon, and there remained, till, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when all strangers were commanded to depart the realm, he went hence to Paris, and from thence to Antwerp. Whence he wrote a letter, to one Crispin, a doctor of physic in Oxon, therein relating to him a passage concerning the coarse entertainment which the divines of Louvain gave Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, upon the scandal they took against him for his book "De vera obedientia," which letter is extant in Fox.[2]

The third was Eusebius Menius, the son of Justus Menius. Which Justus was a person of great fame and esteem, both for his learning in philosophy and divinity, and for the government of the churches within the territories of John Frederic, Duke of Saxony. Of this Eusebius' son Melancthon writ to our archbishop,[3] "that he had good preferments in Germany, but he could not bear to behold the calamities of his poor country, which made him seek for a being in foreign parts. He recommended him to his grace, desiring him to cherish him." Adding that, in the Gothic times, what remained of the Church, and of right doctrines, were preserved in our island; and that Europe being now in a combustion, it were to be wished that some peaceable harbour might be for learning. He doubted not but that many flocked hither; but that it was the part of piety and goodness especially to help the youth of excellent men, and the sons of such as had well deserved of the Church, especially when they themselves also were eminent for their parts and learning. And since this Eusebius was a good mathematician, and had read mathematics in one of their schools, he propounded him to the archbishop to be a fit person for the profession of that science in our university."

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[1] [Mel.] Ep. 7. lib. 3 [p. 494].

[2] Ad. ann. 1555. [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 138, and vol. vii. p. 603.]

[3] Mel. Ep. 66, lib. 1.

The fourth was Justus Jonas, the son also of a great German divine of the same name, and who was one of the four that, in the year 1530, came to Augsburgh, upon a diet appointed by the emperor for religion, with the elector of Saxony; Melancthon, Agricola, and Georgius Spalatinus, being the other three. The son came over with letters commendatory from Melancthon, as the others did.[1] He commended his excellent parts, and his progress in all kind of philosophy and good manners, and especially his eloquence; which, he said, he had a nature divinely framed to. To which it may not be amiss to subjoin what Melancthon somewhere else did observe of his family; namely, "that his grandfather was a person of fame for oratory and civil prudence; his father endowed with such parts as naturally made him an orator, in respect of his fluency of words, and gracefulness of delivery." And this felicity of nature he improved by a great accession of learning, which made him tell our Justus, that he was born in "oratoria familia.[2] And such care did he take of him when he was young, that he took the pains to write him a long letter, containing instructions for his improvement in the grounds of learning. This man the archbishop was very kind to, gave him harbour, and admitted him freely into his society and converse; insomuch that Justus Jonas, the father, entreated Melancthon that he would take particular notice to the archbishop of his great favour shewed to his son. Among the discourses the communicative prelate held with Jonas while he was with him, one happened concerning a noted question in divinity; where, launching out into free communication with him upon that point, he desired him to impart to Melancthon the substance of what he had discoursed; and that he should signify to him, that the archbishop requested his judgment thereof. Which accordingly Jonas did. And Melancthon, in a letter to the archbishop, styles it "non obscura quæstio," "and that it had already much shaken the Church, and, (says he), 'concutiet durius,' shall shake it yet more;" giving his reason for this conjecture, "because those governors, [meaning, I suppose, the Papal clergy], did not seek for a true remedy to so great a matter." It doth not appear to me what this question was that the archbishop was so earnest to confer with this great divine about, whether it were concerning the necessity of episcopal government and ordination, or concerning the use of ceremonies in the Church, or about the doctrine of the Sacrament; this last I am apt to believe, but either of them hath, according to Melancthon's prediction, sufficiently shaken the churches of Christ. But to return to Jonas. He had written some pieces, and presented them to the king; for which he intended to reward him. And, being now ready to go to France for the improvement of his knowledge, and so, after a time, to return into England again, for which he had a great affection, he besought Secretary Cecil, in a well-penned letter, "that whatsoever the king intended to bestow on him, he would do it out of hand, for the supply of his travelling necessity." This letter, for the antiquity of it, and the fame of the man, I have inserted in the Appendix;[1] in which is also contained an extract of part of Jonas', the father's, letter to his son concerning the miseries of Germany.

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[1] Sleid. lib. 7 [p. 127].

[2] Ep. 129, lib. 1 [p. 184].

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### *Melancthon and the Archbishop great Friends.*

THESE occasions of the frequent mention of Melancthon do draw us into a relation of some further passages between him and our archbishop. In the year 1549 happened several disputations, chiefly concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, before the king's commissioners in both universities. In Oxford they were managed chiefly by Peter Martyr, and in Cambridge Ridley, then bishop of Rochester, and a commissioner, was the chief moderator. Soon after, Martin Bucer, in this university, defended three points, one, of the "Sufficiency of the Scripture;" another, concerning the

[1] No. XCII.

"Erring of Churches;" and the last, concerning "Works done before Justification;" against Perne, Sedgewick, and Young. They on the Popish side pretended much, in their disputations, to have antiquity and the fathers for them.

These disputations did our most reverend prelate, together with his own letter, convey to Melancthon by the hand of one Germanicus, a German, who probably might be one of those learned strangers that the archbishop hospitably entertained.

The reflection that that divine, in an answer to his grace in the year 1550, made upon perusal of these papers, was, "That he was grieved to see that those who sought so much for the ancient authorities would not acknowledge the clearness of them. Nor was there any doubt what the sounder men in the ancient church thought. But that there were new and spurious opinions foisted into many of their books; into that of Theophylact most certainly for one. And that there was some such passage in the copy that Œcolampadius made use of, when he translated Theophylact, which he liked not of, but yet translated it as he found it; but this was wholly wanting in the copy that Melancthon had. That the same happened in Bede's books, which he supposed might be found more incorrupt among us,"[1] [Bede being our countryman].

The same Melancthon, with this his letter, sent our archbishop a part of his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed; for this end, that he might pass his judgment thereon; as he also did, for the same purpose, to à Lasco, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, all then in England.

The beginning of this learned German's acquaintance with our prelate was very early. For the archbishop's fame soon spread abroad in the world, beyond the English territories; which was the cause of that address of Melancthon, mentioned before in the year 1535, and in the month of August, when he sent a letter and a book to him by Alexander Aless. In the letter he signified what a high character both for learning and piety he had heard given of him by many honest and worthy men; and "that, if the Church had but some more such bishops, it would be no difficult matter to have it healed, and the world restored to peace; congratulating Britain [upon] such a bishop." And this seems to have been the first entrance into their acquaintance and correspondence.

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[1] Ep. 41, lib. 3 [p. 521].

In the year 1548, Cranmer propounded a great and weighty business to Melancthon, and a matter that was likely to prove highly useful to all the churches of the evangelic profession. It was this. The archbishop was now driving on a design for the better uniting of all the Protestant churches, viz. by having one common confession and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure word of God, which they might all own and agree in. He had observed what differences there arose among Protestants in the doctrine of the Sacrament, in the Divine decrees, in the government of the Church, and some other things. These disagreements had rendered the professors of the Gospel contemptible to those of the Roman communion; which caused no small grief to the heart of this good man, nearly touched for the honour of Christ his master, and His true Church, which suffered hereby. And, like a person of a truly public and large spirit, as his function was, seriously debated and deliberated with himself for the remedying this evil. This made him judge it very advisable to procure such a confession. And in order to this he thought it necessary for the chief and most learned divines of the several churches to meet together, and with all freedom and friendliness to debate the points of controversy according to the rule of Scripture. And, after mature deliberation, by agreement of all parties, to draw up a book of articles, and heads of Christian faith and practice, which should serve for the standing doctrine of Protestants.

As for the place of this assembly, he thought England the fittest in respect of safety, as the affairs of Christendom then stood: and, communicating this his purpose to the king, that religious prince was very ready to grant his allowance and protection. And as Helvetia, France, and Germany, were the chief countries abroad where the Gospel was professed, so he sent his letters to the most eminent ministers of each, namely, to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon, disclosing this his pious design to them, and requiring their counsel and furtherance. Melancthon first of all came acquainted with it by Justus Jonas, junior, to whom the archbishop had related the matter at large, and desired him to signify as much in a letter to the said Melancthon; and that it was his request to him, to communicate his judgment thereupon. This Jonas did, and Melancthon accordingly writ to our archbishop on the calends of May this year to this purpose; "That if his judgment and opinion were required, he should be willing both to hear the sense of other learned men, and to speak his own, and to give his reasons, *τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δε πειθόμενος*, 'persuading and being persuaded,' as ought to be in a conference of good men; letting truth, and the glory of God, and the safety of the Church, not any private affection, ever carry away the victory." Telling him withal, "that the more he considered of this his deliberation, than which he thought there could be nothing set on foot more weighty and necessary, the more he wished and pressed him to publish such a true and clear confession of the whole body of Christian doctrine, according to the judgment of learned men, whose names should be subscribed thereto; that among all nations there might be extant an illustrious testimony of doctrine, delivered by grave authority; and that posterity might have a rule to follow."[1] And he was of opinion, that this confession should be much of the nature of their confession of Augsburgh, only that some few points in controversy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that. "That ambiguities might not hereafter occasion new differences. And that in the Church it was best to call a spade a spade;[2] and not to cast ambiguous words before posterity, as an apple of contention. And that if in Germany there had been an entire consent of all the churches, they had not fallen into those miseries." And so concludes, earnestly exhorting our prelate to apply himself vigorously in these his pious cares and thoughts for the good estate of the churches.

Not long after he pursued his first letter with a second, wherein he again reminded our reverend father of that caution, viz. "That nothing might be left under general terms, but expressed with all the perspicuity and distinctness imaginable." Which, I suppose, he said, to meet with the opinion of some, who thought it might be more convenient, in order to peace, to suffer some difficult and controverted points to pass under dubious expressions, or in the very words of Scripture, without any particular decisive sense and explanation imposed on them. And concerning this it is probable our archbishop had desired his opinion. This Melancthon was against, saying, "that, for his part, he loved not labyrinths; and that therefore all his study was, that whatsoever matters he undertook to treat of, they might appear plain and unfolded. That it was indeed the practice of the Council of Trent, which therefore made such crafty decrees, that so they might defend their errors by things ambiguously spoken. But that this sophistry ought to be far from the Church. That there is no absurdity in truth rightly propounded; and that this goodness and perspicuity of things is greatly inviting, wheresoever there be good minds."

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[1] Ep. 66, lib. 1 [p. 71].

[2] "In Ecclesia rectius est scapham, scapham dicere."

And of this very judgment was Peter Martyr, another great divine. For when Bucer, in a discourse with him at Strasburgh, had advised him, when he spake of the Eucharist, to use more dark and ambiguous forms of speech, that might be taken in a larger acceptation, urging to him, that this was the course he himself took, and "that a certain good man," [whom I suspect strongly to be our archbishop], "had persuaded him, that by this means the great controversy concerning the real presence in the sacrament might be at an end, and so peace, so long wanted, might be restored to the Church;[1] Martyr was over-persuaded by his friend so to do, and used for some time the same form of speech with him, when he had occasion to discourse of that doctrine. But afterward he returned to his former more dilucid style, as well in the matter of the real presence, as in all other subjects he treated of. And that both because he saw this would not suffice them, who held a gross and carnal presence of Christ's body, unless their gross manner of expression were received, and their as gross interpretation too; and because he found that many weaker brethren were greatly offended with these ambiguities of speech, and so entangled and confounded, that they scarce knew what to think in this point. And so, leaving Bucer to pursue his obscurer phrases, he chose to speak more clearly and distinctly. And neither did Bucer disallow of Martyr in this course, or was Martyr ignorant of Bucer's true sense, however doubtful his expressions were, as the author of his life[1] tells us. This I mention to shew how exactly Martyr accorded with Melancthon in this opinion, of expressing things in clear and perspicuous terms; which the said Melancthon thought it highly necessary now to be inculcated, when deliberation was had of drawing up a general confession of faith. After he had thus declared his mind in this matter, he particularly descended to the doctrine of fate; telling the archbishop how "the stoical disputes of that subject among them in the beginning were too rough, and horrid, and such as were prejudicial to discipline." Which, I suppose, might be occasioned from some passage in the archbishop's letter, advising with this learned man how to propound the doctrines of predestination and free-will.

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[1] "Quod vir bonus sibi persuasisset posse hac ratione tolli gravem, quæ est de hac causa, controversiam, et ita ecclesiæ pacem diu desideratum restitui."—In Vit. P. Mart. per Josiam Simlerum.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### *The Archbishop corresponds with Calvin.*

THESE his counsels he brake also to John Calvin, the chief guide of the French churches, who also highly approved of his pious proposition.[2] The archbishop, in a letter to that great reformer, had been lamenting the differences that were in the reformed churches; having his eye, I suppose, herein upon those of Geneva and Germany; and, like a true father of the Church, consulting for the making up of the breaches, he thought no fitter remedy could be used, than for pious and wise men, and such as were well exercised in God's school, to meet together and profess their consents in the doctrine of godliness. This Calvin acknowledged was rightly and prudently advised by him; applauding him that he did not only lead the way in purging the

[1] Josias Simler.

[2] Calv. Ep. 126.

doctrine of God's church from corruption, but did so voluntarily exhort and encourage others therein. And that he did not only take care of religion at home in his own country, but all the world over. And as to the meeting and converse of divines for this purpose, which Cranmer had told him he had made the king so sensible of the need and usefulness of that he was forward in it, and had offered a place in his kingdom for them securely to assemble together in; that French divine wished, "that learned and wise men from the chief churches would accordingly meet, and, diligently discussing the chief heads of faith, would by common consent deliver to posterity the certain doctrine of the Scripture. But that, among the great evils of that age, this also was to be reputed, that churches were so divided from one another, that human society was scarcely kept up among them, much less that sacred communion of the members of Christ, which all professed with their mouths, but few did sincerely take care to preserve. That as to himself, if he might be thought to be of any use, he would not grudge to pass over ten seas, if there were need. "That if it were only to contribute some assistance to the kingdom of England, he should esteem it a reason lawful enough; but much more, he thought, he ought to spare no labour, no trouble, to procure a means whereby the churches that were so widely divided, might unite among themselves. But he hoped, his weakness and insufficiency being such, he might be spared, and that he would do his part in prosecuting that with his prayers and wishes, "which should be undertaken by others." And whereas our archbishop had hinted to him his jealousy, that the business would hardly find a good issue by reason of certain difficulties attending it, Calvin not only exhorted, but earnestly beseeched him to go forward, till it should have some effect at least, though it succeeded not in all respects according to his wish. And so prayed God to guide him with his holy Spirit, and to bless his pious endeavours.

But the troubles at home and abroad frustrated this excellent purpose, which for two years he had been labouring to bring to some good issue. His next resolution was to go as far as he could in this matter, since he could not go as far as he would. And he bethought himself of assembling together the divines of his own church, (and that by the king's authority), to confer with them about drawing up a body of articles of religion; which purpose he had likewise communicated to Calvin.[1] For which he greatly commended him; telling him, " that since the times were such, that that could not in the least be hoped for, which was so much to be wished, viz. that the chief teachers of the divers churches, which embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel, might meet together, and publish to posterity a certain and clear confession, out of the pure word of God, concerning the heads of religion then in controversy; he did extremely commend that counsel which he had taken to establish religion in England; lest things remaining any longer in an uncertain state, or not so rightly and duly composed and framed as it were convenient, the minds of the people should remain in suspense and wavering." And then, quickening him, told him, " that this was his part chiefly to do: that he himself saw well what that place required of him, or rather what God exacted, in respect of that office he had laid upon him. That he was of very powerful authority; which he had not only by the amplitude of his honour, but the long conceived opinion that went of his prudence and integrity. That the eyes of the good were cast upon him, either to follow his motions, or to remain idle upon the pretence of his unactiveness."

He took the freedom also with Cranmer to blame him for not having made more progress in the Reformation, which he thought he might have done in the three years' space, wherein King Edward had already reigned. And told him, " that he feared, when so many autumns had been passed in deliberating only, at least the frost of a perpetual winter might follow," meaning that the people would grow stark cold in minding a reformation. Then " he reminded him of his age, that that called upon him to hasten, lest, if he should be called out of the world before matters in religion were settled, the conscience of his slowness might create great anxiety to him. He particularly put him in mind of the great want of pastors to preach the Gospel, and that the Church's revenues were made such a prey, which he called ' an intolerable evil,' and said, that this was a plain reason why there was so little preaching among us. That a parcel of slow-bellies were nourished from the revenues of the Church, to sing vespers in an unknown tongue. But, in the close, he excused him in regard of the many and great difficulties that he wrestled with." Which was certainly most true; insomuch that, if he had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable industry, the Reformation had not made so fair a progress as it did in his time. And one may admire rather that he went so far, the iniquity of the times considered, than that he went no farther.

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[1] Ep. 125.

For the great ones, in the minority of the king, took their opportunity most insatiably to fly upon the spoils of the Church and charitable donations, little regarding anything else than to enrich themselves. Very vicious and dissolute they were in their lives, as the soberer sort in those days complained; and therefore the less to be wondered they were so negligent to provide for the promoting the reformed religion and piety in the land. In the mean time, the chief preachers did what they could to redress these evils; for they plainly and boldly rebuked this evil governance; and especially the covetousness of the courtiers, and their small regard to live after the Gospel; and sometimes incurred no small danger by this freedom. Mr. Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and afterwards a martyr under Queen Mary, was one of these, who so freely discoursed once at St. Paul's Cross concerning the abuse of abbeys, and the Church's goods, that he was summoned before the privy council to answer for it. And so were divers others upon the same reason. And I am apt to think that these preachers did what they did by the counsel and direction of the archbishop. So that the present state of things, and the endeavours of him and the rest of the clergy considered, he was a little too hastily censured by Calvin in that behalf. But Cranmer was of so mild and gracious a spirit, that he did not seem to conceive any displeasure against Calvin for this his unjust charge of negligence; but kept up a great esteem and value for him.

But, that I may take occasion here to insist a little longer upon this argument, and vindicate the honesty and boldness of the English clergy, in speaking their minds against the sacrilegious spirit that reigned in these times, it may not be amiss to give some account of a communication that happened about December or January 1552, at court, between Sir William Cecil, the king's secretary, and one Miles Wilson, a grave divine, and acquaintance of the said Cecil, and a man of eminence in the university of Cambridge. Discourse happening between them of divers and sundry things, relating partly to the propagating Christ's religion, and partly to the preservation and increase of the commonwealth, the said Wilson delivered to Cecil an oration to read, which he had composed, "De rebus ecclesiæ non diripiendis," "concerning not spoiling the Church of her means," and which he once pronounced in the public schools of the university, about that time when those matters were in agitation above. Cecil, being a good and conscientious man, had in this conference signified to him his earnest desire to hear and see what could be proposed out of the holy Scripture in so unusual an argument. To show this, and to give also a short view of his said oration, because the secretary's infinite business would not allow him to read long discourses, Wilson soon after digested the contents thereof, reducing it into some syllogisms and ratiocinations, more apt to urge, and easier to remember, and more accommodated to persuade. These, with his letter, he sent to the secretary. His ends herein were to satisfy him in this point, being a man of great stroke in the public transactions of those times; who might accordingly use his interest and endeavour to retrieve what had been so unjustly taken from the Church; that the famous schools lately dissolved, to the great ruin of the university, might be re-edified again; and that those livings, which were miserably spoiled by covetous patrons, might be restored, and enjoy their whole revenues, to the real honour of the state. And, lastly, that the hospitals, impoverished or wholly beggared, might, by his means, be remedied and helped by the king's council; that they might revert to their former condition; that is, to succour and help the poor. He urged moreover to Cecil, that the destruction of schools would be the destruction of the universities; and that all learning would soon cease, and Popery and more than Gothic barbarism would invade all, if learned men were not better taken care of than they were;

and if the rewards of learning, viz. rectories, prebends, and all, were taken away from them.

This man had also freely discoursed these matters to two other great and public-spirited men, viz. Goodrich, the lord chancellor, who was bishop of Ely; and Holgate, archbishop of York, to both whom he had also given the names of a great many schools, parsonages, and hospitals, that had undergone this sacrilegious usage. And he particularly mentioned to Cecil a town not far from Cambridge, called Childerley, where a gentleman had pulled down all the houses in the parish, except his own. And so, there being none to frequent the church, the inhabitants being gone, he used the said church, partly for a stable for his horses, and partly for a barn for his corn and straw. This letter of Wilson to the secretary, together with his arguments against pilling the church subjoined, I have thought worthy preserving in the repository for such monuments in the Appendix.[1] But to return from this digression, which Calvin's censure of our archbishop occasioned.

And when, in the year 1551, he despatched into England[2] one Nicolas, (that Nicolas Gallasius, I suppose, who was afterward by Calvin recommended to be minister to the French congregation in London, at the desire of Grindal, bishop of London, that he would send over some honest able person for that place), with letters to the duke of Somerset and likewise to the king;[3] to whom he presented also, at the same time, his book of Commentaries upon Isaiah and the Canonical Epistles, which he had dedicated to him; both the king's council, and the king himself, were much pleased and satisfied with this message; and the archbishop told Nicolas, "that Calvin could do nothing more profitable to the Church than to write often to the king."[4] The substance of what he wrote to the king, that was so well taken, was to excite and sharpen the generous parts of the royal youth, as Calvin hinted in a letter to Bullinger.

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[1] No. XCIII.

[2] Ep. 123.

[3] Ep. 120.

[4] [Calv. Ep. p. 232.]

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### *The Archbishop highly valued Peter Martyr.*

As for the learned Italian Peter Martyr, who is worthy to be mentioned with Melancthon and Calvin, there was not only an acquaintance between him and our archbishop, but a great and cordial intimacy and friendship, for of him he made particular use in the steps he took in our Reformation. And, whensoever he might be spared from his public readings in Oxford, the archbishop used to send for him, to confer with him about the weightiest matters. This Calvin[1] took notice of, and signified to him by letter how much he rejoiced that he made use of the counsels of that excellent man. And when the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws was in effect wholly devolved upon Cranmer, he appointed him, and Gualter Haddon, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, and no more, to manage that business, which shows what an opinion he had of Martyr's abilities, and how he served himself of him in matters of the greatest moment. And in that bold and brave challenge he made in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, to justify, against any man whatsoever, every part of King Edward's Reformation, he nominated and made choice of Martyr therein to be one of his assistants in that disputation, if any would undertake it with him. This divine, when he was forced to leave Oxford upon the change of religion, retreated first to the archbishop at Lambeth, and from thence, when he had tarried as long as he durst, he departed the realm to Strasburgh.

This man was he that saw and reported those voluminous writings of this archbishop, which he had collected out of all the ancient church-writers, upon all the heads of divinity, and those notes of his own pen, that he had inserted in the margin of his books, which the archbishop communicated to him when he conversed with him at his house. And from these, and such-like of the archbishop's labours, he acknowledged he had learned much, especially in the doctrine of the Sacrament, as he writ in his epistle before his tract of the Eucharist.

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[1] Ep. 127.

The fame of Peter Martyr, and the desire of preserving all remains of so learned a professor, and great an instrument of the reformed religion, hath inclined me to put two of his letters into the Appendix,[1] though otherwise not to our present purpose, being originals, writ by his own hand from Oxon; the one to James Haddon, a learned court divine, and dean of Exon, to procure a license from the king or the council for a friend and auditor of his to preach publicly; the other to Sir William Cecil, to forward the payment of a salary due to him, that read the divinity lecture in the room of Dr. Weston, a Papist, who had claimed it himself, and laboured to detain it from him.

I cannot forbear mentioning here an instance of his love and great concern for our archbishop, his old friend and patron, after the iniquity of the times had parted them; the one then in prison, and the other at Strasburgh. It was in June 1555, when Queen Mary, supposing herself with child, was reported to have said in her zeal, "That she could never be happily brought to bed, nor succeed well in any other of her affairs, unless she caused all the heretics she had in prison to be burnt, without sparing so much as one." Which opinion, very likely, [Gardiner,] the bishop of Winchester, or some other of her zelotical chaplains, put into her head. This report coming to Martyr's ears, afflicted him greatly, not only for the destruction that was like suddenly to befall many holy professors, but more especially for the imminent hazard he apprehended that great and public person, the archbishop, to be in. Which made him express himself in this manner, in a letter to Peter Alexander, to whom that most reverend father had also formerly been a kind host and patron; "That, from those words of the queen, he might discover that my lord of Canterbury was then in great danger."[2]

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[1] No. XCIV., XCV.

[2] Pet. Martyr. Ep. Theolog.

# CHAPTER XXVII.

## *The Archbishop's Favour to John Sleidan.*

To all these learned and religious outlandish men, to whom the archbishop was either a patron or a friend, or both, we must not forget to join John Sleidan, the renowned author of those exact Commentaries of the state of religion, and the commonwealth in Germany, in the time of Charles V. About the end of March, anno 1551, he procured for him from King Edward an honorary pension of two hundred crowns a year, as some aid for the carrying on his Commentaries, which he then was busy about; and, as it seems, encouraged by Cranmer to take in hand and prosecute. And when Dr. Bruno, a learned man, and father-in-law to Sleidan, departed out of England, which was about the time before mentioned, being the agent of the duke of Saxony, the archbishop informed him of this stipend, by the king granted unto his son-in-law; confirming the same to him in the king's name, and encouraging the Commentator hereby to proceed cheerfully in his useful undertaking.

But upon the stirs at court, the payment of this pension was neglected a great while, which caused Sleidan to call upon the archbishop more than once, as also upon his friends Cheke and Cecil, entreating them to remind the archbishop of him, and to communicate to his lordship the letters he had writ to them. But alas! he needed not to have been excited to things of this nature, bearing so good a will to them, and being of his own nature so forward to favour learned and honest men, and useful designs; nor was his goodwill to Sleidan any whit abated, but his interest at court was, now towards the declension of King Edward's reign.

But, because his pension depended only upon a verbal promise of the king, and the getting it under his seal might contribute to the payment of it in better sort hereafter, he laboured with our prelate, and the two other persons mentioned, that it might be confirmed by letters patent. He urged to them, "that he could have employed himself in other business, that would have redounded more to his profit, as many others did. But he reckoned himself called to this work from heaven, and that he could take no rest in his mind till he had brought the history down to that present time; (it being then the year 1553). That he had hope, that they, according to their humanity and prudence, who well understood things, would take some pains that the arrears of his promised stipend might be paid, and that some further care might be taken for the due payment of it hereafter, that so he might the more conveniently and freely follow that matter. Leaving it to them to consider how much that labour cost him:" [as to the charges, he means, of correspondence for the getting particular and faithful accounts of things, that passed in all parts.] And lastly, "that it belonged properly to kings to cherish such labours as would be ornaments to religion and learning, and of use to the common good." And, in another address to Secretary Cecil, he desired, "that he would plead in his behalf with the most reverend the archbishop;" adding, that he did wholly give up himself to this work, and was in a diligent pursuit of all matters in order to the compiling a complete history.

Though I have said so much already of Sleidan, yet I will take this occasion to add somewhat more; that I may retrieve as much as I can of this honest man, and excellent writer. In the month of September, anno 1552, he sent to the king, together with a letter, his Commentaries of the German wars, brought down to that very time, being a short draught of that he intended afterwards more largely and fully to write. And Cheke and Cecil were the men that presented them to his majesty. With this kind of writing the king declared himself much pleased, as Cecil wrote him back; and so he and Cheke also were.

This encouragement put our author upon another design, resolving to write the whole actions of the Council of Trent, wherein he himself had borne a part, having been agent there for five months from the city of Strasburgh. This he intended to do for the king's own sake, that he might thoroughly understand the form of councils, and might then make his judgment of the rest of the History of the Reformation of Religion, which he was then writing.

The spring after he presented the king with a specimen of his writing concerning the Council of Trent. It was the beginning and entrance into that treatise he intended to write of that subject. This he desired might be kept in the king's study, and communicated to no other hand; and that no copy of it might be taken, it being but a small part of a future work, and so imperfect.

He had now, in the ides of March, completed his Commentaries from the year 1517 to the year 1536; and was resolved by God's grace to go on with it in the same method. In order to which, in the month of December before, he had desired of Cecil, that he would procure him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII. when that king vindicated his own liberty, and that of his kingdom, from papal pretences of supremacy over each. This matter between the king and the pope he called "'locus illustris et memorabilis,' and judged it very worthy for posterity to know; adding, that though he had in his own hands some matters relating thereto, yet they were not so exact and certain as he could wish; because he desired to describe everything properly and most exactly according to truth. He entreated also, that if either he or Cheke had any other matters of that nature to impart, they would oblige him with them." Which passages make me conclude that, in relation to the English affairs, he made great use of intelligences from Cecil and Cheke, and probably our archbishop too. Which consideration may add a great reputation unto the credit of his book.

Now, to preserve as much as we can of this excellent historian, John Sleidan, I have thought good to insert divers of his letters in the Appendix;[1] and likewise because mention is often therein made of our archbishop, to which I have subjoined a letter of Martin Bucer, a great name, wrote to Cecil in behalf of the said Sleidan. For he did not only importune those courtiers before mentioned, but, when no answer came from them, he made Bucer also his solicitor from Cambridge, who, anno 1551, February 18,

[1] No. XCVI., XCVII., XCVIII., XCIX., C., CI., CII.

wrote to Cecil to further Sleidan's business, and to despatch the payment of his stipend; and that Sleidan might be resolved one way or other; giving Cecil this memento, that "this would well become the administration of a kingdom so much adorned as with other things, so with the benefit of religion." By the way, the date of this letter would deserve well to be noted, serving to judge of the true date of Bucer's death; which by historians is variously set down, if we may believe Fuller in his History of the University of Cambridge.[1] It is certain Bucer was ill when he wrote that letter to Cecil; for he mentions therein an epistle, which he sent to Dr. John Quercetanus, the physician, upon the said Cecil's desire, the which he said, he was hardly able to dictate.[2] This letter to Cecil I take to be writ in his last sickness, nine days before the date which Sleidan his friend assigned for the day of his death. To which agrees, within a day, a passage at the end of a piece of Bucer's, intituled, "Explicatio de vi et usu S. Ministerii;" where it is said, "that he died at Cambridge before he finished it. 'Pridie Cal. Martias,' anno 1551."[3]

I have one learned man more behind to mention, and he our own countryman, to whom our archbishop was a patron; and that is the celebrated antiquarian John Leland, library-keeper to Henry VIII., and who, by a commission under the broad seal, granted to him for that purpose by the king, had got together a vast heap of collections of the historical antiquities of this nation: which he was many years a-making, by his travels and diligent searches into the libraries of abbeys and religious houses, before, and at their dissolution; and elsewhere. From whence he intended to compile a complete history of the antiquities of Britain, to which he wholly devoted himself. But being at that time poor, and the charges of such an undertaking great, he wanted somebody to make this known to the king, and to recommend him effectually to his favour and countenance; and to procure him a royal gratuity; for which purpose he made his application to Cranmer, (who, he well knew, was the great encourager of learing and ingenuity,) in a very elegant address in verse, as he was an excellent poet. And,

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[1] [Page 184, ed. Lond. 1840.]

[2] Feb. 27, 1551.

[3] [Bucer,] Scripta Anglic.

I am apt to think, the preferments that soon after befell him, as a good parsonage near Oxford, and a canonry of the king's college in that university, and a prebendship elsewhere, accrued to him by the means of the archbishop laying open his state before the king. His copy of verses were as follow:—

*Ad Thomam Cranmerum Cantiorum Archiepiscopum.*

"Est congesta mihi domi supellex,
Ingens, aurea, nobilis, venusta,
Qua totus studeo Britanniarum
Vero reddere gloriam nitori.
Sed fortuna meis noverca cœptis
Jam felicibus invidet maligna.
Quare ne pereant brevi vel hora
Multarum mihi noctium labores
Omnes, et patriæ simul decora
Ornamenta cadant, suusque splendor
Antiquis male desit usque rebus,
Cranmere, eximium decus piorum,
Implorare tuam benignitatem
Cogor. Fac igitur tuo sueto
Pro candore, meum decus, patronumque,
Ut tantum faveat, roges, labori
Incœpto: pretium sequetur amplum.
Sic nomen tibi litteræ elegantes
Recte perpetuum dabunt, suosque
Partim vel titulos tibi receptos
Concedet memori Britannus ore.
Sic te posteritas amabit omnis,
Et fama super æthera innotesces."

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### *Archbishop Cranmer's Relations and Chaplains.*

To look now a little into the archbishop's more private and domestic concerns. He had two wives. While he was fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, not being in orders, he married his first, named Joan, dwelling at the Dolphin, opposite to Jesus-lane, which I think is a public house to this day: which occasioned some of his enemies afterwards to say, "That he was once an ostler," because he lodged sometime with his wife at that house. Her he buried within a year, dying in child-bed. And then for divers years he continued studying hard, and reading learned lectures in the university, and bringing up youth, till he was called to the court. His second wife, named Ann, he married in Germany, while he was ambassador there. By her he had children. In King Henry's reign he kept her secret; and, upon the act of the Six Articles, he sent her away into Germany, that he might give no offence, nor draw any danger upon himself. In the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her. He had children that survived him; for whose sake an act of Parliament passed in the year 1562, to restore them in blood, their father having been condemned for treason in consenting to the Lady Jane's succession to the crown, for which yet he was pardoned by Queen Mary. Probably the pardon was only verbal, or not authenticly enough drawn up, or might admit of some doubt, to take off which such an act was procured. How many children he had, or what issue remains of them to this day, I am not able, after all my inquiries, to show.

His wife survived him, for we may give so much credit to a very angry book, writ against the "Execution of Justice in England,"[1] by Cardinal Allen; which, charging the archbishop with breach of vows, saith, "that, at the very day and hour of his death, he was sacrilegiously joined in pretended marriage to a woman, notwithstanding his vow and order." And living she was toward the latter end of Archbishop Parker's time; and for her subsistence enjoyed an abbey in Nottinghamshire, which King Henry, upon Dr. Butts's motion, without the archbishop's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs.[2]

For his wife and children he could not escape many a taunt from his enemies behind his back; and one to his face from Dr. Martin, one of those that were commissioned to sit as judges upon him at Oxford. He told him in reproach, that his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury." Whether there be any such old canon law, I know not; but the archbishop smiled, and asked him, "If a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had children by her, whether those children were bondmen to the benefice, or no? And that he trusted they would make his children's case no worse."[1] I find two of his name in King Edward's reign; but whether they were his, or his brother Edmund's, sons, or some other relations, I cannot tell. There was one Richard Cranmer, one of the witnesses at the abjuration of Ashton, priest, an Arian, 1548. Daniel Cranmer, of Bilsington, of the diocese of Canterbury, who, about administering to a will, was, for contumacy to the court of Canterbury, excommunicate, and a *Significavit* was issued out against him thereupon, in the year 1552.[2] There was also a Thomas Cranmer about these times, who bought something in Ware-lane of the city of Canterbury: he was public notary, and register to the archdeacon in the year 1569.[3] I find likewise one Robert Cranmer, esq., who was nephew to the archbishop, and alive at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth. This Robert left one only daughter and heiress, named Ann; whom Sir Arthur Harris, of Crixeth in Essex, married, and enjoyed with her three manors: Postling, which came to the said Robert in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth; Kingsnorth in Ulcomb, and Saltwood; both which he purchased in the latter end of that queen: upon whose grandchild, Sir Cranmer Harris, of Lincoln's Inn, knt., those estates descended. There was another Cranmer of Canterbury, who enjoyed a manor called Sapinton, in Petham in Kent; one of whose offspring by descent successively was entitled to the propriety of it, and was alive when Philipot published his book of that county, viz. 1659.[4] There be living at this time, among divers others, two knights of this name, Sir Cæsar Cranmer, once belonging to the court; and Sir William Cranmer, a worthy merchant of London, and now deputy-governor of the Hamburgh Company.

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[1] "Sincere and modest Defence of English Catholics."

[2] MS. Life of Cranmer in Benet College [No. cxxviii. fol. 405].

But if we look backward, the archbishop's stock and pedigree was very ancient, and of good credit. His father was Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, esquire; and his mother was Agnes, the daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby, of like degree, a gentleman, if I mistake not, of the same county. Which two had issue three sons; John, and Thomas our archbishop, and Edmund, who was the archdeacon; and four daughters; Dorothy, Ann, Jane, and Isabel. Which sisters of our archbishop were thus matched: Dorothy to Harold Rosel, of Radcliff in this county, esquire; Ann to Edmund Cartwright, of Ossington in Staffordshire, esquire; Jane to John Moning, lieutenant of Dover Castle; and Isabel to Sir . . Shepey, knight. Matches, I suppose, especially the two latter, of the archbishop's own making for the preferment of his sisters. His elder brother John married Jone, daughter of Fretchvile, of a good family in the same county, whose grandchild Thomas, and grand-nephew to our archbishop, had none but daughters; one of whom, being a co-heir, married John Rosel, grandchild to Harold aforesaid, and the other to good families in those parts.

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 68.]

[2] Cran. Reg. [73].

[3] Somner's Ant. [chap. xiv. p. 347].

[4] Philipot's Villare Cantian[um, page 274].

The archbishop's great grandfather, Edmund, married Isabel, daughter and heir of William de Aslacton, a very ancient family. This Edmund was alive in the reign of Henry VI.

In the church of Whatton, in this county, is an ancient monument of an ancestor of our archbishop, with this inscription: "Hic jacet Thomas Cranmerus, qui obiit 27 Maii, 1501, cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen." And on the monument the coat of arms of the Cranmers, being a chevron between three cranes, quartered with those of the Aslactons, Newmarches, Whattons, and two families more. This might probably enough be the archbishop's father.

The archbishop in the first year of King Edward VI. purchased of that king the rectories of Whatton and Aslacton, (the manors whereof belonged to his family before), with the advowsons of the churches, both which had pertained to the dissolved monastery of Welbeck. Which rectories the archbishop, as it seems, made over to his nephew Thomas, son to his brother John; for he died seised of them both, and they descended to his son and heir

Thomas. The manors of the said Whatton and Aslacton are now come into the noble family of Dorchester, the tithes and glebe to the Armstrongs of Scarrington. For these collections I am beholden to Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire.

And now, in the last place, let us look into the archbishop's domestic affairs. He took great heed to the well-government of his family, that all things there might beseem the house of a truly Christian bishop, and the chief spiritual governor of the English Church. And, in order to this, one of his cares was to have learned men about him; a few whereof, as I could retrieve them, I shall here mention, and give some account of. And first let us begin with his chaplains.

I can find but a few of them; but men they were of great parts and achievements in learning, as well as piety. One of them was Rowland Taylor, doctor of both laws, and preferred by the archbishop to be parson of Hadley in Suffolk, who sealed his doctrine with his blood. An extraordinary man, both for his learning as well as his bold and brave profession of Christ's religion, even to the fiery trial. He had read over, which was rare in those days, all St. Augustine's works, St. Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Eusebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He professed the Civil Law, and had read over the Canon Law also, as he told the lord chancellor Gardiner, when in his scorn and rage together he called him an "ignorant beetle-brow." The archbishop made use of him in his affairs, and he was one of those that were joined with him, in King Edward's days, for making a reformation in the ecclesiastical laws. Soon after he was invested in his benefice, leaving the archbishop's family, he went and resided, like a careful pastor, and performed among his parishioners all the parts of an excellent minister, in respect of his doctrine, example, and charity. He was sent down to his own parish of Hadley, where he was extremely beloved, to be burnt. But I refer the reader to the large and full account that Fox gives of him in his book of Acts and Monuments;[2] and shall only recite his epitaph, as it now remaineth, or lately did, on a

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. p. 686.]

[2] [Vol. vi. pp. 676—700.]

brass plate hanging in the church of Hadley, where he deserved so well.

*Gloria in altissimis Deo.*

"Of Rowland Taylor's fame I shew, an excellent divine,
A doctor of the civil law, a preacher rare and fine.
King Henry and King Edward's days, preacher and parson here,
That gave to God continual praise, and kept his flock in fear.
And for the truth condemned to die he was in fire and flame,
Where he received patiently the torment of the same;
And strongly suffered to the end. Which made the standers by
Rejoice in God, to see their friend and pastor so to die.
O Taylor! were thy mighty fame uprightly here enroll'd,
Thy deeds deserve that thy good name were cipher'd here in gold.
"Obiit 1555."

And in Aldham-common, not far from Hadley town, is a great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words, or to this effect:—

"Dr. Taylor, for maintaining what was good,
In this place shed his blood."

His living was immediately supplied by one Newal, and, to deserve his preferment, or by commandment, perhaps, from above, to render their taking away Dr. Taylor the more justifiable, he made a sermon, February 10, 1555, being the day next after he suffered, upon this text, "Sic currite, ut comprehendatis." His work was to persuade the people to return to the old superstitions, and to bespatter the martyr with false reports. And, meeting with a writing that containeth the sum of this sermon, I will crave leave here to insert it; to give a specimen of Popish preaching in these days.[1]

"He exhorted to run in the strait way, and leave the wide gate, viz. to leave the new-found learning, and but *new-found* indeed, and follow all one religion. For ye were, said he, erroneously taught by such men as died yesterday, of whom I will speak, but for no malice, as God I take to record.

"His opinions were, wherefore he died, one, that priests might have wives; the other, that in the sacrament was not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ substantially and really.

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[1] Inter Foxii MSS.

" The first, that priests should have wives, he could prove by no Scripture, but by three other authors. And he was demanded, if he were willing to stand to the last? He answered, Yea, before God. Then the book laid afore him, and read to him in Latin and English, and he, reading the English of it himself, said he would read the Latin, and so did, and confuted himself. And stood then as amazed, as can witness five hundred.

" And I dare say there were a thousand texts rehearsed to him to the contrary; but he could answer not to one. And so had divers admonitions, but was so stubborn in his own conceit, according to Paul's saying, ' Si sit homo sectuum, let him be admonished once or twice;' and so hath he been. ' If he will not turn, let him be cast out;' and so he is now. For better were it so to do, than to put many souls in danger with evil doctrine.

" And one text I will declare to you for priests having wives. St. Paul, when he was tempted, rid to our Saviour Christ, and asked what remedy were for temptation, for his temptation? but whether it were of lust of the flesh, or vain-glory, I cannot tell; but let that go to the opinion of men. And Christ answered, ' Why, Paul, is not my grace sufficient for thee?' But he did not say, Take a wife, and let that be thy remedy. But they strait take a drab by the tail, saying, that no man can live chaste without the gift of God.

" And as concerning the Sacrament, to prove it, he brought Paul in the end of the first to the Corinthians, Luke, John, sixth of Mark. And it is not to be called the ' Supper of the Lord,' as these Banbury glosers have called it. For ' cœnâ factâ,' he said, ' This is my body,' which is or shall be betrayed. And in one text Cyprian, one of the primitive Church, said in a sermon of the supper, ' The bread which Christ gave to His disciples, by the Omnipotency of the Word is made flesh.' And Dionysius and Hilary *similiter*.

" To err is a small fault, but to persevere is a devilish thing, for it moveth many minds to see an heretic constant, and to die. But it is not to be marvelled at, for the devil hath power over soul and body. For he causeth men to drown and hang themselves at their own wills, much more he may cause a man to burn, seeing he is tied and cannot fly. Barnabe saith so. Cyprian, *unus clericorum*, saith, that grievous is the fault of discord in Christ's Church, and cannot be cleansed with burning, or any other sacrifice. *Ergo*, damned.

"For sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain. For though he did burn in this case, he sheweth himself a Christian man no otherwise than the devil sheweth himself like Christ; and so maketh no end of a martyr. Austin saith, 'He that will deny the Church to be his mother, God will deny him to be His son.' And so Pope Julius III. prayed for, &c." He made an end for lack of his books, because, he said, he was but new come, and brought not his books with him.

"Item, last, the person being laboured by the way, to have left his opinion, answered, 'Alas! what would you have me to do? Once I have recanted, and my living is gone. I am but a wretch, make an end of me.' And, I warrant you, said not one word at his death, more than desired the people to pray for him, which was no token of a Christian, but of stubbornness. But I am glad that ye were so quiet."

A right Popish sermon, patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies, and improbabilities. That he had no Scripture to produce for himself. That his adversaries had a thousand against him. That he should be willing to stand to a quotation out of a father, and know no better what it was, as, when he saw it, to be so confounded and amazed. That if he were so convinced and speechless, that he should be so stupid and senseless to suffer death, for matters which he saw were not true. But such a character was here given of him, as was no ways agreeable to the great learning, wisdom, and piety, that this excellent man was endued with.

John Ponet, or Poinet, a Kentish man, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, was another of his chaplains, a very ingenious as well as learned man, afterward bishop of Rochester, and then of Winchester, a great friend to that accomplished scholar Roger Ascham, who, in confidence of his friendship, writ to him, when domestic chaplain to the archbishop, to deliver his letter, and forward his suit to his grace, to dispense with him from eating fish, and keeping Lent, as was mentioned before. He was of great authority with Cranmer, and of his council in matters of divinity. We may judge of his great abilities by what Godwin speaks of him, viz. "That he had left divers writings in Latin and English, and that, besides the Greek and Latin, he was well seen in the Italian and Dutch tongues. [Which last he learned probably in his exile.] That he was an excellent mathematician, and gave unto King Henry VIII. a dial of his own device, shewing not only the hour of the day, but also the day of the month, the sign of the sun, the planetary hour; yea, the change of the moon, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, with divers other things as strange, to the great wonder of the king, and his no less commendation."[1] And he was as eminent for his gift in preaching as for his other qualifications, being preferred by King Edward for some excellent sermons preached before him. One of our historians writes,[2] that he was with Sir Thomas Wyat in his insurrection, and, after his defeat, fled into Germany, where, in the city of Strasburgh, he died about the year 1550. But Bale speaks not a word of his being with Wyat, but that he died, being forty years of age, buried at Strasburgh, and attended honourably to his grave with abundance of learned men and citizens.

Thomas Becon, a Suffolk man, seems to have been his chaplain. To Cranmer Becon dedicated his treatise of Fasting,[3] wherein he mentioned several benefits he had received from the archbishop; one whereof was, his making him one of the six preachers of Canterbury. He was deprived in Queen Mary's reign, as all the other five were, for being married. He was a famous writer, as well as preacher, in the reigns of King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. So eminent that he was one of the three, (Vernon and Bradford being the other two), that were sent for by Queen Mary's council, and committed to the Tower in the beginning of her reign, viz.

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[1] [Godwin's de Præsul. Anglic. p. 237.]

[2] Stow['s Chronicle, p. 620].

[3] [For which treatise, see Parker Society's edition of Becon's Works (Catechism, &c.), p. 525.]

August 16, 1553,[1] from whence he was not delivered till March 22 following. During which time, as he complained himself, he underwent a miserable imprisonment. To conceal himself in those dangerous times, he went by the name of Theodore Basil, and was one of those authors, whose names were specified in a severe proclamation put forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, 1555, as being writers of books, which, as contrary to the Pope and Roman Catholic religion, were forbidden to be brought into England, or used, and commanded diligently to be searched for, and brought to the ordinary, upon penalty of the statute of Henry IV. against heresy.[2] After his delivery from prison, skulking about for some time, at length he saved himself by exile.

He was a man mightily tossed about. For to look upon him, before this, in King Henry's reign; then, for his security, he was forced to leave his friends and country, wandering as far as Derbyshire, and the Peak, where he privately taught school for a subsistence. And, coming a mere stranger into Alsop, in the Dale, one Mr. Alsop, a pious man in that barbarous country, shewed him great civility. Afterwards he travelled into Staffordshire, where he also educated children in good literature, and instilled into their minds the principles of Christian doctrine. After a year's tarrying there, and in Leicestershire, he flitted into Warwickshire, where he taught also divers gentlemen's sons, and where he met with old Father Latimer, to his great joy, who had first made him acquainted with the Gospel, when he was a scholar in Cambridge, twenty years before. He wrote a great many books, forty in number, suited to the various occasions of Christians, both in the persecutions under Queen Mary, and the free profession and restoration of the Gospel under King Edward and Queen Elizabeth, and many more against the religion of the Roman Church. All these did this learned and painful author compose for the benefit of the professors of religion; whereby he did such service to the enlightening of men's minds in the knowledge of the truth, and for the exposing the corruptions of Popery, that it was thought convenient that some of that communion should be employed to write against him. And so Richard Smith, sometime reader of divinity in Oxon, and one that had subscribed to the Reformed religion, and after fled into Brabant, and became a zealous assertor of Popery, writ in a bitter style against some of Becon's books, as he had done against the archbishop himself before.

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 393, 538.]

[2] [Id. vol. vii. p. 127.]

I find this Becon put up to preach one of the Lent sermons at St. Paul's Cross, in the year 1566. And such then was his fame for a preacher, and such his favour with the greatest prelates, that the lord mayor for that year sent a message to Archbishop Parker, that his grace would prevail with him to preach one of the sermons at the Spittle that Easter.

In the year 1564, he revised and reprinted all his former books in three volumes, dedicating the whole to all the archbishops and bishops of the realm. And in commendation thereof, Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, wrote these verses to him :—

> "Vidi et perlegi doctos, Bæcone, libellos,
> Quos tua non pridem Sancta Minerva dedit.
> Dispeream, siquid legi unquam sanctius, aut si
> Quid potuit populo tradier utilius.
> Auspice perge Deo tales vulgare libellos,
> Vaniloquax sed nec lingua timenda tibi est.
> Sic Christum possis avido inculcare popello ;
> Sic possis nomen condecorare tuum."

Besides these, there was his Postil, being godly and learned sermons on all the Sunday-gospels in the year, printed in quarto in the year 1567.

I shall say no more of his chaplains, after I shall have mentioned Richard Harman, who seems to have been one of his first chaplains; being once of Queen's College, but went away scholar, probably for religion; afterwards lived in Jesus College, and commenced master of arts with Cranmer; whom he also preferred to his domestic afterwards. This man was one of those Cambridge men that were elected into St. Frideswide's College in Oxon; and suffered much there for religion. He was afterwards a canon of Windsor, but fell back to Popery.

# CHAPTER XXIX.

## *Archbishop Cranmer's Officers.*

I SHALL now add a few words of two of his civil officers, his steward and his secretary. One [Richard] Nevil was his steward in King Henry's reign, who conducted Sir Thomas Seymour, coming with a message from the king, through the hall, when the tables were sumptuously set, unto the archbishop at dinner;[1] him I have nothing to say of. But he had another afterwards, named Robert Watson, born in Norwich, of whom I have a word or two to say. He was a great civilian, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's reign. But, before his escape beyond sea, he lay in prison in Norwich a year and four months, saith Bale; almost two years, saith Fox; and then was most fortunately delivered, without doing any violence to his conscience, by the subscription which he made. Being abroad, he wrote a piece intituled, "Ætiologia, to all that sincerely professed Christ, wheresoever dispersed, especially his countrymen, the English, banished with him." In this tract he gave a relation of himself, and his imprisonment, and escape; and of the disputes that happened between him and his adversaries concerning transubstantiation, and the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; and by what means he escaped safe in body and conscience, which was a rare matter to do from such inquisitors. It was propounded to him to set his hand to these words, viz.:—"That he believed and confessed that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, through the Omnipotency of God's Word, pronounced by the priest, were turned into the body and blood of Christ; and after consecration, under the forms of bread and wine, remained the true body and blood of Christ, and no other substance." To which he made this subscription:—"His omnibus eatenus assentior et subscribo, quatenus Verbo Dei nituntur, eoque sensu, quo sunt ab ecclesia Catholica et a sanctis patribus intellecta." By the means of one Dr. Barret, a learned friar of Norwich, he was upon this favourable subscription dismissed. But Christopherson, dean of Norwich, when he understood it, was much incensed, and laid out to take him again. But he, by the help of friends, escaped over the seas.

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 21.]

Now, lastly, of Ralph Morice, his secretary, so much employed, and so greatly intrusted by our archbishop, it may not be amiss to set down a few memorials. He was his secretary, not so much for ordinary matters incident to his archiepiscopal office, as his amanuensis for learned treatises and discourses which he composed. In this place he remained for twenty years; that is, from the archbishop's first entrance upon his see, to the death of King Edward VI., his good master. He was a very considerable person, and of good birth, being the son of James Morice of Roydon, in the county of Essex, Esq. Which James was sometime servant unto the Lady Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, and clerk of her kitchen, and master of her works; and particularly of Christ's College and St. John's in Cambridge, both which she founded. He also, and his son William, were joint receivers of the lands, called Richmond Lands, and other lands, called the Recovered Lands.

Our Ralph, by reason of his service about the archbishop, was well known to Bishop Heath, Bishop Thirlby, Bishop Cox, Bishop Barlow, and Bishop Scory; men that were much about the archbishop, and his friends, and who were privy to those volumes that the secretary writ out for his master. He dwelt sometime in Chartham, not far from Canterbury, and had the farm of that parsonage, and the nomination of the curate. And, being a man of conscience and integrity, endeavoured to procure here an honest and able preacher; and so presented to the church one Richard Turner, a man of an irreprehensible life, and well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who for his doctrine against the Popish superstition, and the Pope's supremacy, met with great troubles. But his patron very stiffly stood by him, and procured the archbishop to favour him; and having an interest with Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Butts, courtiers, he wrote Mr. Turner's case at large to them, and got them to read his letter before the king; who, though before he had been by sinister reports so incensed against him, as to command him to be whipped out of the country, now by this means he conceived better thoughts of him, and commanded him to be cherished as a good subject; as I have before more at large related.[1]

Another passage I meet with of this man, relates to the kindness of the archbishop, his master, to him, who, in token of his good will he bore him, and of his readiness to reward his diligence and faithfulness in his service, did procure him a lease of the parsonage of Ospringe, in Kent, being an impropriation belonging unto St. John's College in Cambridge, worth better than forty marks by the year *de claro*, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. This the archbishop got a grant of from the said college for him. But when the lease was prepared and ready to be sealed, one Hawkins of the guard, by his importunate suit, got King Henry VIII. to obtain it of the college to be sealed for the use of him, the said Hawkins. The archbishop then solicited the king in his servant's behalf, and the king promised him, and also Dr. Day, the master of the college, that he would otherwise recompense Morice for the same, with like value or better, which was never done, the king dying before he did anything for him.

This caused Morice to prefer a supplication unto Queen Elizabeth, setting forth his sad case, and desiring therefore her liberality, aid, and succour: especially considering, that her royal father had in his will provided, that all such who had sustained any manner of damage or hinderance by him should be satisfied for the same; suing, therefore, to her majesty for a pension, that had been allowed unto one Wildbore, late prior of the monastery of St. Augustine's, lately deceased, that it might be conferred upon him during his life. And indeed he seemed now, in his old age, to have need of some such favour, his condition being but mean according to worldly things, and having four daughters all marriageable, and not wherewithal to bestow them according to their quality. This his poverty he urged to the queen, and that the granting him this pension would be a good furtherance of his said daughters' marriage.

The same person had some lands descended to him from

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[1] [See vol. i. p. 397, of this edition; and Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 31—34.]

James his father out of two manors, the one called Roydon Manor, and the other called the Temple, both situate and lying in the parish of Roydon. His said father, upon some certain reasons and agreements, surrendered two long leases of both these manors into King Henry VIII.'s hands. In consideration of which, and of long and true services, the said king did give, except, and reserve certain tenements, lands, pastures, and meadows, out of the said two lordships, to the use of the said James and his heirs and assigns for ever, as appeared by his letters patent. And James did enjoy them peaceably and quietly, without any molestation, until his death, which was in the second year of Queen Mary. But of late the leases of the manors being sold away unto others, they laid claim and title unto the said reserved lands, upon the information of one Thurgood, steward of the courts there; pretending that there were not words sufficient in the said letters patent to justify the said exceptions. This occasioned Ralph Morice, the son, who enjoyed some of the copyholds within the said exceptions, to sue unto the queen for her majesty's letters patent, to ratify and confirm the said exceptions, that the king's godly disposition, intent, and meaning might be in force to James Morice's heirs and assigns for ever.

What success he had in this and the former petition, I find not; but am ready to think the queen gratified him in both, as well for his own merits, as out of that high respect she bore to the memory of our incomparable prelate, whose servant he had so long been, and for whose sake he recommended himself and his suit to her. I have inserted the former of these supplications in the Appendix,[1] being an original of Morice's own handwriting, and containing some memorable passages in it.

This man was, by the archbishop's means, appointed a register in King Edward VI.'s visitation, which was in the second year of his reign, the articles whereof were drawn up by the archbishop, and preserved to us in Bishop Sparrow's collections.[2] And, being ready to depart with the king's commissioners, the archbishop sent for him to

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[1] No. CIII.

[2] [Sparrow's Collection of Articles, pp. 25—33; and Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 154—159.]

Hampton Court, and willed him to make notes of certain matters in the said visitation, whereof he gave him particular instructions, and had large discourse with him of the good success that this course was like to have.

In the beginning of Queen Mary he suffered much; being glad to fly from his own house; but afterwards taken by the justices, and committed to custody. Out of which he escaped by breaking prison. His house was often searched. But he outlived those hard times, and was alive in the year 1565, and then lived at Beakesbourne.

It was this Morice that supplied Mr. Fox, the writer of the Acts and Monuments, with those memorials concerning the bishop of Winchester, which shewed how small a share he had in King Henry's affections, notwithstanding his boasting thereof, which he was very apt to do; and particularly how that king came to leave him out of his last will. All which Sir Anthony Denny related to our archbishop, in the hearing of this his secretary, who was alive when Fox wrote this, and whom he asserts, towards the end of his eighth book, as a witness to the same.[1] For it is to be noted here, that, among those persons that assisted this author with matter for the compiling his laborious books, this Morice was one, and to whom we are to reckon ourselves beholden for divers other material passages of our church-history, and especially those of his lord and master, the archbishop, which are preserved in the said books to posterity. To Day the printer he sent many papers of monuments for the furnishing Fox's History; and many more he had communicated, but that, in Queen Mary's reign, his house in two years was thrice searched; by which means he lost a great sort of things worthy perpetual memory, and especially divers letters of King Edward to the archbishop, and of the archbishop to him.

I meet with one Morice, a man of worship, that was much acquainted with, and very well affected towards, Mr. Hugh Latimer, whom the said reverend father called "his trusty friend." When he was parson of West-Kingston in Wiltshire, the priests at Bristol and thereabouts had combined against him; and, accusing him in several articles, which they had maliciously and falsely collected out of his sermons, got him convented before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and Stokesley, bishop of London. By them he was detained a great while, and underwent many an examination. While he was in these his troubles, Morice, whom I suspect to be either this Ralph or his father, wrote a kind letter to him to comfort him. To which Latimer gives an answer, wherein he explains at large to him the reasons of his troubles, thanking him for this kindness, as well as for others heretofore shewn him, and for which he prayed God to reward him.[1]

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[1] [Acts and Monuments, vol. v. pp. 691, 692.]

## CHAPTER XXX.

### *A Prospect of the Archbishop's Qualities.*

There is an original writing of this Morice's hand preserved in the Benet library, intituled, "A Declaration," &c., which he drew out for the use, and by the command, of Archbishop Parker;[2] wherein divers remarkable passages of this archbishop, not yet mentioned, are set down, and particularly, he is herein vindicated from one thing, which to this day he is by some blamed for; namely, for alienations, and long leases of the revenues of the see, granted to the king, and others. A great part therefore of this I shall here transcribe.

"He was of such temperance of nature, or rather so mortified, that no manner of prosperity or adversity could alter or change his accustomed conditions; for were the storms never so terrible, or odious, or the prosperous state of the times never so pleasant, joyous, or acceptable, to the face of the world his countenance, diet, or sleep, commonly never altered or changed. So that they which were most near and conversant about him, never or seldom perceived, by any sign or token of countenance, how the affairs of the prince or realm went. Notwithstanding privately, with his secret and special friends, he would shed forth many bitter tears, lamenting the miseries and calamities of the world.

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[1] [For this letter, see Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. pp. 473—477.]

[2] [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxxviii. fol. 405 *et sqq.*]

"Again, he so behaved himself to the whole world, that in no manner of condition he would seem to have any enemy; although in very deed he had both many great and secret enemies, whom he always bare with such countenance and benevolence, that they could never take good opportunity to practise their malice against him, but to their great displeasure and hinderance in the end. And as concerning his own regard towards slanders and reproach, by any man to him imputed or impinged, such as entirely knew him can testify, that very little he esteemed or regarded the bruit thereof; because he altogether travailed evermore from giving of just occasion of detraction. Whereupon grew and proceeded that notable quality or virtue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. So that in that respect he would not be acknown to have any enemy at all. For whosoever he had been that had reported evil of him, or otherwise wrought to do him displeasure, were the reconciliation never so mean or simple on the behalf of his adversary, if he had anything at all relented, the matter was both pardoned and clearly forgotten, and so voluntarily cast into the satchel of oblivion behind the back parts, that it was more clear now out of his memory, than it was in his mind, before it was either commenced or committed. Insomuch that, if any such person should have had any suit unto him afterward, he might well reckon, and be as sure to obtain, (if by any means he might lawfully do it), as any other of his special friends. So that on a time I do remember, that Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, partly misliking this his over-much lenity, by him used, said unto him, 'My lord, I now know how to win all things at your hand well enough.' 'How so?' quoth my lord. 'Marry,' saith Dr. Heath, 'I perceive that I must first attempt to do unto you some notable displeasure; and then, by a little relenting, obtain of you what I can desire.' Whereat my lord bit his lip, as his manner was when he was moved, and said, 'You say well; but yet you may be deceived. Howbeit, having some consideration so to do, I may not alter my mind and accustomed condition, as some would have me to do.'

"Again one thing he commonly used, wherein many did discommend him, which was this: he always bare a good face and countenance unto the Papists, and would, both in word and deed, do very much for them, pardoning their offences, and, on the other side, somewhat oversevere against the Protestants; which being perceived not to be done but upon some purpose, on a time a friend of his declared unto him, that he therein did very much harm, encouraging thereby the Papists, and also thereby discouraging the Protestants; whereunto he made this answer, and said, 'What will ye have a man do to him that is not yet come to the knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, nor perchance as yet called, and whose vocation is to me uncertain? Shall we, perhaps in his journey coming towards us, by severity and cruel behaviour, overthrow him, and, as it were in his voyage, stop him? I take not this the way to allure men to embrace the doctrine of the Gospel. And if it be a true rule of our Saviour Christ, to do good for evil, then let such as are not yet come to favour our religion learn to follow the doctrine of the Gospel by our example, in using them friendly and charitably. On the other side, such as have tasted of sincere religion, and as it were taken hold of the Gospel, and seem in words to maintain the true doctrine thereof, and then, by the evil example of their lives, most perniciously become stumbling-blocks unto such as are weak, and not at all as yet entered into the viage, what would you have me do with them? Bear with them, and wink at their faults; and so willingly suffer the Gospel, by their outrageous doings, to be trodden under feet?' Using herewith another notable saying of our Saviour out of our memory, which saith, 'the servant, knowing his lord and master's pleasure and commandment, if he regardeth not the same, is, as a man might say, of all others worthy of many plagues.' And thus with these two Scriptures, or doctrines of our Saviour Christ, he answered mine eldest brother, who was earnest with him for his amendment of this quality. Mr. Isaac, yet living, is a witness of the same.

"Again, if there were any matter of weight, (besides his own cause, wherein evermore, with all kinds of persons, he was ready to relent and give place, according to the quality of the matter, more than became his state), which touched God percase, or his prince, there was no man more stout or more inexorable. So far forth, that neither fear of losing of promotion, nor hope of gain, or winning of favour, could move him to relent, or give place unto the truth of his conscience. As experience thereof well appeared, as well in defence of the true religion against the Six Articles in the Parliament, as in that he offered to combat with the Duke of Northumberland in King Edward's time; speaking then on behalf of his prince, for the staying of the chantries, until his highness had come unto lawful age; and that especially for the maintenance of his better state then. But if at his prince's pleasure, in case of religion, at any time he was forced to give place, that was done with such humble protestation, and so knit up for the safeguard of his faith and conscience, that it had been better his good-will had never been requested, than so to relent or give over as he did. Which most dangerously, (besides sundry times else), he especially attempted, when the Six Articles passed by Parliament; and when my Lord Crumwel was in the Tower, at what time the book of Articles of our religion[1] was new penned. For even at that season the whole rabblement, (which he took to be his friends, being commissioners with him), forsook him, and his opinion and doctrine; and so, leaving him *post* alone, revolted altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. As by name Bishop Heath, Shaxton, Day, and all other of the meaner sort. By whom these so named were chiefly advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this sudden invasion notwithstanding, God gave him such favour with his prince, that book altogether passed by his assertion, against all their minds; more to be marvelled at, the time considered, than by any reason to compass how it should come to pass. For then would there have been laid thousands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he should, before that synod had been ended, have been shut up in the Tower, beside his friend the Lord Crumwel. Howbeit the king's majesty, having an assured and approved affiance of his both deep knowledge in religion, and fidelity both to God and him, suspected in that time other men in their judgments not to walk uprightly, nor sincerely; for that some of them swerved from their former opinions in doctrine; and, having great experience of the constancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drove him all along to join with the said Lord Cranmer in the confirmation of his opinion and doctrine against all the rest, to their great admiration.

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[1] Viz.—"The Erudition of a Christian Man."

"For at all times, when the king's majesty would be resolved in any doubt or question, he would but send word to my lord over-night; and by the next day the king would have in writing brief notes of the doctor's minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new, with a conclusion of his own mind, which he could never get in such a readiness of any; no, not of all his chaplains and clergy about him in so short a time. For, being thoroughly seen in all kinds of expositors, he could incontinently lay open thirty, forty, sixty, or more, some whiles, of authors. And so, reducing the notes of them altogether, would advertise the king more in one day, than all his learned men could do in a month.

"And it was no marvel; for it was well known, that commonly, if he had not business of the prince's, or special urgent causes before him, he spent three parts of the day in study as effectually as he had done at Cambridge. And therefore it was that the king said on a time to the bishop of Winchester, the king and my said lord of Winchester defending together, that the canons of the apostles were of as good authority as the four evangelists, contrary to my Lord Cranmer's assertion; 'My lord of Canterbury,' said the king, 'is too old a truant for us twain.'

"Again, his estimation was such with his prince, that in matters of great importance, wherein no creature durst once move the king for fear of displeasure, or moving the king's patience, or otherwise for troubling his mind, then was my Lord Cranmer most violently, by the whole council, obtruded and thrust out to undertake that danger and peril in hand. As, beside many other times, I remember twice he served the council's expectation. The first time was, when he stayed the king's determinate mind and sentence, in that he fully purposed to send the Lady Mary, his daughter, unto the Tower, and there to suffer as a subject; because she would not obey the laws of the realm, in refusing the bishop of Rome's authority and religion. Whose stay in that behalf, the king then said unto the Lord Cranmer, would be to his utter confusion at the length. The other dangerous attempt was, in the disclosing the unlawful behaviour of Queen Katharine Howard towards the king, in keeping unlawful company with Durrant, her servant. For the king's affection was so marvellously set upon that gentlewoman, as it was never known that he had the like to any woman. So that no man durst take in hand to open to him that wound, being in great perplexity how he would take it. And then the council had no other refuge but unto my Lord Cranmer, who, with overmuch importunity, gave the charge, which was done with such circumspection, that the king gave over his affections unto reason, and wrought marvellous colourably for the trial of the same.

"Now as concerning the manner and order of his hospitality and housekeeping. As he was a man abandoned from all kind of avarice, so was he content to maintain hospitality, both liberally and honourably, and yet not surmounting the limits of his revenues; having more respect and foresight unto the iniquity of the times, being inclined to pull and spoil from the clergy, than to his own private commodity. For else, if he had not so done, he was right sure that his successors should have had as much revenues left unto them, as were left unto the late abbeys, especially considering that the lands and revenues of the said abbeys, being now utterly consumed and spread abroad; and for that there remained no more exercise to set on work, or no officers but surveyors, auditors, and receivers; it was high time to shew an example of liberal hospitality. For although these said workmen, only brought up and practised in subverting of monastical possessions, had brought that kind of hospitality unto utter confusion, yet ceased they not to undermine the prince, by divers persuasions, for him also to overthrow the honourable state of the clergy.

"And, because they would lay a sure foundation to build their purpose upon, they found the means to put into the king's head, that the archbishop of Canterbury kept no hospitality, or house correspondent unto his revenues and dignity; but sold his woods, and, by great incomes and fines made money, to purchase lands for his wife and children. And to the intent that the king should with the more facility believe this information, Sir Thomas Seymour, the duke of Somerset's brother, being one of the privy-chamber, was procured to take this matter in hand. And before he informed the king thereof, he blasted it abroad in the court; insomuch that the gentlemen and he fell out for the same, they declare, that his report was manifestly false, as well for the keeping of his house as for the purchasing lands for his wife and children. This notwithstanding, Mr. Seymour went through with his information, and declared unto the king, as is before declared. The king, hearing this tale with the sequel, (that was, that it was meet for the bishops not to be troubled, nor vexed with temporal affairs, in ruling their honours, lordships, and manors; but rather, they having an honest pension of money yearly allowed unto them for their hospitality, should surrender unto the king's majesty all their royalties and temporalities), said, 'I do marvel that it is said my lord of Canterbury should keep no good hospitality, for I have heard the contrary.' And so, with a few more commendations with my lord, as one that little regarded the suit; but yet, as it appeared afterward, something smelling what they went about, left off any further to talk of that matter, and converted his communication to another purpose.

"Notwithstanding, within a month after, whether it was of chance, or of purpose, it is unknown, the king, going to dinner, called Mr. Seymour unto him, and said, 'Go ye straightways unto Lambeth, and bid my lord of Canterbury come and speak with me at two of the clock at afternoon.' Incontinently Mr. Seymour came to Lambeth, and being brought into the hall by the porter, it chanced the hall was set to dinner. And when he was at the skreen, and perceived the hall furnished with three principal messes, beside the rest of the tables thoroughly set, having a guilty conscience of his untrue report made to the king, recoiled back, and would have gone in to my lord by the chapel-way. Mr. Nevil, being steward, perceiving that, rose up and went after him, and declared unto him, that he could not go that way, and so brought him back unto my lord through the hall. And when he came to my lord, and had done his message, my lord caused him to sit down and dine with him.

But making a short dinner, because he would bring the king word again of this message, he departed and came to the king, before he was risen from the table. When he came to the king's presence, said the king, "Will my lord of Canterbury come to us?" "He will wait on your majesty," said Mr. Seymour, "at two of the clock." "Then," said the king, "had my lord dined before you came?" "No, forsooth," said Mr. Seymour, "for I found him at dinner." "Well," said the king, "what cheer made he you?" With these words Mr. Seymour kneeled down, and besought the king's majesty of pardon. "What is the matter?" said the king. "I do remember," said Mr. Seymour, "that I told your highness that my lord of Canterbury kept no hospitality correspondent unto his dignity; and now I perceive that I did abuse your highness with an untruth. For, besides your grace's house, I think he be not in the realm, of none estate or degree, that hath such a hall furnished, or that fareth more honourably at his own table." "Ah," said the king, "have you spied your own fault now?" "I assure your highness," said Mr. Seymour, "it is not so much my fault as other men's, who seemed to be honest men, that informed me hereof. But I shall henceforth the worse trust them while they live." "Then," said the king, "I knew your purpose well enough; you have had among you the commodities of the abbeys, which you have consumed; some with superfluous apparel, some at dice and cards, and other ungracious rule. And now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues to abuse likewise. If my lord of Canterbury keep such a hall as you say, being neither term nor Parliament, he is metely well visited at those times, I warrant you. And if the other bishops kept the like for their degree, they had not need to have anything taken from them, but rather to be added and holpen. And therefore set your hearts at rest; there shall no such alteration be made while I live," said the king. So that in very deed, where some had penned certain books for the altering that state in the next Parliament, they durst never bring them forth to be read. Whereupon it also came to pass, that when the king understood that, contrary to the report, my lord of Canterbury had purchased no lands, his highness was content upon the only motion of Dr. Butts, without my Lord Cranmer's knowledge, that he should have the abbey in Nottinghamshire, which his wife now enjoyeth.

"Thus much I have declared concerning Mr. Seymour's practice, to the intent men may understand that my Lord Cranmer's hospitality was a mean to stay the estate of the clergy in their possessions."

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### *Archbishop Cranmer preserved the Revenues of his See.*

"And here I must answer for my Lord Cranmer against certain objections, which are in divers men's heads, that by his means all the preferments, offices, and farms, are so given and let out, that his successors have nothing to give or bestow upon their friends and servants, nor that such hospitality can be kept by reason of his fault, in letting go such things as should have maintained provisions of household. But to answer this in a few words, before I descend to any particular declaration. It is most true that if he had not well behaved himself towards his prince and the world, his successors should not been cumbered with any piece of temporal revenues. And I pray God they may maintain, in this mild and quiet time, that which he in a most dangerous world did uphold, and left to his successors. Yet for better declaration, in answering to those objections, it is to be considered that, when he entered upon his dignity, every man about the king made means to get some reversion of farms, or of other office of him. Insomuch that the king himself made means to him for one or two things, before he was consecrated, as for the farm of Wingham-Barton, which was granted unto Sir Edward Bainton, Kt., for fourscore and nineteen years. When my lord perceived that, in such suits as he granted to the king and queen, men would needs have an hundred years save one, he wrote to the chapter of Christ Church, and willed them, in any condition, not to confirm any more of his grants of leases, which were above one and twenty years. By this means much suit was stopped. So that in very deed he gave out his leases but for one and twenty years, which would not satisfy the greedy appetites of some men; and therefore they found a provision for it. For when my lord had let out certain goodly farms at Pinner, Hayes, Harrow on the Hill, Mortlake, &c. to the number of ten or twelve farms, for one and twenty years, taking no manner of fine for them; all these farms by-and-bye were put into an exchange for the king. And the king had them not in possession six days, but they were my Lord North's and other men's. And they were not past one year in their possessions, but that the reversion of every of them was sold for more years; some for an hundred pounds, and some for more, and some for less, making sweepstakes of altogethers. And so was my lord used in all things almost that he did let out for one and twenty years.

"By means whereof Justice Hales, and other of the counsel learned in the laws, advised him to let out his farms for many years, which might be a mean that they should not be so much desired in exchanges as they were; for those farms, which came to my lord, came with years enough upon their backs. And so, upon this conclusion, my lord was fain to alter his purpose in letting of his farms. Whereupon he did let St. Gregory's in Canterbury to Mr. Nevil, the priory of Dover, Chislet-park, and Curleswood-park, with others, for so many years as he did, on purpose to stay them; or else he had gone without them one time or other. And, as I heard say, since your grace was elect, Curleswood-park was in exchange, and the rent thereof paid for one half-year unto the queen's use; but, so soon as they understood there were so many years to come, it was reversed to the archbishopric again. So that hereby partly may be perceived in what state my Lord Cranmer stood with his lands.

"And as touching the diminishing of his rents, houses, and other commodities, for the provision of his hospitality, if all things be well pondered, he had left the same in better state than he found it. For, as touching his exchanges, men ought to consider with whom he had to do, especially with such a prince as would not be bridled, nor be gainsaid in any of his requests, unless men would danger altogethers. I was by when Otford and Knoll were given him. My lord minded to have retained Knoll unto himself, said, that it was too small an house for his majesty. "Marry," said the king, "I had rather have it than this house, meaning Otford, for it standeth on a better soil. This house standeth low, and is rheumatic, like unto Croydon, where I could never be without sickness. And as for Knoll, it standeth on a sound, perfect, wholesome ground; and if I should make abode here, as I do surely mind to do now and then, I will live at Knoll, and most of my house shall live at Otford." And so by this means both those houses were delivered up into the king's hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable great and ample house, whose reparations yearly cost my lord more than men would think. And so likewise did Maidstone, which had no manner of commodity to belong unto it. And I am sure, that after certain exchanges passed between the king and him, there were an hundred marks a year, or thereabouts, allowed unto him in his last exchanges, for recompense of parks and chases; and yet those parks and chases, beside the provision of his venison, stood him yearly in much more, by the reason of the patents and fees belonging unto them, than he by any means else got by them.

"For as for Curleswood, it stood him in twenty nobles a year fee. And yet there was no gain in it, but only conies, which the keeper had also in his patent. So that the archbishop by suppressing of that, and raising that small rent it payeth, may spend thereby seven pounds a year more than it was accustomed to pay towards the archbishopric.

"And touching Chislet-park, it came to my lord in exchange for eight pounds a year. And the farmer payeth ten pounds; so that thereby is gained forty shillings a year. Wherefore it cannot be indifferently gathered, that my lord in preferring his friends unto these things, hath any whit hindered the revenues of the bishopric.

"And as touching pasture and meadow for the provision of his house, both at Croydon and about Canterbury, Ford, and Chislet, there is thrice so much meadow, pasture, and marsh, as was left unto him.

"And as for the sale of his woods, like as he was driven to exchange them, and sell them for to maintain his hospitality, especially having almost twenty years together learned men continually sitting with him in commission, for the trying out, and setting forth of the religion received, and for the discussing of other matters in controversy; some of them daily in diet with him, and some evermore living in his house; so provided he again like woods, more commodious for his houses; as the Blenewoods, belonging to St. Austin's; and Pyne-wood, and others which be known well enough.

"And as touching provision for corn out of Chislet-court, and in other places, it is incredible what a business he had, and ado with Sir Christopher Hales, for that farm and corn, who challenged it of the king by promise; and so would have defeated my lord thereof, had not the king very benignly stood on his side. And it is no small revenue to have yearly so much corn, both wheat, malt, and oats, at so mean a price.

"And therefore let men leave off that report of him, that he was not beneficial to his successors. Other bishops, some of them, lost whole manors and lordships, without any exchange at all. Thus much my conscience hath compelled me to say, in defence of my lord and master's good name; whom I knew to take as much care for his successors in that bishopric, as ever did archbishop, or shall. And would have as much advanced the same, if the iniquity of the world would have permitted him.

"Now, finally, concerning his behaviour towards his family, I think there was never such a master among men, both feared, and entirely beloved. For as he was a man of most gentle nature, void of all crabbed and churlish conditions, so he could abide no such quality in any of his servants. But if any such outrageousness were in any of his men or family, the correction of those enormities he always left to the ordering of his officers, who weekly kept a counting-house. And if anything universally were to be reformed or talked of, on that day, which commonly was Friday, the same was put to admonition. And if it were a fault of any particular man, he was called forth before the company, to whom warning was given, that if he so used himself after three monitions, he should lose his service.

"There was an infamy of him, that he should have been an hostler, which the ignorant popish priests, for very malice, had published against him. Saying, that he had no manner of learning at all, more than hostlers are wont to have. And this rumour sprang of that, that when he had married his first wife, being reader then of Buckingham College, he did put his wife to board in an inn at Cambridge; and he resorting thither unto her in the inn, some ignorant priests named him to be the hostler, and his wife the tapster. This bruit then began, but it much more was quickened when he was archbishop than before. Insomuch that a priest far north, about Scarborough, sitting among his neighbours at the ale-house, and talking of Archbishop Cranmer, divers men there commending him: 'What,' said the priest, 'make ye so much of? He was but an hostler, and hath as much learning as the goslings of the green that go yonder.' Upon which words, the honest men of the parish, which heard him, gave information to my Lord Crumwel of those his slanderous words. The priest was sent for before the council, and cast into the Fleet; my Lord Cranmer not being that day among the council, nor hearing no manner of word of the priest's accusation. It chanced the priest to lie in the Fleet eight or nine weeks, and nothing said unto him. He then made suit by one, named Chersey, (a grocer dwelling within Ludgate, now yet alive, and uncle, as I suppose, to the priest), unto my Lord Cranmer for his deliverance. This Chersey brought the copy of the priest's accusation from my Lord Crumwel's house, whereby plainly appeared there was nothing laid unto the priest but those words against my Lord Cranmer. And therefore he besought him to help him out of prison; for it had put him to great charge sliving there and he had a benefice which was unserved in his absence; and said, that he was very sorry he had so unhonestly abused himself towards his grace. Whereupon my Lord Cranmer sent to the Fleet for the priest. When he came before my lord, said my Lord Cranmer to him, 'It is told me that you be prisoner in the Fleet for calling me an hostler, and reporting that I have no more learning than a gosling. Did you ever see me before this day?' 'No, forsooth,' quoth the priest. 'What meant you then to call me an hostler, and so to deface me among your neighbours?' The priest made his excuse, and said, that he was overseen with drink.

'Well,' said my lord's grace, 'now ye be come, you may oppose me to know what learning I have. Begin in grammar if you will, or else in philosophy, or other sciences, or divinity.' 'I beseech your grace pardon me,' said the priest; 'I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but altogether in English.' 'Well, then,' said my lord, 'if you will not oppose me, I will oppose you. Are you not wont to read the Bible?' quoth my lord. 'Yes, that we do daily,' said the priest. 'I pray you tell me,' quoth my lord, 'then, who was David's father?' The priest stood still, and said, 'I cannot surely tell your lordship.' Then said my lord again, 'If you cannot tell me that, yet declare unto me who was Solomon's father?' 'Surely,' quoth the priest, 'I am nothing at all seen in those genealogies.' 'Then I perceive,' quoth my lord, 'however you have reported of me, that I had no learning, I can now bear you witness, that you have none at all. There are such a sort of you in this realm, that know nothing, nor will know nothing, but sit upon your ale-bench, and slander all honest and learned men. If you had but common reason in your heads, you that have named me an hostler, you might well know that the king, having in hand one of the hardest questions that was moved out of the Scripture this many years, would not send an hostler unto the bishop of Rome, and the emperor's council, and other princes, to answer and dispute in that so hard a question, even among the whole college of cardinals, and the rout of Rome. By all likelihood the king lacked much the help of learned men, that was thus driven to send an hostler on such a voyage, or else the king hath many idle priests, without wit or reason, that can so judge of the prince and his council, and of the weighty matters of the realm. God amend you,' said he, 'and get ye home to your cure, and from henceforth learn to be an honest man, or at least a reasonable man.'

"The priest, lamenting his folly, went his way into his country, and my Lord Cranmer discharged him out of the Fleet, because there was no matter against him, but that which only concerned my lord. My Lord Crumwel, within four days after, came to my Lord Cranmer, and sware a great oath, that the popish knaves should pick out his eyes, and cut his throat, before he would any more rebuke them for slandering him. ‘I had thought that the knave priest, which you have discharged and sent home, should have recanted at Paul’s Cross on Sunday next.’ ‘Yea, marry,’ quoth my Lord Cranmer, ‘you would have all the world know by that mean that I was an hostler indeed.’ ‘What manner of blockheads would so think?’ quoth my Lord Crumwel. ‘Too many Papists,’ quoth my Lord Cranmer. ‘Howbeit,’ quoth he, ‘you have caused the poor priest to spend all that he hath in prison, and would you now put him to open shame too? He is not the first, not by five hundred of them, that hath called me so; and therefore I will not now begin to use extremity against this priest. I perceive he is sorry for it.’ ‘Well,’ quoth my Lord Crumwel, ‘if you do not care for it, no more do I; but I warrant you one day, if they may, they will make you and me both as vile as hostlers.’ This I repeat to declare his lenity, and promptness to remit notable offences; howbeit it should have been placed before, if I had remembered it.

“Thus I have hastily penned such things as came to my memory, since Saturday last, beseeching your grace to take it in good part, being certainly assured that I have declared nothing of mine head, as concerning the very matters.”

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### *Some Observations upon Archbishop Cranmer.*

Besides these observations, made to my hand by another, of this great archbishop, I shall gather some further observations of his endowments and qualities, whether Christian or moral, whereby we shall have occasion offered us of gathering up a few more memorials of him.

He was a most profound learned man in divinity, as also in the civil and canon laws; as appeared by those many voluminous writings and common-places, by him devised or collected out of all the Fathers and church-writings, which Peter Martyr reported he himself saw, and were indeed communicated to him by the archbishop, while he harboured him at Lambeth. And there was no book, either of the ancient or modern writers, especially upon the point of the eucharist, which he had not noted with his own hand in the most remarkable places; no councils, canons, decrees of popes, which he had not read and well considered. And from this his indefatigable reading, and exact knowledge of authors, he ventured publicly, before the Pope's delegate, and Queen Mary's commissioners, to make this challenge; "That if it could be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is in the sacrament of the altar really, he would give over."[1]

So that his library was the storehouse of ecclesiastical writers of all ages, and which was open for the use of learned men. Here old Latimer spent many an hour; and found some books so remarkable, that once he thought fit to mention one in a sermon before the king.[2] And when Ascham of Cambridge, a great student of politer learning, and of Greek authors, wanted Gregory Nyssen in Greek, (not the Latin translation of him,) and which it seems the University could not afford, he earnestly entreated Poinet, his grace's chaplain, to borrow it in his name, and for his use, for some months of the archbishop. For in those times it was rare to meet with those Greek Fathers in their own language, and not spoiled by some ill Latin translation. Another of his books I will mention, because it is now in the possession of a reverend friend of mine near Canterbury; in which book the archbishop's name is yet to be seen, written thus with his own hand, *Thomas Cantuariensis;* and a remarkable book it is, which we may conclude the archbishop often perused, viz. "Epistolæ et Historia Joannis Huss." Printed at Wittenberg, 1537.

And this learning happening in a mind possessed with piety, made him the more deeply sensible of the greatness of the charge that lay upon him. And as he well knew under what needs the Church laboured, so he was very solicitous that nothing might be wanting on his part; shewing himself a most conscientious bishop and tender pastor of Christ's flock. He was not guided in his episcopal function by vain-glory, or affectation of popular applause, or worldly ambition, or covetousness, but only by the holy and pious ends of discharging his duty, and promoting the honour of Christ, and the knowledge of his Gospel, and the good of his people; as he took God to witness in the preface of his book of the Sacrament. A paragraph whereof I think not unworthy to be here inserted, whereby it may appear of what a truly apostolical spirit our archbishop was. "When I see," said he, "Christ's vineyard overgrown with thorns, brambles, and weeds, I know that everlasting woe appertaineth to me if I hold my peace, and put not to my hand and tongue to labour in purging His vineyard. God I take to witness, who seeth the hearts of all men thoroughly unto the bottom, that I take this labour for none other consideration but for glory of His name, and the discharge of my duty, and the zeal [that] I bear toward the flock of Christ. I know in what office God hath placed me, and to what purpose; that is to say, to set forth His word truly unto His people to the uttermost of my power, without respect of person, or regard of thing in the world, but of Him alone. I know what account I shall make to Him hereof at the last day, when every man shall answer for his vocation, and receive for the same, good or ill, according as he hath done. I know how Antichrist hath obscured the glory of God, and the true knowledge of His Word, overcasting the same with mists and clouds of error and ignorance through false glosses and interpretations. It pitieth me to see the simple and hungry flock of Christ led into corrupt pastures, to be carried blindfold they know not whither, and to be fed with poison, instead of wholesome meats. And, moved by the duty, office, and place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give warning in His name unto all that profess Christ, that they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls, and to beware of that great harlot; that is to say, the pestiferous see of Rome, that she make you not drunk with her pleasant wine," &c.[1]

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 52.]

[2] [See above, p. 145.]

And as he had this care of the whole Church of this land, as the high patriarch thereof, so he particularly had his eye upon his own diocese. He took care, even in King Henry's ticklish reign, to place such ministers in Kent as were learned, and dared to open their mouths to preach Gospel-doctrine, and to convince the people of the usurpations of the bishop of Rome, and of the idolatry and superstitions, wherein they had been so long nursled up. And for the preventing whereof, from time to time, he ordered his archdeacon, and other his officers, to take down images out of churches, and deface them. Which things created him much hatred among the Popish clergy, whose gain depended so much therein. He had a peculiar regard of the greater towns of his diocese, that such places might be furnished with able men, where the inhabitants were numerous, and the salaries generally small. Whereby he saw it came to pass, that where there was most need of learned men, there the most ignorant were placed. Therefore, he thought this worthy his redressing. I meet with this memorandum in one of his note-books :[1]—" These towns following are especially to be remembered, that in them be placed learned men, with sufficient stipends.

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[1] [See "A Preface to the Reader," prefixed to the original edition of the "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament," 1550, in Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. i. pp. 6, 7, from which the above quotation has been corrected.]

" Sandwich,
Dover,
Folkestone,
Ashford,
Tenterden,
Crambroke,
Feversham,
Herne,
Whitstable,
Marden,
Maidstone,
Wye, and Wingham."

In these great towns, as well as Canterbury, he often preached himself. And for his sermons at Sandwich, he was once complained of openly in the Parliament-house, to have brought him under the lash of the statute of the Six Articles. And within seven or eight years after his first entrance into the see, he had placed such store of good preachers about Kent, that, at another time, a long list of articles were drawn up against them, and given in to the justices of the county at a quarter-sessions of the peace, and they by a combination preferred the complaint to the king and Council.

His high estate puffed him not up, nor made him forget the great work of his calling, which he very earnestly desired to prosecute above all things in the world. Nor did he care at all for the high titles that were attributed to him, as he was archbishop of Canterbury, as may appear by this passage. Upon occasion of a question arising concerning his style of primate of all England, for bearing which, in his summons for a provincial visitation, [Gardiner] the bishop of Winchester, out of malice, had complained to King Henry against him, as though it were an encroachment upon the king's supremacy; he protested to Crumwel, then secretary, (who had sent him word of it), "That, as God should be merciful to him in the day of judgment, he set not more by any title or style than he did by the paring of an apple, further than it should be to the setting forth God's word and will." His expression was, "That they were the successors of Diotrephes that affected glorious titles, styles, and pomps;" he professed, "he could have been willing that bishops should lay aside their lofty styles, and only write themselves by the style of their offices, "The Apostles of Jesus Christ;" and wished heartily, that the Christian conversation of the people were the letters and seals of their offices, (as the Corinthians were to St. Paul, who told them, that they were his letters, and the signs of his apostleship), and not paper, parchment, lead, or wax."[1]

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[1] In the Benet Library.

Great indeed and painful was his diligence in promoting God's truth, and reforming this Church, insomuch that he raised up against himself the malice and hatred of very many thereby. These memorials, before related, do abundantly evince the same. The words of Thomas Becon, in an epistle dedicatory,[2] deserve here to be transcribed: "In plucking up the enemy's tares, and in purging the Lord's field, that nothing may grow therein but pure wheat, your both godly and unrestful pains, most reverend father, are well known in this Church of England, and thankfully accepted of all faithful Christian hearts; insomuch that very many do daily render unto God most humble and hearty thanks for the singular and great benefits, which they have received of Him, through your virtuous travail in attaining [unto] the true knowledge of justification, of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood," [those two things especially he laboured to retrieve and promote a true knowledge of,] "and such other holy mysteries of our profession. And albeit the devil roar, the world rage, and the hypocrites swell, at these your most Christian labours, which you willingly take for the glory of God, and the edifying of his congregation; yet, as you have godly begun, so without ceasing continue unto the end." And so he did, to the effusion of his blood not many years after.

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[1] [Appendix, No. XIV.]

[2] Before his "Treatise of Fasting." [See Parker Society's edition of Becon's Works (Catechism, &c.), p. 126, by which the above quotation has been corrected.]

For he was very sensible of the gross abuses and corruptions into which the Christian Church had sunk, which made him labour much to get it purged and restored to its primitive constitution and beauty. And this he ceased not to make King Henry sensible of, putting him upon the Reformation of the English Church, as he could find occasion, and convenience serve him, to move him thereunto. Which found at last that good effect upon the king, that, towards the latter years of his reign, he was fully purposed to proceed to a regulating of many more things than he had done.[1] But the subtlety of Gardiner bishop of Winton, and his own death, prevented his good designs. While the aforesaid bishop was ambassador abroad, employed about the league between the emperor and the English and French kings, our archbishop took the opportunity of his absence to urge the king much to a reformation; and the king was willing to enter into serious conference with him about it. And at last he prevailed with the king to resolve to have the roods in every church pulled down, and the accustomed ringing on All-hallows-night suppressed, and some other vain ceremonies. And it proceeded so far, that, upon the archbishop's going into Kent, to visit his diocese, the king ordered him to cause two letters to be drawn up, prepared for him to sign, the one to be directed to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other to the archbishop of York, who were therein to be commanded to issue forth their precepts to all the bishops in their respective provinces, to see those enormities redressed without delay; which our archbishop accordingly appointed his secretary to do. And the letters, so drawn up, were sent by the archbishop up to court. But the king, upon some reasons of state, suggested to him in a letter from Gardiner, his ambassador beyond sea, being by some made privy to these transactions, suspended the signing of them.[1]

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[1] As long as Queen Ann, [Thomas] Crumwel, Bishop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, with such-like were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the Church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the Church, in exploding the Pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meats in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage worship, in abrogating idle and superstitious holy-days, both by act public, and [also] by private letters [sent] to Bonner [tending to this effect].—*Acts and Monum.* p. 1147, a. edit. 1610 [vol. v. p. 605].

And that put a stop to this business for some time, till some time after, the king, at the royal banquet made for Annebault, the French king's ambassador, leaning upon him and the archbishop, told them both his resolution of proceeding to a total reformation of religion, signifying that, within half a year, the mass both in his kingdom, and in that of France, should be changed into a communion; and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome should be wholly rooted out of both; and that both kings intended to exhort the emperor to do the same in his territories, or else they would break off the league with him. And at that time also he willed the archbishop to draw up a form of this reformation, to be sent to the French king to consider of. This he spake in the month of August, a few months before his death. This his purpose he also signified to Dr. Bruno, ambassador here from John Frederick, duke of Saxony, some little time after, saying, "That if his master's quarrel with the emperor was only concerning religion, he advised him to stand to it strongly, and he would take his part."[2] But the king's death prevented all.

And as for this king's next successor, King Edward, the archbishop had a special care of his education, whose towardliness and zealous inclination to a Reformation, was attributed to the said archbishop, and three other bishops; viz. Ridley, Hooper, and Latimer, by Rodulph Gualter of Zurich, who, partly by his living some time in England, and partly by his long and intimate familiarity and correspondence with many of the best note here, was well acquainted with the matters relating to this kingdom. Of the great influence of one of these upon the king, viz. the archbishop, the former memorials do sufficiently shew.

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[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 562.]

[2] [Id. ibid. and p. 692.]

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### *Archbishop Cranmer procures the Use of the Scriptures.*

The archbishop was a great scripturist, and, in those darker times of Popery, was the chief repairer of the reputation of the holy Scriptures, urging them still for the great standard and measure in all controverted matters relating to religion and the Church. By these he disentangled King Henry VIII.'s great matrimonial cause, when all his other divines, who had the Pope's power and laws too much in their eyes, were so puzzled about it; shewing how no human dispensation could enervate or annul the Word of God. And in the course he took about the reforming of religion, the holy Scripture was the only rule he went by; casting by schoolmen, and the Pope's canons and decretals, and adhering only to the more sure word of prophecy, and divine inspiration. And so Roger Ascham, in a letter to Sturmius, in the year 1550, when they were very busy in the Reformation, writes:[1] That such was the care of their Josiah, (meaning King Edward), the archbishop of Canterbury, and the whole privy-council, for true religion, that they laboured in nothing more than that as well the doctrine as discipline of religion might be most purely drawn out of the fountain of the sacred Scriptures; and that that Roman sink, whence so many human corruptions abounded in the church of Christ, might be wholly stopped up.

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[1] "Ea veræ religionis cura apud Josiam nostrum imprimis, et Cantuariensem, et universum concilium regium excubat, ut in nulla re æque laboratum sit, quam ut religionis, tum doctrina, tum disciplina, ex sacrarum literarum fonte, purissime hauriatur: et ut sentina illa Romana, qua tot humanæ sordes in ecclesiam Christi redundârunt, funditus obstruatur."

This his high value of the Scriptures made him at last the happy instrument of restoring them to the common people, by getting them, after divers years' opposition, printed in the English tongue, and set up in churches, for any to read that would for their edification and comfort; when, for some hundred years before, those treasures had, for the most part, been locked up and concealed from them.

But, first, great was the labour of our archbishop, before he could get this good work effected, being so disliked and repugned by the patrons of Popery. For he had almost all the bishops against him; as may appear by what I am going to relate. The king being by the archbishop brought to incline to the publishing thereof, the translation done by Coverdale was, by Crumwel or the archbishop, presented into the king's hands, and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to peruse, whereof Stephen Gardiner was one. After they had kept it long in their hands, and the king had been divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at last, being called for by the king himself, they redelivered the book. And being demanded by the king, what their judgment was of the translation, they answered, That there were many faults therein. "Well," said the king, "but are there any heresies maintained thereby?" They answered, "There were no heresies that they could find maintained in it." "If there be no heresies," said the king, "then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people." This circumstance I thought fit to mention, being the substance of what Coverdale himself afterwards, at a Paul's Cross sermon, spake in his own vindication, against some slanderous reports that were then raised against his translation, declaring his faithful purpose in doing the same: confessing withal, "That he did then himself espy some faults, which, if he might review it once [over] again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not," he said, "but to amend." This is related by Dr. Fulk,[1] who was then one of Coverdale's auditors, and heard him speak and declare all this.

The first edition of the Bible was finished by Grafton, in the year 1537, or 1538. That year our archbishop procured a proclamation from the king, allowing private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses. And about two or three years after they were reprinted, and backed with the king's authority, the former translation having been revised and corrected, whether by certain learned men of both universities, or by some members of the Convocation that were then sitting, it is uncertain.[1] But to this translation the archbishop added the last hand, mending it in divers places with his own pen, and fixing a very excellent preface before it. In which he divided his discourse between two sorts of men: the one, such as would not read the Scripture themselves, and laboured to stifle it from others. The other, such as read the Scripture indeed, but read it inordinately, and turned it into matter of dispute and contention, rather than to direct their lives. And thereby, while they pretended to be furtherers thereof, proved but hinderers, as the others were; these being as blameless almost as those.

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[1] "Defence of the English Translat." chap. i. p. 4, edit. 1583 [p. 98, Parker Society's edition].

As to the former sort; he marvelled at them that they "should take offence at publishing the word of God. For it shewed them to be as much guilty of madness as those would be who, being in darkness, hunger, and cold, should obstinately refuse light, food, and fire. Unto which three God's word is compared. But he attributed it to the prejudice of custom, which was so prevalent, that supposing there were any people that never saw the sun, such as the Cimmerii were fancied to be, and that God should so order it, that that glorious light should in process of time break in upon them, at the first some would be offended at it. And when tillage was first found out, according to the proverb, many delighted notwithstanding to feed on mast and acorns, rather than to eat bread made of good corn. Upon this reason he was ready to excuse those who, when the Scripture first came forth, doubted and drew back; but he was of another opinion concerning such as still persisted in disparaging the publishing of the Scripture, judging them not only foolish and froward, but peevish, perverse, and indurate. And yet, if the matter were to be tried by custom, we might allege custom for reading the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe more ancient custom than for the contrary.

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[1] "Antiq. Brit. in Vit. Cranm." [pp. 396, 397].

Shewing that it was not above a hundred years since the reading it in English was laid aside within this realm; and that many hundred before it had been translated and read in the Saxon tongue, being then the mother tongue; and that there remained divers copies of it in old abbeys. And when that language became old and out of common usage, it was translated into the newer tongue; and of this many copies then still remained, and were daily found."

Then, from custom, he proceeded to consider the thing in its own nature; shewing how available it was that the Scripture should be read of the laity. For which he takes a large quotation out of St. Chrysostom, in his third sermon, "De Lazaro;" wherein that father exhorted the people "to read by themselves at home, between sermon and sermon; that what he had said before in his sermons upon such and such texts, might be the more fixed in their minds and memories; and that their minds might be the more prepared to receive what he should say in his sermons, which he was to preach to them. And that he ever had, and would exhort them, not only to give ear to what was said by the preacher in the church, but to apply themselves to reading the Scriptures at home in their own houses." And a great deal more upon the same argument.

And then, as to the other sort, our archbishop shewed, how there is nothing so good in the world, but might be abused and turned from unhurtful and wholesome, to hurtful and noisome. As above in the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, were abused by idolatry; and here on earth, fire, water, meat, drink, gold, silver, iron, steel, are things of great benefit and use; and yet we see much harm and mischief done by each of these, as well by reason of the lack of wisdom and providence in them that suffer evil by them, as by the malice of them that work the evil by them. Advising therefore all that came to read the Bible, which he called "the most precious jewel, and most holy relic that remained upon earth," to bring with them the fear of God; and that they read it with all due reverence, and used their knowledge thereof, not to the vain-glory of frivolous disputation, but to the honour of God, increase of virtue, and edification of themselves and others."

And then he backed this his counsel with a large passage out of Gregory Nazianzen, which was levelled against such as only talked and babbled of the Scripture out of season, but were little the better for it. And lastly, he concluded his preface by directing to such qualifications as were proper for such as came to read these sacred volumes. Namely, "That he ought to bring with him a fear of Almighty God, and a firm purpose to conform himself thereunto; and so continue to proceed from time to time, shewing himself a sober and fruitful hearer and learner." This whole preface, for the antiquity and usefulness of it, and to preserve as much as we can of the writings of this most reverend man, I have transcribed and placed in the Appendix.[1]

The edition in the year 1540 had a remarkable frontispiece before it, which, because it is somewhat rare, both in regard of the antiquity and device of it, I will relate. In the upper part thereof you see King Henry VIII. sitting in state, guarded on each hand of him with the lords spiritual and temporal, holding in his right hand a bible closed, which he delivered unto Archbishop Cranmer, being on his knee, in the name of the rest of the bishops; all which stood at his right hand bareheaded, their mitres lying upon the ground, in token of their acknowledgment of the king's supremacy; and this motto issuing out of the king's mouth, "Hæc præcipe et doce." Holding also in his left hand another Bible, stretched towards the lords temporal, and delivered to one, (whom I suppose to be intended for the Lord Crumwel), at the head of them, standing on the left side, and this word coming out of the king's mouth towards them: "Quod justum est, judicate:" and this; "Ita parvum audietis, ut magnum:" and this; "A me constitutum est, et decretum, ut in universo imperio et regno meo homines revereantur et paveant Deum viventem." Among these nobles is the figure of one on his knees, and these words issuing out of his mouth: "Verbum tuum lucerna pedibus meis." Over the king's head is the figure of God Almighty sitting in the clouds, with these words coming out of his mouth in a scroll towards the right hand: "Verbum quod egredietur de me, non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quæcunque volui." And in another scroll towards the left, with his hand pointing to the king, "Ecce servum, qui faciet omnes voluntates meas." Underneath the bishops there is another figure, representing Archbishop Cranmer, his coat of arms by him, with the distinction of a crescent. He stood with his mitre on his head, and dressed in his *pontificalibus*, his chaplain behind him, and a priest with a tonsure kneeling before him, in the posture of a candidate for priest's orders, and having his hand stretched out to receive the Bible offered him by the archbishop, and out of his mouth this scroll: "Pascite, qui in vobis est, gregem Christi." On the other side, opposite to the archbishop, and underneath the lords temporal, stood another person, whom I conjecture to be the Lord Crumwel, with his shield by him blank, without any bearing; and out of his mouth came, "Diverte a malo, sequere pacem et persequere." In the lowest part of this frontispiece you have the resemblance of a priest, preaching out of a pulpit before a great auditory of persons of all ranks, qualities, orders, sexes, ages: men, women, children, nobles, priests, soldiers, tradesmen, countrymen. Out of the mouth of the preacher went this verse: "Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus," &c. Implying the benefit accruing to princes by the people's knowledge of the Scriptures, namely, that it taught them to obey and pray for them. And out of the mouths of these hearers of all sorts issued, "Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex;" and out of the mouths of the children, "God save the King;" denoting the great joy the people conceived for the enjoyment of God's word, and the preaching thereof, and their thankfulness to the king for his permission of the same. In the middle stood the title of the Bible, which was this: "The bible in English; that is to say, the contents of all the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, with a Prologue thereunto made by the Reverend Father in God Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. This is the Bible appointed to the use of the Churches. Printed by Richard Grafton, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. Dom.* MDXL."

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[1] No. CIV.

# CHAPTER XXXIV.

## *Archbishop Cranmer compassionate towards sufferers for Religion.*

As he had a great love and value for the eminent professors and patrons of the Gospel, so he bare a most compassionate spirit towards those that suffered for the sake of it. It made a very great impression upon him when he heard that Sir John Cheke had been taken up and indicted, soon after Queen Mary's access to the crown; namely, in the month of August, which was the next month after. And not knowing wherefore he was indicted, whether for his meddling in the Lady Jane's business, or for his zeal in promoting religion, he earnestly desired Sir William Cecil to inform him whether. If for the former, "considering," as he said, "he had been none of the chief doers in that matter, he hoped he should have been one of them that should have partaken of the queen's favour. But if it were for the latter, viz. his earnestness in religion, if he suffer for that, said he, 'Blessed is he of God that suffereth for His sake, howsoever the world judge of him. For what ought we to care for the judgment of the world, when God absolves us?'" But wishing most passionately withal that some means might be used for the relief of him and the Lord Russel, who it seems was clapped up for the same cause.[1]

And indeed, as our archbishop was in the time of King Edward, he was the same under King Henry; that is, the common patron, as far as he might, or dared, of such priests who were drawn into trouble for professing or preaching the Gospel. So he shewed himself to Turner before mentioned; and in the year 1533, or 1534, I find him in a commission for the relieving of another that had been most straitly and rigorously handled by Stokesley, then bishop of London, and his chancellor; his name was Thomas Patmore, parson of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, a learned and godly man, who had by them been condemned to imprisonment for life, together with the loss of his benefice and goods, because he had persuaded his curate to marry a wife; and, being privy to his marriage, did nevertheless suffer him to officiate in his church; and because he had preached certain doctrines at Cambridge, as laying little stress upon the Pope's curse, and that we are saved only by God's mercy; and that all that are saved are saved by faith; and that it is against God's law to burn heretics. This poor man, after three years' close imprisonment in Lollards Tower, by the means of his friends, who put up frequent petitions to the king and the Lady Ann Boleyn, was at last released, and obtained of the king a commission to our archbishop, to whom were joined Audley, lord chancellor, and Crumwel, secretary of state, to inquire into his injuries and unjust handling, and to determine thereof according to equity and justice.[1]

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[1] [See Appendix, No. CIX.]

Thus favourable he was to religion and good men in the two former kings' reigns; but when Queen Mary succeeded, he could no longer be a sanctuary or succour unto them, unless it were to comfort them by words, and to pray for them, as was said before.

The archbishop added, "that he was for his part now utterly unable either to help or counsel, being in the same condemnation that they were. But that the only thing that he could do, he would not omit, and that was, to pray for them, and all others then in adversity." But he entreated Cecil, who by this time seemed to have gotten his pardon, or at least to be in good assurance of it, and so in a better capacity to raise up friends to those honest men, to use what means possible he could for them.

This was all he could do now for the prisoners of Christ. But while he was in place and capacity of succouring such distressed persons, as he was in King Edward's days, he gave them countenance, entertainment at his house and table, preferment, recommendation to the king and Protector. And indeed there was great need of some such patrons of poor Protestants, the persecutions in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany, and other places, being about this time extremely hot, which occasioned the flight of great numbers into this nation, which some of them styled "Christi

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[1] Fox['s Acts and Monuments, vol. v. pp. 35—37].

Asylum," "A sanctuary for Christ."[1] In the year 1549 the persecution in France grew very warm, which was partly occasioned upon the inauguration of King Henry II., and his entrance into Paris for that purpose. For the burning of martyrs in several streets of the city, where and when the king was to pass by, made a barbarous part of the solemnity.[2] In this year many French Protestants, who had been imprisoned for religion in their own country, were either banished, or secretly made their escape into this kingdom. These applied to some French ministers, entertained, as it seems, in the archbishop's family, with Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others, which ministers delivered the condition of these poor men to the archbishop. And having a petition to present to the lord protector, declaring their miserable state, and requiring relief, he appointed the French ministers to apply themselves to Cecil, then master of requests to the lord protector; and that he might be the more ready to recommend and forward the petition, to render it the more effectual, he advised Bucer, Martyr, Alexander, and Fagius, to write their letters jointly unto the said Cecil, for the French ministers to carry along with them as their letter of credence. For the archbishop well knew that Cecil had a great esteem for those learned men, and that their letters would go a great way with him. Such was the particular care and diligence our prelate piously used for relief of these poor French exiles. The copy of this letter I have thought well worthy to be put in the Appendix.[3]

Indeed it was noted at this time, as a quality of the nation, that it was φιλόξενος, "addicted to shew favour to strangers;" nay, "to admire them."[4] And surely it was not without the providence of God, that when, in these difficult times, so many honest, pious, learned men, were forced from their own countries, friends, and estates, they found such hospitable entertainment here. Care was taken for their sufficient livelihoods; and for those of them that were towards learning, places were assigned them in the colleges of the universities, and yearly stipends settled on them. Of those that were most forward and exemplary in these Christian offices, Dr. Laurence Humfrey, one who lived in those times, and was well acquainted with these matters, names King Edward in the first place, who, as he asserts of his own knowledge, was extraordinarily bountiful to them, both in London and in the universities. Among the noblemen he mentions Henry, earl of Dorset and duke of Suffolk; and among the bishops, Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he bestowed this character: "that he was worthy to succeed William Warham in his see, whom he so well imitated, both in courteous behaviour and hospitality."[1]

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[1] "Ad vos, ceu in asylum et portum tutissimum sub sanctissimi regis alas confluebant Germani, Galli, Hispani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti, ut illic Deo suo in fidei libertate servirent, quam ipsis patria ingrata negabat."—Gualt. Præf. ante Hom. in prior. D. Paul. Ep. ad Cor.

[2] [For an account of the persecutions in France during the reign of Henry II. the reader is referred to Felice's History of Protestantism, pp. 57, *et seq.* (ed. Routledge, 1853), a deeply interesting and most important work].

[3] No. CV.

[4] "Anglos φιλοξένους esse non nego, et peregrinorum habiti sunt admiratores [maximi]."—Humfrid. de Nobilit. [p. 252].

And as he was in King Edward's days of such an hospitable disposition towards strangers, so he was noted for it in the reign of his father King Henry, being wont then to shew himself very kind and humane to such as travelled into these parts for learning, as well as for shelter. Gualter, the great divine of Zurich, being but a young man, came into England about the year 1537; and was so affected with the civilities he received here, that he let it stand upon record in the Preface to his Homilies upon the first epistle to the Corinthians, how humanely he was received at Oxford, not only by the students, but by the public professors, and by divers at court. But among them he particularly mentioned how Archbishop Cranmer, whom he styled "The immortal glory of England," received him, though a young man then, and a stranger, and had no experience of things, nor any mark or excellency to recommend him.

And as he was compassionate and hospitable, so he was of a free and liberal disposition; and, as became a Christian bishop, and an English peer, kept great hospitality. Yet, however, he could not escape the imputation of niggardice and closeness. He had been once accused of it to his master King Henry, but came off with honour, the king himself clearing him of that injurious scandal, and giving him a character of a quite contrary nature.[1]

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[1] "In lib. de Nobilitat." p. 253.

And again in King Edward's reign, in the year 1552, some taking the advantage of his absence from the court, slandered him as though he were covetous. Which coming to his ear, by the cordial friendship of Cecil, the king's secretary, he wrote that courtier a letter in vindication of himself; professing "that he was not so doted to set his mind upon things here, which neither he could carry away with him, nor tarry long with them. And that he took not half so much care for his living when he was a scholar at Cambridge, as he did at that present, when he was archbishop of Canterbury; for as he had now much more revenue than he had then, so he had much more to do withal. And that he rather feared stark beggary at last."[2]

This, and other things to the same purpose, he signified in that letter, that Cecil thereby might the better understand his condition, and know how and what to plead at court in his behalf, as occasion served, as hath been more at large related before.

By the way, I cannot but reflect upon one of the archbishop's expressions, which seemed to have been uttered prophetically, so exactly did the event answer to his words: for to stark beggary he was indeed at last reduced, when, in his imprisonment at Oxon, he had not a penny in his purse. And, which was more, his enemies were so barbarously severe, that it would not be allowed any well-disposed person to relieve his necessity, nor to give him an alms, a privilege allowed any beggar beside. And when a gentleman of Gloucestershire, sensible of the archbishop's need, and withal knowing how dangerous it was to give the poor archbishop any money, had conveyed somewhat to the bailiffs, to be by their hands bestowed on him, Bonner and Thirlby, the two bishops that degraded him, stayed this gentleman, intending to send him up to the Council, had he not gotten off by the intercession of some friends.

[1] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. pp. 20—22.]

[2] [Appendix, No. LXVII.]

# CHAPTER XXXV.

## *Some Account of Archbishop Cranmer's Housekeeping.*

But the more fully to confute this calumny, it will not be amiss to look more narrowly into his housekeeping. His daily custom at Lambeth was, to dine in a room above, where all noblemen, and persons of better quality, that came to dine with him, were entertained. Here he was very honourably served, both with dishes and attendants. In the hall the table was every day very plentifully furnished, both for household servants and strangers, with three or four principal head-messes of officers, besides the relief of the poor at his gates. And, which is a very observable charity, as well as hospitality, he appropriated his mansion-house at Beakesbourne, in Kent, and his parsonage-barn, for harbour and lodgings for the poor, sick, and maimed soldiers that came from the wars of Boulogne, and other parts beyond seas. For these he also appointed an almoner, a physician, and a surgeon, to attend on them, and to dress and administer physic to such of them as were not able to resort to their own countries, having also daily from his kitchen hot broth and meat, besides the common alms of his household, that were bestowed upon the poor people of the country. And when any of these were recovered, and were able to travel, they had money given them to bear their charges, according to the number of miles they were to pass before they got home.

I do not know whether some might have taken advantage thus to slander him, from a laudable endeavour of his to reduce within some bounds the provisions of clergymen's tables, which in the latter times of King Henry VIII. grew to great excess and extravagancy, so unbecoming spiritual men. For in the year 1541 the archbishop, with the consent of the other archbishop, and most of the bishops, and divers other deans and archdeacons, made a constitution for moderating the fare of their tables, viz.—

"That archbishops should not exceed six divers kinds of flesh, or as many dishes of fish on fish-days. A bishop not above five. A dean or archdeacon, four; and all under that degree, three. But an archbishop was allowed at second course to have four dishes, a bishop three, and all others two; as custards, tarts, fritters, cheese, apples, pears, &c. But if any of the inferior clergy should entertain any archbishop, bishop, dean, or archdeacon, or any of the laity of like degree, as duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, lord, knight, they might have such provision as were meet for their degree; nor was their diet to be limited when they should receive an ambassador, [to recommend, I suppose, to foreigners the English hospitality."] It was ordered also "That of the greater fish or fowl, as cranes, swans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench, there should be but one in a dish; of lesser sorts than they, as capons, pheasants, conies, woodcocks, but two; of less sorts still, as of partridges, an archbishop, three; a bishop, and other degrees under him, two; The number of the blackbirds were also stinted to six at an archbishop's table, and to four for a bishop. And of little birds, as larks, snites, &c., the number was not to exceed twelve."[1]

But so strongly bent were the clergy in those days to this sort of sensuality, that these injunctions of our archbishop were observed but two or three months; and so they returned to their old superfluity again.

The archbishop's pious design hereby was only to curb intemperance and unnecessary prodigality in such, upon whose office those vices cast such just reflections; but it could not reasonably argue any covetous temper in him; for, that the poor might not fare the worse for this intrenchment of exorbitant hospitality, but rather the better, the archbishop in these aforesaid orders, provided, "That whatsoever was spared out of the old housekeeping, should not be pocketed up, but laid out and spent in plain meats for the relief of poor people."[2]

And that this charge may still appear to be nothing but a mere detraction, proceeding from envy, or some other ill principle, others there were that would blame him for the contrary vice, of too much lavishing and unprofitable expense. So hard a matter is it for the best men to escape the spiteful and venomous insinuations of the world. But he patiently and with an even mind bore all.

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[1] [For this document, reprinted from Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. p. 862, ex MSS. C.C.C.C. Misc. Papers, p. 630, see Parker Society's edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 491.]

[2] [Id. ibid.]

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### *Archbishop Cranmer humble, peaceable, bold in a good cause.*

FOR, which is another thing to be remarked in him, he was very humble and condescending, and did not only bear to be reproved, but was thankful for it; and that even when the reproof was undeserved, which was the more to be valued in him, considering the height and dignity of his calling. To give an instance or two of this.

When, in the year 1552, Cecil had charged him with the imputation of covetousness, as a report that went of him in the court, and which himself seemed partly to believe, begging withal pardon of his grace for his freedom with him; our archbishop told him, "That as for the admonition, he took it very thankfully; and that he had ever been most glad to be admonished by his friends; accounting no man so foolish as he that would not hear friendly admonishment."[1] And when, at another time, the same Cecil, (who would always take the liberty to speak his mind to his friends, whensoever he thought they wanted counsel), had signified to him the hazard he incurred in not showing more compliance towards the duke of Northumberland, who now swayed all, and then apologizing for his boldness; Cranmer was so far from taking this ill, that he returned him his very hearty thanks for his friendly letter and advertisements; desiring him to be assured that he took the same in such good part, and to proceed of such a friendly mind, as he ever looked for at his hands, and whereof he would not be unmindful, if occasion hereafter served, to requite the same.[2]

[1] [Appendix, No. LXVII.]

[2] [Appendix, No. CVII.]

And this good temper led him also to gentleness and lenity. He was no huffer nor contender, but of an exceeding peaceable and amicable spirit. Whereunto he was moved by the reason of policy as well as religion, because he well saw how a contentious quarrelsome disposition in great men would be apt to give an ill example unto inferiors. There happened once, in the year 1552, a contest between him and the lord warden of the Cinque-Ports, who lived not far from him; and so probably it might be about some worldly matters. It was Sir Thomas Cheyny, who, in the year 1549, was one of those that met with Warwick in London, and published a proclamation against the archbishop's friend, the duke of Somerset, as a traitor, which might be an occasion that the archbishop did not much affect Cheyny, nor Cheyny the archbishop. Concerning this difference between them, which it seems was taken notice of at court, when his true friend Cecil had wrote to him, advising a reconciliation, he gave this Christian and meek answer from his house at Ford: "That there was no man more loth to be in contention with any man than he was, especially with him who was his near neighbour, dwelling both in one county, and whose familiar and entire friendship he most desired, and that for the quietness of the whole county." Adding, "that the examples of the rulers and heads would the people and members follow."[1]

His peaceableness also appeared in his hearty desires of the public peace, as well as private. When, upon occasion of hearing of the wars that were about the year 1552, eagerly followed both in Christendom and out of it, he used these words: "The Sophy and the Turk, the emperor and the French king, not much better in religion than they," [such it seems was his censure of them, by reason of the cruelty and persecution they exercised, and the disturbances they made in the world], "rolling the stone, or turning the wheel of fortune up and down; I pray God send us peace and quietness with all realms, as well as among ourselves."[2]

But though he were of so quiet and mild a spirit, yet, being a plain downright man, he would never learn the arts of flattery and base compliances with them that were upper-

[1] [Appendix, No. CVIII.]

[2] [Appendix, No. CVII.]

most; which had like to have created him much trouble from Northumberland, to whom he carried not himself with that deference and pleasingness as he expected. For Cranmer knew the bad heart of this haughty man, and could not forget the ill measure his friend, the duke of Somerset, had found at his hands. He did not care to make any application to him, nor to be an instrument in forwarding any of his designing business. When he was to write up to some of the court concerning Rayner Wolf, I suppose for license to print the Articles of Religion, anno 1552, he desired to take Cecil's advice, to whom he should write; "For I know not," saith he, "to whom to write but my lord of Northumberland;"[1] to whom to make any address he would fain have avoided if he could. There was, about the year 1552, a commission issued out for a strict inquiry to be made after all such as had defrauded the king of any goods or treasure, accruing to him by the suppression of chantries, or that belonged to churches. Now this was done by Northumberland and his creatures on purpose that it might light heavy upon Somerset's friends, who had been the chief visitors in those affairs, and had many of them been supposed to have enriched themselves thereby. Commissioners were appointed in each county. In Kent the commission was directed to the archbishop, and to several other gentlemen and justices of peace. The archbishop, perceiving well the spite and malice of this commission, acted very slowly in it, insomuch that Northumberland began to be highly angry with him. Cecil observing it, and having ever a great veneration for that good man, and fearing he might feel the effects of his fury, writ to him, signifying Northumberland's displeasure, and giving him advice to take heed of him; for which the archbishop thanked him, and prudently writ his excusatory letter to that duke, dated November 20, signifying, "that the cause of his stay of the commission was, because he was alone, and that the gentlemen and justices of peace, who were in commission with him, were then at London, [probably because of the Term], before whose coming home, if he should proceed without them, he might," as he said, "travail in vain, and take more pains than he should do good."[2] And by such soft but honest words mollifying him for the procrastination of that, which he had no mind to meddle in.

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[1] [Appendix, No. LXVI.]

[2] [Appendix, No. CVII.]

But not long after he, and Ridley bishop of London with him, fell under great displeasure with this duke, and the rest of the great men of his party, who in the latter end of King Edward's reign governed all. The reason whereof was, for opposing, as much as they could, though to no effect, the spoil of the church-goods, which were taken away only by a commandment of the higher powers, without request or consent of them to whom they did belong; as Ridley himself relates in his treatise, wherein he lamented the change of religion in England,[1] which indeed was more than ever Henry VIII. had done.

Add to the rest, that our bishop was of a bold and undaunted courage in the cause of God and His church. It was a brave and generous act, and worthy the chief bishop of the English church; I mean that public challenge which he made to maintain the Common Prayer-Book, and the other parts of the Reformation, by the Scripture and Fathers, in open disputation, against whomsoever, if the queen so pleased to permit it, which was done by him soon after the queen's coming to the throne. And had he not been prevented by others, who dispersed copies of this challenge without his knowledge, it had been made very solemnly, as he freely told the queen's council, by fixing this his declaration on the doors of St. Paul's, and other churches, with his hand and seal to it. And his courage herein appeared the greater, because he was at this very time under a cloud, and in great danger, having some time before now been convented before the Council, and confined to Lambeth.[2]

And whosoever shall consider that good progress that by his means was made in religion, not only in King Edward's reign, but even in that of King Henry, under the discouragements of an anciently-riveted superstition and idolatry; and withal shall ponder the haughty nature of that prince, of so difficult address, and so addicted to the old religion; and how dangerous it was to dissent from him, or to attempt to draw him off from his own persuasions; cannot but judge

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[1] Ridley's Lamentation. [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. pp. 567, 568.]

[2] [See above, p. 7.]

Cranmer to have been of a very bold spirit, to venture so far as he did. And undoubtedly his courage went an equal pace with his wisdom and discretion, and was no whit inferior to his other excellent qualifications. And this I say the rather, to vindicate the memory of this most reverend prelate from an unworthy reflection, made upon him in a trifling account of his life, wherein he is charged to be "of too easy and flexible a disposition, which made him cowardly to comply with the church of Rome. And, that though he never did any harm to the Protestants, yet he did not unto them so much good as he might or ought."[1] For the confutation of which, I appeal to numberless passages which I have written of him. But it is easy to see from whence this author had this character of our archbishop; namely, from Parsons and Saunders, two malicious calumniating Jesuits. The former hath these words of him: "That to the king's will and liking he resolved to conform himself, as well in religion as in other things.[2] And, that when King Henry was large towards the Protestants, Cranmer was so also; but when the king became more strait and rigorous, especially after the [statute of] Six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same."[3] And therefore Saunders framed a name for the archbishop, calling him *Henricianus*,[4] in the same sense as Herod's creatures in the Scriptures were called *Herodiani*. A very false character of this good archbishop, to say no worse of it.

I must here make a note of one quality more of our archbishop, which was this; that he was a man of ardent affections, and of an open and generous temper; and where he loved, he thought he could never enough express it. An instance of this I will give in Bishop Thirlby, to whom, for the good qualities he supposed were in him, he had a most earnest love. An account of this I will lay down in the words of Morice, the archbishop's secretary, who well knew it.[5]

[1] Fuller's "Abel Redivivus" [p. 226].

[2] [Three Conversions, part iii. cap. vii. No. 28, p. 371.]

[3] [Ibid. p. 374.]

[4] ["Sanderi, vera et sincera Historia Anglicana," lib. ii. pp. 180, 181.]

[5] Inter Foxii MSS. [C.C.C.C. MSS. No. cxxviii.

"Besides his special favour to him," saith he, "that way, [in recommending him to the king,] there was no man living could more friendly esteem any man of himself, as my Lord Cranmer did this Thirlby; for there was no kind of pleasure which my Lord Cranmer was liable to do, that was not at this man's commandment, whether it were jewel, plate, instrument, map, horse, or anything else, though he had it from the king's majesty; but if this man did once like or commend it, the gentle archbishop would forthwith give it unto him. And many times Dr. Thirlby, for civility-sake, would instantly refuse the same, yet would he send it unto him the next day after to his house. Insomuch that it came into a common proverb, "That Dr. Thirlby's commendation of anything of my lord's was a plain winning or obtaining thereof. So that some men thought, that if he would have demanded any finger, or other member of his, he would have cut it off to have gratified him therewith; such was his ardent affection towards him. This no small sort of honest men, now living, can testify;" that is about the year 1565, when this was written.

It may deserve also a remark, that our good prelate rose upon the fall of another great churchman, viz. the cardinal of York. For about that very time the king rejected Wolsey from his favour and employment, Cranmer succeeded into them. It may be also observed, that, as the king's great matter of the divorce was first moved and managed by Wolsey, so it was taken up, and vigorously carried on, and successfully ended, by Cranmer. And as the former started it upon an unjust policy, and so in the issue, by God's secret judgment, prospered no better by it, it finally proving his ruin; so the latter, acting in it out of a better and more honest principle of conscience and religion, became thereby advanced to the greatest honour in the church, which he held for twenty years together. Though at last indeed it had the same fatal issue to him, by the secret malice of Queen Mary, as it had to the cardinal before, by the secret displeasure of Queen Ann. But as they were thus parallel in the cause of their falls, so their demeanors under their calamities were very different. The cardinal under his shewed a most abject and desponding mind; but our archbishop's carriage was much more decent under his, remaining undaunted and magnanimous, having a soul well fortified by the principles of solid virtue and religion, which the other had not. And this appeared in him, when, being brought forth to be baited before Brooks, the pope's sub-delegate, and Martin and Story, the king's and queen's commissioners at Oxford, he gravely, and with an unmoved spirit, used these words: "That he acknowledged God's goodness to him in all His gifts, and thanked Him as heartily for that state wherein he found himself then, as ever he did in the time of his prosperity; and that it was not the loss of his promotions that grieved him at all."

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### *Osiander's and Peter Martyr's Character of the Archbishop.*

The last thing I shall observe of him is that he always remained the same man, not altered by his honours and high advancements. As he was a person of great piety, goodness, affability, and benignity, before he was archbishop, and the sunshine of royal favour, so he continued at all times after. For a witness of this, I will set down two characters given him by two foreign learned men, both which knew him well.

The one shall be of Osiander; from whom we may take this account of what he was before he was bishop, while he remained abroad in Germany. Osiander, that great divine of Nuremberg, professed to love him for some excellent endowments that were common to him with some other good men, but especially for others more extraordinary and peculiar to himself:[1] of the former sort was, "that he was a gentleman of good birth and quality; that he had an aspect and presence that carried dignity with it, an incredible sweetness of manners; that he had learning beyond the common degrees of it; was benign and liberal towards all, and especially to those that were studious and of good literature. Of the latter, were those more abstruse and heroical virtues of his mind, rare to be found in the age wherein he lived, viz. his wisdom, prudence, fortitude, temperance, justice; a singular love towards his country, the highest faithfulness towards the king; a contempt of earthly things, a love of heavenly; a most burning study towards the evangelic truth, sincere religion, and Christ's glory." And this was Cranmer before he was placed in his high and honourable station.

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[1] "Epist. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangelic."

The other character of Cranmer is that of Peter Martyr, who thus speaks of him, when he was at the top of all his earthly honour, in the middle of King Edward's reign:[1] "That his godliness, prudence, faithfulness, and his singular virtues, were known to all the kingdom. That he was so adorned with the grace and favour of Christ, as that, though all others are the children of wrath, yet in him piety, and divine knowledge, and other virtues, might seem to be naturally born and bred; such deep root had they taken in him. So that Martyr often wished and professed, he should esteem it as a great benefit vouchsafed him of God, that he might come as near as might be to his virtues, which he admired in him as the wonderful gifts of God. And, as to himself and others, fled into these quarters for religion, that Cranmer's kindness and humanity, merits and benefits towards them, were such, that if he should render just thanks, and speak of them as they deserved, he must do nothing but tell of them; and how much soever he should extol them, the greatness of the matter would overreach his speech. And that it was well known to all how humanely he received not him only, but many other strangers of his order, and how kindly he treated them."

To both these I will subjoin the judgment of another, who, I cannot but conclude, was well acquainted with the archbishop, and a long and diligent observer of his demeanor in his superintendency over the Church; and that was John Bale, sometime bishop of Ossory. "He never placed," said he, "the function of a bishop in the administration of secular things, but in a most faithful dispensation of God's Word.[2]

"In the midst of wicked Babylon he always performed the part of a good guide of Israel. And among Papists, that tyrannized against the truth of Christ, he governed the people of God with an admirable prudence. No man ever so happily and steadily persisted, with Christ Himself, in the defence of the truth, in the midst of falsely learned men, in such imminent hazard of his life, and yet without receiving any harm. No man did more prudently bear with some false apostles for a time, although, with St. Paul, he knew what most pestilent men they were, that so they might not be provoked to run into greater rage and madness."

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[1] "Epist. Dedicat. ante librum de Eucharist."

[2] "In Centur." [Script. Illust. Maj. Brit. Catal. "Cranmer."]

All this that I have before written concerning this our venerable prelate cannot but redound to his high praise and commendation, and it is very fit such virtues and accomplishments should be celebrated and recorded to posterity. Yet I do not intend these my collections for such a panegyric of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults or frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in such critical times, and under such princes, and was necessarily involved in such affairs, as exposed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemishes shall, by curious observers, be espied in him, he may therefore seem the more pardonable, and his great exemplary goodness and usefulness in the church of God may make ample amends for some errors.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### *The Archbishop vindicated from Slanders of Papists.*

I HAVE given, I hope, a just, though imperfect, account, from undoubted records and authentic manuscripts, as well as the best published books, of the excellent endowments of this great prelate, and of his innocent, prudential, and useful behaviour in his high place and station. So that none, who impartially weighs the premises, can conclude otherwise of him, than that he was a very rare person, and one that deserves to be reckoned among the brightest lights that ever shone in this English church. And this all the sober unprejudiced part of posterity will believe, notwithstanding the unjust calumnies some hot-spirited Papists have cast upon his memory.

I shall pass over the unhandsome name that Feckenham gave him, calling him *Dolt;* as he did also his two other brethren in tribulation, Ridley and Latimer, prisoners then in Oxford, (men by far more learned than himself), upon occasion of Mr. Hawks esteeming them deservedly "godly and learned men."[1]

I shall also pass by what Bishop Bonner then said of him, viz. "That he dared to say, that Cranmer would recant so he might have his living;"[2] as though he were a man of a prostituted conscience, and would do anything upon worldly considerations.

But there is a late French writer, whom I cannot but take notice of with some indignation, who, to shew his bigoted zeal to the Roman church, hath bestowed this most defamatory character upon this our archbishop: "That he was one of the profligatest men of England; that had nothing of Christianity in him, but the outward appearances; being ambitious, voluptuous, turbulent, and capable of all sorts of intrigues."[3] Of which all that I have written is an abundant confutation; besides the severe chastisements the right reverend the bishop of Sarum hath lately bestowed upon this author, who questionless was well versed in those famous Popish calumniators of our Reformation, and of this our archbishop, the great instaurator thereof, and had a mind to outdo them in their talent of throwing dirt. Those, I mean, who, living in the age past, did most bitterly and virulently, as it fell in their way, fly upon Cranmer's memory and fame, to eclipse it to posterity if they could; namely, Saunders, Allen, and Parsons, and some others. But those who read these Memorials will be able easily to confute them, and will perceive that these men sought not so much to say what was true, as what might serve the ends of their anger and spite; their reports being made up for the most part of nothing but lies and slanders illy patched together.

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vii. p. 106.]

[2] [Id. ibid. p. 107.]

[3] "Varillas' History of Heretics" [L'Histoire de l'Hérésie," livre 16, p. 695].

Allen, if he were the answerer of the *Execution of English Justice*, saith, "that Cranmer was a notorious perjured, and often-relapsed Apostata, recanting, swearing and forswearing at every turn."[1] A heavy charge; but we are left to guess what these perjuries, these so often swearings and forswearings, these relapses and recantations, be. But it is enough for them to roar out "notorious perjuries, &c." But let us see what oaths Cranmer took, that might occasion his perjuries. He swore, at his consecration, the usual oath to the Pope, and, in his future doings, laboured to restore the king's supremacy against the Pope's usurpations, and to promote a reformation against the Pope's superstitions. Was this one of his "notorious perjuries?" It is pity the doing so good a thing should fall under so bad a name. But, at the taking of that oath, did he not make a solemn protestation openly before public notaries, and that entered down into record, that he intended not by the said oath to do anything against the law of God, the king, or the realm, and their laws and prerogatives; nor to be abridged thereby from consulting for the reformation of religion? In which way the best civilians then put him, and assured him, that by this means he might safely, without any guilt, take the oath to the Pope, which otherwise he would not have done.[2] And truly, for my part, I think there was no other way to escape that perjury, that all other bishops elect in those times were entangled in, by swearing two contrary oaths, one to the Pope, and another to the king. Cranmer sware also, at receiving orders, to live chastely; but he afterwards married a wife. Surely hereby he brake not his oath, but rather kept it. He did likewise swear to the succession of Queen Ann; but would Allen have all that submitted to that act of Parliament to be perjured? That would reflect upon the wisdom of the three estates at that time, in making such an ensnaring law, and involve all sorts of people, both clergy, nobility, and gentry, and all other persons of age, in perjury, as well as the archbishop, excepting only two persons, More and Fisher, who would not submit to this act. And even they themselves offered to swear to the succession itself, and refused only to swear to the preamble of the said act. There was indeed an act made, which seemed contrary to this act, namely, that which in the year 1536 put by the succession of Queen Ann, and carried it to the king's children by another queen; and to this act the subjects were to swear also. And we will suppose that the archbishop swore with the rest to this act. Neither was there any perjury here; for this oath in truth was not contrary to the former; for by reason of some lawful impediment of Queen Ann's marriage with the king, as was then pretended, it was declared by the Parliament, that the issue of that queen was illegitimate, and not inheritable. And the first oath was only for the succession of lawful issue by Queen Ann. Therefore, there being no lawful issue of that queen, as was then at least supposed, the oath to the lawful issue of another queen might certainly be very innocently taken, without incurring the breach of the former. And where at length is this "notorious perjury, and swearing and forswearing at every turn?"

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[1] "Sincere and modest Defence of English Catholics," p. 45.

[2] [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 55.]

Allen again lets fly upon him, calling him *Apostata*. But surely it is not apostasy to leave error, superstition, and idolatry, for the true doctrine and profession of the Gospel. He chargeth him also with "often relapsing and recanting." He made no relapses nor recantations at all, as I know of, unless a little before his death, when he subscribed to a parcel of Popish articles, by the importunity of Papists, working upon his frailty and long-sufferings. But he soon revoked all again, and died most patiently in the profession of the true religion. And to this at last comes all this mighty clamour, that he was "notoriously perjured, an often-relapsed Apostata, recanting, swearing and forswearing at every turn."

Saunders' scurrilous and false accounts of Cranmer are numberless; I will only mention one or two. He saith, that from Cambridge he went to the service of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and by his preferment was made archbishop of Canterbury.[1] Whereas from Cambridge he was immediately made the king's chaplain, and wanted not the recommendation of any to his preferment, the king being so well acquainted with his merits. And though he abode some time with the earl of Wiltshire, whom he styleth Sir Thomas Boleyn, yet it was not in the quality of his chaplain, but of one whom the king recommended to him. He writeth, "that the archbishop carried his wife about with him in a chest, when he removed:"[1] and addeth a ridiculous story relating thereunto. And his brother Parsons saith, "This was a most certain story, and testified at that day by Cranmer's son's widow to divers gentlemen, her friends,"[2] from whom Parsons saith he had it. Other Popish dignitaries in those days kept and conversed with their concubines and whores more publicly; and did the archbishop keep his wife so close? But in case he had travelled with her more openly, who should examine the archbishop, and call him to account, whether she was his wife or his concubine? and therefore the story is most improbable. The king himself knew he had a wife well enough. And when the archbishop saw the danger of having her with him, he sent her away to her friends beyond sea for a time. And that silly story comes through too many hands, before it came to Parsons, to make it credible. Cranmer's son tells it to his wife, nobody knows where; she, being a widow, tells it to certain gentlemen, nobody knows who; and they tell it to Parsons, nobody knows when. No one place, person, or time, mentioned. And so all the faith of the matter lies upon a woman's evidence, and hers upon the credit of those two very honest men, Parsons and Saunders.

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[1] Saunders' "De Schism. Ang." [lib. i. p. 56].

In Parsons' Three Conversions of England are these many favourable expressions of our archbishop to be found: that "he was the first heretic in that order,[3] [of archbishops of Canterbury.]" Because he was the first that laboured a reformation of the horrible errors of the degenerate church of Rome. And, "that he was the first archbishop of Canterbury that ever brake from the Roman faith."[4] And, that "this was the first change of religion in any archbishop, from the beginning unto his days."[5] Designing thereby to fix a very black mark upon him, which rather

[1] ["De Schism. Ang." p. 57.]

[2] "Three Conversions," [part iii. cap. vii. n. 27, p. 371].

[3] [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 27, p. 227. See also "A Table of particular matters," at the end of vol. i.]

[4] [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 32, p. 231.]

[5] [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 27, p. 227.]

redounds to his everlasting honour. That he was an unconstant man in his faith and belief: incontinent in his life: variable in all his actions: accommodating himself always to the times wherein he lived, and to the humours of those who could do most; and this in matters even against right and conscience.[1] No, but quite contrary; he was constant in his faith and belief to the very last, except one fall, which he soon recovered; most chaste in his life, living in the holy state of marriage; steady in all his actions; accommodating himself always, neither to the times, nor to the humours of any man, let him be as great as he would, any farther than he might do in right and conscience; and often opposing king, Parliament, privy council, and synods, to his utmost danger, in defence of truth, and for the discharge of his own conscience.

Again, "That he was a [Roman] Catholic in most points during King Henry's reign."[2] Whereas he was so in no point, excepting in that of the corporeal presence. "That he applied himself to the religion which the state and prince liked best to allow of in that time [of King Henry VIII.]"[3] From which he was so far, that he often boldly and publicly declared against divers things which the king was bent upon; as in the act of the Six Articles, and in composing the book called *The Necessary Erudition*. That "these three, the king, Queen Ann, and Archbishop Cranmer, held the Catholic faith, usages, and rites; and went as devoutly to mass as ever, and so remained they in outward show, even to their deaths."[4] Though some years before Cranmer's death, namely, from the first year of King Edward, the mass was wholly laid aside, and never used at all. That "Cranmer and Crumwel went to mass, after the king married the Lady Ann Boleyn, as before."[5] What they did as to the going to mass, our histories tell us little of; if they did, it was with little approbation of it. "And as Crumwel on the scaffold protested, that he was a good Catholic man" [but there is difference between a good Catholic and a Roman Catholic], "and never doubted of any of the Church sacraments then used."[1] Thereby intending, I suppose, to make a difference between them and the Gospel Sacraments. But surely Crumwel in his lifetime was so utterly against four or five of them, that he brought Aless, a learned man, into a convocation to dispute there for two only. "And the like Cranmer had done no doubt, if he had been brought to the scaffold in King Henry's days: [as he was to the fire afterwards in Queen Mary's]—which had been a happy case for him."[2] To a scaffold they of the Roman persuasion endeavoured many a year to bring him; and they would have thought it a happy case for them, if they could have brought it to pass. But I verily believe the quite contrary to this confident assertion, and that he would have owned the truth to the last, as he did afterwards in the reign of that king's daughter, Queen Mary.

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[1] In his "Kalendar."

[2] ["Three Conversions," part iii. cap. vii. n. 28, p. 371.]

[3] [Id. part i. cap. xi. n. 27, p. 227.]

[4] [Id. part i. cap. xii. n. 8, p. 237.]

[5] [Id. ibid.]

That he always fell jump with them that governed, and could do most.[3] No; he never fell in with Gardiner, who sometime had the ascendant over King Henry; nor with the duke of Northumberland, who could do most, and did all for a time with King Edward. That "when King Henry was large towards the Protestants, Cranmer was so also, joining with Crumwel to protect them. But when the king became more strait and rigorous, especially after the [statute of] Six Articles, Cranmer was ready to prosecute the same."[4] He argued long and earnestly in the House against those Six Articles; and, when he saw they would pass, he protested against it, and was so troubled about it, that the king sent the duke of Norfolk and the Lord Crumwel, and divers other noble persons, to comfort him in the king's name. So that I hardly think he would after this be brought to prosecute that bloody act, the making of which he so utterly disliked. Nor is there the least footstep of it in history. Indeed Parsons bringeth in some persons, in whose deaths he would have the archbishop to have a hand. "As may appear," saith he, "by the sentence of death pronounced against [John] Lambert, Thomas Gerard, William Jerome, and Ann Ascue, and others, condemned by him [to the fire] for denying the real presence."[1] Though in King Henry's time the archbishop believed the real presence, yet he was not for putting any to death that denied it. No; such extreme rigours, for an error, he utterly detested. Lambert suffered before the act of the Six Articles. Nor did the archbishop condemn him, but only, by the king's command, disputed against him. Gerard [he means Garret] and Jerome, and Anne Ascue, were condemned and burnt indeed; but he had no manner of hand either in their condemnation or death, as we can find in our histories. But Winchester, Bonner, and Wryothesly, and others of that gang, shed those good people's blood. And it is an impudent falsehood to lay their condemnation to the archbishop's charge.

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[1] ["Three Conversions," part i. cap. xii. n. 8, p. 237.]

[2] [Id. part i. cap. xii. n. 8, p. 238.]

[3] ["He was full jump always with them."—Id. part iii. cap. vii. n. 30, p. 374.]

[4] [Id. ibid.]

He saith further, that "to the king's will and liking he resolved to conform himself, as well in religion as in all other things."[2] If he had said this of Bishop Gardiner, the character would have better by far fitted him. He saith, "that he divorced the king of his own authority from Queen Katharine."[3] Whereas, in truth, what he and Winchester, and other bishops, did in this affair, was by commission from the king, and not by their own authority. That, "he married the king to Queen Ann."[4] That "it was in open Parliament, under his hand-writing, yet extant in public printed records, to his eternal shame, that the Queen [that is, Queen Ann] was never true wife unto the said king."[5] Where was the eternal shame of this, when he set his hand to no more than what she herself confessed before him? See more of this before. That "after this he married the king to Jane Seymour, and after to Queen Ann of Cleves, and after that to Katharine Howard, and after that to Katharine Parr."[6] Which we must take upon his word; for I think it hard by any good history to know it. And what if Cranmer did all this? That "he joined with the protector in overthrowing King Henry's will; and with Dudley against the protector." Palpable falsehoods! the contrary whereof is notoriously known to any ordinary historian. Of the same truth is, that "he joined with Dudley and the duke of Suffolk for the overthrow of the king's two daughters; and after that with Arundel, Pembroke, Paget, for the overthrow of Northumberland and Suffolk."[1] He joined with these for the setting the true heir in the throne, not for the overthrow of any particular persons.

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[1] [Id. ibid.]
[2] [Id. part iii. cap. vii. n. 28, p. 371.]
[3] [Id. p. 372.]
[4] [Id. ibid.]
[5] [Id. ibid.]
[6] [Id. ibid.]

Again he saith, "Cranmer and Ridley followed King Henry's religion and humour while he lived, and resolved to enjoy the pleasures and sensualities of this time, [of King Edward,] so far as any way they might attain unto."[2] No; they were men more mortified, and that made little account of the pleasures and vanities of this wretched world. "Getting authority into their hands by the protector, and others that were in most power, began to lay lustily about them, and to pull down all them, both of the clergy and others, whom they thought to be able and likely to stand in their way, or resist their inventions."[3] Instancing in Gardiner and Bonner, and speaking of their "unjust persecutions and deprivations by such violent and calumnious manner as was proper to heretics to use; whereby a man may take a taste what they meant to have done if they had had time."[4] Here they are set forth as a couple of most worldly, ambitious, haughty men, contriving by all, however base and unlawful ways, to build up themselves and their fortunes upon the ruin of others, and to beat down all that opposed their designs. Whereas to any that shall read their histories, there was nothing in the world so contrary to their aims, tempers, and inclinations. And things were done towards the two bishops before mentioned with great mildness and patience, under unsufferable provocations offered by them. Nor was it Cranmer's and Ridley's doings, but rather the king's council, who thought not fit to put up the affronts those bishops had offered to the government.

He saith that, "in King Edward's time Cranmer played the tyrant." That "he punished one Thomas Dobb, a master of arts of Cambridge, casting him into the Compter, where he died. And John Hume, imprisoned for the same cause by Cranmer."[5] Both these passages the author had from Fox.[6] Dobbs, indeed, in the very beginning of King

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[1] ["Three Conversions," part iii. cap. vii. n. 28, p. 372.]

[2] [Id. part i. cap. xii. n. 30, p. 256.]

[3] [Id. ibid.] [4] [Id. ibid.] [5] [Id. part ii. cap. ii. n. 33, p. 609.]

[6] ["See Fox, pp. 1180, 1181," vol. v. pp. 704, 705.]

Edward's reign, disturbed the mass that was saying in a chapel in St. Paul's, for which the mayor complained of him to the archbishop. And what could he do better than commit him to the Compter, both to punish him for making a public disturbance in the church, and also to deliver him from the rage of the multitude, till his pardon could be gotten him, which was obtained soon after from the duke of Somerset; but he suddenly died in prison, before his deliverance. And as for Hume, he was a servant to a very stiff Papist, who sent him up to the archbishop, with a grievous complaint against him for speaking against the mass; but whether the archbishop imprisoned him, or what followed, Fox mentioneth not, and leaves it uncertain what was done with him.

He saith, "that Cranmer stood resolutely for the carnal presence in the sacrament in King Edward's first Parliament, wherein a disputation about it was continued for the space of four months, that is, from November 4 to March 14."[1] Which was the full time of the second session of that first Parliament, and was in the year 1548. What he means by this long disputation in that Parliament, for so many months, I cannot tell. Does he mean that the Parliament did nothing else all that session? Indeed there was once a notable dispute of the sacrament, in order to an uniformity of prayer to be established.[2] Or does he mean that this four months' disputation was the work of the Convocation sitting that Parliament time? Before it indeed lay now the matter of the priests' marriage, which they agreed to, almost three against one, and likewise of receiving the sacrament in both kinds, which was also agreed to *nemine contradicente*. But not a word of any disputation then about the real presence. And yet it is strange that he should with such confidence put this story upon the world, of four months' disputation in the Parliament concerning the real presence, and that the archbishop then was so resolute for it. Which cannot be true neither on this account, that Cranmer was a year or two before this come off from that opinion. He adds, "that Cranmer stood resolutely in that first Parliament for a real presence against Zuinglianism."[1] But there was neither in that Parliament, nor in that Convocation, a word of the real presence. "And that Cranmer and Ridley did allow a real presence, and would not endure the sacrament should be contemptibly spoken of, as some now began to do."[2] The real presence that Parsons here means is, the gross corporal presence, flesh, blood, and bone, as they used to say. This real presence Cranmer and Ridley did not allow of at this time of day, now they were better enlightened. But most true it is, notwithstanding, that they could not endure to have the sacrament contemptibly spoken of.

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[1] ["Three Conversions," vol. i. part ii. cap. xii. n. 33, p. 609.]

[2] King Edward's Journal. [See Burnet's History of Reformat. vol. ii. part 2, pp. 7, 8.]

He tells us romanticly on the same argument, that "many posts went too and fro, between Peter Martyr and Cranmer," while the imaginary disputation before mentioned lasted, whether Lutheranism or Zuinglianism should be taken up for the doctrine of the church of England. "For that he was come, in his reading upon the eleventh of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, to those words, 'This is my body,' and did not know how to determine it, till it was resolved about. The message returned him was, that he should stay, and entertain himself in his readings upon other matters for a while. And so the poor friar did, [as Parsons calls that learned man,] with admiration and laughter of all his scholars."[3] Surely some of them had more esteem and reverence for him. "Standing upon those precedent words, 'Accepit panem, &c.' And, 'Gratias agens, &c. Fregit. Et dixit, accipite et manducate, &c.' Discoursing largely of every one of these points."[4] And surely they were words of sufficient weight to be stood upon, and points to be discoursed largely of. "And bearing one from the other that ensued, 'Hoc est corpus meum.' But when the post at length came, that Zuinglianism must be defended, then stepped up Peter Martyr boldly the next day, and treated of 'This is my body;' adding moreover, that he wondered how any man could be of any other opinion."[5] The reporters of this story Parsons makes to be Saunders, Allen, and Stapleton, and others that were present. Excellent witnesses! Peter

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[1] ["Three Conversions," vol. i. part ii. n. 33, p. 609.]

[2] [Id. ibid.]

[3] [Id. p. 610.]

[4] [Id. ibid.]

[5] [Id. p. 611.]

Martyr is here represented as a man of no conscience or honesty, but ready to say and teach whatsoever others bade him, be the doctrine right or wrong, and at the beck of the state to be a Lutheran or a Zuinglian. But if he were of such a versatile mind, why did he leave his country, his relations, his substance, his honour, that he had there? which he did because he could not comply with the errors of the church in which he lived. But all this fine pleasant tale is spoiled, in case Martyr were not yet come to Oxford to be reader there; for he came over into England but in the end of November 1548, and was then sometime with the archbishop before he went to Oxford.[1] Which we may well conjecture was till the winter was pretty well over; so that he could not well be there before the 14th of March was past. The author of the "Athenæ Oxonienses" conjectures,[2] that he came to Oxon in February, or the beginning of March; but that it was the beginning of the next year that the king appointed him to read his lecture. So that either he was not yet at Oxon, or, if he were, he had not yet begun his reading till the Parliament was over. And thus we have traced this story till it is quite vanished.

Further still, he writes, "That Cranmer wrote a book for the real presence, and another against it afterwards, which two books Bonner brought forth, and would have read them, when he was deposed by Cranmer and Ridley; or at leastwise divers sentences thereof, that were contrary one to the other."[3] If Cranmer wrote any book for the real presence, it was in Luther's, not in the Popish sense; and against that sense indeed he wrote in his book of the sacrament. Nor did Bonner bring any such books forth at his deposition, or deprivation, nor offered to read them, nor any sentences out of them, for aught I can find in any historians that speak of Bonner's business; and I think none do but Fox, who hath not a word of it, though he hath given a large narration of that whole affair.[4] Indeed Bonner at his first appearance told the archbishop, "that he had written well on the sacrament, and marvelled that he did not more honour it." To which the archbishop replied, (seeing him commend that which was against his own opinion), "That if he thought well of it, it was because he understood it not."[1] Thus we may see how Parsons writ he cared not what; and took up any lying, flying reports from his own party, that might but serve his turn. But observe how this writer goes on with his tale: "But Cranmer blushing, suffered it not to be shewed; but said, he made no book contrary to another."[2] Then he needed not to have blushed. But if he did, it must be at the impudence of Bonner, who carried himself in such a tumultuous, bold manner throughout his whole process, as though he had no shame left. And lastly, (to extract no more passages out of this author), to prove that our archbishop was for a corporal presence in the beginning of King Edward, he saith, that "in the first year of that reign he was a principal cause of that first statute intituled, An Act against such persons as shall unreverently speak against the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the altar."[3] And a very good act it was; but it does not follow, that because the archbishop was the cause of this act, that therefore he believed a gross carnal presence; the plain design of the act being occasioned by certain persons, "who had contemned the whole thing, for certain abuses heretofore committed therein, (I use the very words of the act), and had called it by vile and unseemly words. And it was levelled against such as should deprave, despise, or contemn the blessed sacrament." Nor is there any word in that act used in favour of the carnal presence.

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[1] ["Itaque, sub exitum Novembris, anni 1547, permissu senatus, in Angliam discessit. Cum autem aliquandiu eum archiepiscopus secum detinuisset, Martyr jussu regis sacris literis interpretandis Oxonii præfectus est."]—Simleri Orat. in Obit. P. Martyr, [p. 13].

[2] Page 107.

[3] ["Three Conversions," vol. ii. part iii. cap. vii. n. 32, p. 375.]

[4] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. pp. 741—800.]

For a conclusion, let the reader not hear me, but another speak for our archbishop against one of these calumniators, and he a Portugal bishop: "After Cranmer, by hearing of the Gospel, began to savour of Christian profession, what wickedness was ever reported of him? With what outrage of lust was he enflamed? What murders, what seditious tumults, what secret conspiracies, were ever seen or suspected so much to proceed from him? unless ye account him blameworthy for this, that when King Henry, father to Mary, upon great displeasure conceived, was for some secret causes determined to strike off her head, this reverend archbishop did pacify the wrath of the father, and with mild continual intercession preserved the life of the daughter, who, for life preserved, acquitted her patron with death. As concerning his marriage, if you reproachfully impute that to lust, which Paul doth dignify with so honourable a title, I do answer, that he was the husband of one wife, with whom he continued many years more chastely and holily than Osorius in that his stinking, sole, and single life, peradventure one month, though he flee never so often to his Catholic confessions. And I see no cause why the name of a wife shall not be accounted in each respect as holy, with the true professors of the Gospel, as the name of a concubine with the Papists." Thus Fox.[1]

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[1] [Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. v. p. 749. See also Parsons' "Three Conversions," vol. ii. part iii. p. 377.]

[2] ["Three Conversions," vol. ii. part iii. p. 376.]

[3] [Id. p. 375.]

And so I have at last, by God's favourable concurrence, finished this my work, and have compiled an imperfect history, yet with the best diligence I could, of this singular archbishop and blessed martyr, and, in the conclusion, have briefly vindicated him from those many false surmises and imputations, that his implacable enemies of the Roman faction have reported and published abroad against him; not contented with the shedding of his blood, unless they stigmatized his name and memory, and formed the world into a belief that he was one of the vilest wretches that lived, who in reality and truth appeareth to have been one of the holiest bishops, and one of the best men that age produced.

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[1] "Jo. Fox against Hierom. Osorius," p. 338.

# WHARTON'S OBSERVATIONS.

[The following portions of the corrections of Wharton, on "The Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer," are given in illustration of the statements of the text, which appear in the second volume.]

Page 6, line 35. "So on the day appointed, August 27, 1553, the archbishop, together with Sir Thomas Smith, King Edward's secretary, and Dr. May, came before the queen's commissioners; and the archbishop brought in his inventory. We are left to guess what he was now cited for. I suppose it was to lay to his charge heresy, and his marriage."] It was undoubtedly to charge him with treason, for what he had done in the business of Queen Jane, which the appearance of Smith and May at the same time with him confirmeth. It was too early yet to object to him either heresy or marriage.

Page 11, line 16. "Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, formerly deprived, was restored. Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, restored; Nicholas Ridley, being removed from the said see, and cast into prison, &c."] These words are said to be verbatim described out of the Register of the church of Canterbury. I know not, Sir, whether you inspected that Register with your own eyes; but I assure you that Register relateth the matter otherwise; viz. that Bonner was restored to the see of London, then canonically void by the translation of Ridley, the bishop of it, to the see of Durham, (made in the very end of King Edward's reign); and that Tunstall was restored to Durham, void by the deprivation of Ridley, deprived thereof for heresy and sedition.

Page 11, line 25. "How they proceeded with the clergy in general for being married, may be measured, &c.—'Some were deprived, never convict, nor called,' (I use the words of an author that then lived, Dr. Parker.)—'Some induced to resign upon promise of pension; and the promise, as yet, never performed.'"] Over against these latter words are placed in the margin the names of Dr. Poinet, Taylor, Parker. Of Poinet and Taylor it had been said immediately before, in this and the foregoing page, that they were deprived of their bishoprics. If then they were deprived, they were not induced to resign upon promise of pension. Of Poinet particularly it was related from the Register of Canterbury, that 'he was ejected, and imprisoned, and deprived of episcopacy for being married.' I suppose the words of the Register are 'privatus episcopatu,' which ought to be rendered, 'deprived of his bishopric,' (viz. of Winchester,) not of episcopacy; for the order is indelible, and so allowed to be by those who deprived him. The causes of Taylor's deprivation are reported from the same Register; but marriage is not mentioned among them. Nay, we are assured by undoubted testimony, (vide supra, [vol. i.] page 222,) that he never was married. Farther, this account, said to be taken from the words of Dr. Parker, is not his, but they are the words of the anonymous large Defence of Priests' Marriage, published by him.

Page 24, line 1. "In the first year of Queen Mary, a very foul scandal was blown about of her, that she was with child by Bishop Gardiner; however it was raised, whether of her enemies, to render her odious, or of some zealots of Popish religion, to show the desire they had of her matching with him."] It will be very difficult to persuade the world, that any zealots of the Popish religion, who are so prejudiced against the marriage of the clergy, should desire the marriage of a queen, whom they loved so much, with a bishop of their own communion, whom they no less admired.

Page 32, line 12. "Cardinal Pole, in answer to both Queen Mary's letters, thought fit to send his mind at large by his messenger Thomas Goldwel, who was once, if I mistake not, prior of the church of Canterbury, but long since fled out of England, and lived with Pole, and by the queen afterwards preferred to the bishopric of St. Asaph."] The prior of Canterbury, and bishop of St. Asaph, had nothing common but their names. The one was a regular, the other a secular. The first, doctor of divinity before the other was born, and dead before the other was made bishop.

Page 39, line 18. "This is some account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in pursuance of the queen's instructions before mentioned; viz. against the married clergy."] This account relateth only the proceedings of that chapter against the married clergy, members of the cathedral church, or incumbents within the deanery of the Arches. The same Register of that church, (from whence this account is taken), relateth at large their proceedings against all the married clergy within the whole diocese of Canterbury, and in the other deaneries of the peculiar jurisdiction of that see.

Page 40, line 29. "Bernard Ochin, prebendary of Canterbury." So also page 144, &c. His name was Bernardinus, a man sufficiently known.

Page 42, line 33. "The said Poinet, late bishop of Winchester, but now an exile, very learnedly answered this book, (of Dr. Martin against Priests' Marriage,) in two several treatises.——The second treatise—he lived not to finish: but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, he published it, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own." The same book is ascribed to Poinet, p. 43, line 28; with some doubt, page 42, line 31, [vol. i.] page 76, 100, &c.] This book was most certainly none of Poinet's; for the author of it saith of himself, more than once, that he was a layman; had designed indeed to enter into holy orders, but was prevented by the death of King Edward, and the iniquity of the times succeeding to it. He lived in or about either Norwich or Lincoln, and died before the end of Queen Mary's reign. Archbishop Parker, in publishing it, did not adjoin his own additions to all the printed copies, but only to a few of them.

Page 43, line 33. "The other thing thought hard concerning these orders taken with the married clergy was, that, after these poor men had thus done their penances, the imposers of these penalties were not so good as they pretended they would be, &c. towards them, not restoring them to their ministration."] This is not universally true. All secular married clergymen, who desired it, were restored after such penance undergone, unless some other great demerit intervened. But no regulars could obtain that favour; marriage in them being accounted apostasy from their vow and order.

Page 98, line 32, &c. "Latimer's character is best taken from them who best knew him, and lived in his time. One of these (Thomas Becon) thus speaks of him, while he was yet alive, in the beginning of King Edward:—'Latimer was very famous for the sincerity and goodness of his evangelical doctrine, which, since the beginning of his preaching, had in all points been so conformable to the teaching of Christ and his Apostles.———His fame began to grow apace, while he was at Cambridge, some years before 1530, doing abundance of good there among the students by his sermons.——Before them he did, by invincible arguments, &c. prove, that the Holy Scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue of all Christian people, whether they were priests or laymen,'" &c.] Good Mr. Becon did herein either want true information, or hath imposed upon his readers. Latimer was so far from maintaining this doctrine ever since the beginning of his preaching, that he was one of those divines who, (being deputed by the University of Cambridge), joined with Archbishop Warham, and other bishops and divines, in condemning all English translations of the Scripture, and solemnly subscribed this determination: "The publication of the Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue is not necessary to Christians; and the king's majesty and the bishops do well in forbidding to the people the common use of the Holy Scripture in the English tongue." This was done in the year 1530.

Page 120, line 6. "The queen would not alter her determination to have Archbishop Cranmer burnt, by the instigation, as I suppose, of Pole the legate."] I would not have remitted you to so obscure an author as Anthony Harmer, if yourself had not mentioned him in your Preface. He hath offered some reasons (in his Specimen, page 144), not altogether contemptible, to clear Cardinal Pole from this imputation. I am so charitable as to be willing at least to assent to his reasons; yourself can better judge of the validity of them.

Page 141, line 20. "Among Archbishop Cranmer's writings are reckoned, (from Bale,) Letters to Learned Men, one book; and thereto is added, 'This I cannot hear any tidings of.'"] The archbishop's Letters to Learned Men never were, either by himself or others, collected into one or more books, especially at that time. But it was Bale's foolish way to account to every great man, whom he hath placed in his rhapsody of writers, *one book of epistles.*

Epist. Dedicat. page viii. line 18. "The judgment of Archbishop Arundel was for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and for the laity's use thereof. For he, preaching the funeral sermon of Queen Anne in 1392, commended her particularly for her study of the Holy Scriptures, as I find by an ancient MS. fragment, formerly belonging to the church of Worcester, &c."] This MS. fragment hath been often published. And Arundel, when he preached this sermon, was not archbishop of Canterbury, nor one of Cranmer's predecessors, as is here supposed. But, after all, the judgment of Archbishop Arundel in this case is better declared by an authentic decree, than by a rhetorical passage in a sermon, wherein he was obliged to commend the deceased queen. He was so far, then, from favouring the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, or the use of them by the laity, that, in the year 1408, he made this famous decree in the synod of Oxford; "Periculosa res est, &c. It is a dangerous thing to translate the Holy Scripture.——We decree therefore and ordain, that henceforth no man by his own authority translate any book of Holy Scripture into the English, or any other tongue, by way of book, libel, or treatise; and that no such book or translation be read by any one, upon pain of the higher excommunication." I might also observe to you, that the case of Archbishop Chichely, which you had mentioned immediately before this, is mistaken, he doing therein nothing more than what was usual; as also the case of Archbishop Islip, who decreed, in the case by you mentioned, nothing but what was consonant to the rules of Canon Law, and the Papal definitions; it being a rule in both, that "Simplex votum impedit matrimonium contrahendum, sed non dirimit contractum." But I fear I have been too long already. I will only put you farther in mind, that when, in the following pages, you compare the archbishops of Canterbury preceding to, and succeeding the Reformation, and accuse the former to have minded chiefly "great worldly pomp and appearance;" but praise the latter "for regarding little or nothing the vain shows of exterior grandeur and glory;" the comparison is not altogether just: for Parker and Whitgift, (whom you choose to instance in), lived in as great state, pomp, and magnificence, and were attended with as large a retinue, as most of their predecessors. And that in your Preface, page xvi. instead of "an Augustine monk of Canterbury," should be substituted, " a monk of St. Augustine's in Canterbury." And lastly, that, page xxi. Edward Howes should, (if I mistake not), be changed into Edmund Howes.

These, Sir, are the only errors which I have discovered in your history. That the observation of them may in any measure contribute to the illustration of your work, (as I doubt not but your work will highly contribute to the information of the curious, and the justification of our Reformation), is the hearty desire of,

Sir, your most humble Servant,

HEN. WHARTON.

*Novemb.* 13, 1693.

# APPENDIX

TO THE

# MEMORIALS OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

## No. I.

### *Account of Mr. Pool's Book by Dr. Cranmer.**

To the Ryght honorable, and my syngular good Lorde, my Lorde of Wylshire.

It may please your lordeshipe to bee advertised, that the kynge his grace, my lady your wyfe, my Lady Anne, your doughter be in good helth, whereof thankes be to God. As concernynge the kinge hys cause, Mayster Raynolde Poole hath wrytten a booke moch contrary to the kinge hys purpose, wyth such wytte, that it appereth, that he myght be for hys wysedome of the cownsel to the kinge hys grace. And of such eloquence, that if it were set forth and knowne to the commen people, I suppose yt were not possible to persuade them to the contrary. The pryncypal intent whereof ys, that the kinge hys grace sholde be contente to commyt hys grete cause to the jugement of the Pope: wherein me semeth he lacketh moch jugement. But he swadeth that with such goodly eloquence, both of words and sentence, that he were lyke to persuade many: but me hee persuadeth in that poynt nothynge at al. But in manye other thynges he satysfyeth me very wel. The som wherof I shal shortly reherse. Furst, he sheweth the cause, wherfore he had never pleasure to intromytte hymself in this cause. And that was, the trouble, which was lyke to ensue to this realme therof by dyversitie of tytles. Wherof what hurte myght come, we have had exsample in our fathers dayes by the tytles of Lancaster and Yorke. And where os God hath gyven many noble gyfts unto the kinge hys grace, as wel of body and mynde, os also of fortune: yet this excedeth al other, that in hym al tytles do mete and come togyder, and this realme ys restored to tranquillitie and peace; so oweth he to provide that this londe fal not agayne to the forsaide mysery and troble, which may come aswel by the people within this realme, (which thynke surely that they have an hayre lawful already, with whom they al be wel contente, and wolde be sory to have any other, and yt wolde be harde to persuade thaym to take any other, levynge her), as also by the emperour, whych ys a man of so grete power, the quene beying hys awnt, the princes hys nece, whome he so moch doth, and ever hath favored. And where he harde reasons for the kynge hys party, that he was moved of God hys lawe, which doth straytly forbed, and that with many gret thretts, that no man shal mary hys brother hys wife; and os for the people, yt longeth not to thayr judgement, and yet yt ys to be thought, that thay wil be contente, whan thay shal knowe, that the awncyente doctores of the Chyrch, and the determinations of so many grete vniversities be of the kynge hys sentence. And os concernynge the emperour, if he be so unryghtful, that he wyl mayntene an unjust cause, yet God wil never fayl thaym, that stonde opon his party, and for any thynge wyl not transgresse Hys commawndments. And besyde that, we shal not lacke the ayde of the Frenshe kynge, whyche partely for the lege, whych he hath made with us, and partly for the dyspleasure and olde grutch, which he bereth toward the emperour, wolde be glad to have occasion to be avenged.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS. [Lansdowne MSS. cxv. fol. i.]

Thies reasons he bryngeth for the kyngs party agaynst hys owne opynyon. To which he maketh answer in this maner. Fyrst, os towchynge the lawe of God, he thynketh that yf the kinge were pleased to take the contrary parte, he myght os wel justifie that, and have os good grownde of the Scripture therfore, os for that parte which he now taketh. And yet if he thought the kyngs party never so juste, and that this his mariage were undowtedly agaynst Godds pleasure, than he cowde not deny, but yt sholde be wel done for the kynge to refuse this mariage, and to take another wyfe; but that he sholde be a doar therein, and a setter forwarde therof, he cowde never fynde in hys harte. And yet he grawnteth, that he hath no good reason therfore, but only affection, which he bereth, and of dewty oweth unto the kyngs parson. For in so doing he sholde not only wayke, ye and utterly take away the princes title, but also he must neds accuse the most, and cheife parte of al the kyngs lyfe hiderto, which hath bene so infortunate to lyve more than xx yers in a matrimony so shameful, so abominable, so bestial and agaynst nature, yf it be so os the books which do defend the kyngs party do say; that the abomination therof ys naturally wrytten and graven in every mans harte, so that none excusation can be made by ignorance. And thus to accuse the noble nature of the kyngs grace, and to take away the title of hys succession, he cowde never fynd in hys harte, were the kyngs cause never so good. Which he doth knowlege to be only affection. Now os concernynge the people, he thynketh not possible to satisfye thaym by lernygne or prechynge; but os thay now do begyn to hate preists, this shal make thaym rather to hate moch more both lerned men, and also the name of lernynge, and bryng them in abomination of every man. For what lovynge men towarde their prynce wolde gladly heare, that eyther thayr prynce sholde be so infortunate, to lyve so many yers in matrimony so abominable, or that thay sholde be taken and cownted so bestial, to approve and take for lawful, and that so many yeres, a matrimony so unlawful, and so much agaynst nature, that every man in hys harte naturally doth abhorre yt. And that ys more, whan they heare this matrimony dyspraysed, and spoken agaynst, neyther by thayr own minds, nor by reasons that be made agaynst this matrimony, can thay be persuaded to grutge agaynst the matrimony, but for any thynge thay do grutge against the divorse. Wherin the people sholde shew thaym selfes no men, but bests. And that the people sholde be persuaded herto, he cannot thynke yt. And os for the autoritie of the vniversities, he thynketh and sayeth, that many tymes thay be led by affections, which ys well known to every man, and wyssheth that thay never did erre in thayr determinations. Than he sheweth with how gret difficultie the Vniversities were brought to the kyngs party. And moreover agaynst the autoritie of the vniversities, he setteth the autoritie of the kyngs grace father, and hys cowncel, the quenes father, and hys cowncel, and the Pope and hys cowncel. Than he cometh agayn to the Pope and themperour, and French kynge. And fyrst the Pope, how moch he ys adversary unto the kyngs purpose, he hath shewed diverse tokens alredy, and not without a cause. For yf he sholde consent to the kyngs purpose, he must neds do against hys predecessores, and also restrayne hys owne power more than yt hath bene in tyme past, which rather he wolde be glad to extend, and moreover he sholde set gret sedition in many realmes, os in Portugal, of which kynge themperour hath maried on suster, and the duke of Savoy the other. Than he extolleth the power of themperour, and diminisheth the ayd of the Frensh kynge towarde us, sayinge that themperour without drawynge of any sworde, but only by forbyddynge the course of marchandise into Flawnders and Spayne, may put this realme into gret dammage and ruyne. And what yf he wil therto draw hys sworde, wherein ys so moch power, which beyng of moch lasse power than he ys now, subdued the Pope and the French kynge? And os for the Frenchmen, they never used to kepe leage with us but for thayr own advantage, and wee can never fynde in our harts to trust thaym. And yet yf now contrary to thayr olde nature thay kepe thayr leage, yet our nation shal thynk thaymselfes in miserable condition, yf thay shal be compelled to trust opon thayr ayde, which alwayes have be our mortal enemyes, and never we loved thaym, nor thay us. And yf the Frenchmen have any suspicion, that this new matrimony shal not continue, then we shal have no succur of thaym, but opon such conditions os shal be intolerable to this realme. And yf thay followynge thayr olde nature and custome, than do breake leage with us, than we shal loke for none other, but that Englonde shal be a prey betwene themparour and thaym. After all this he commeth to the poynte to save the kyngs honour, sayinge that the kynge stondeth evyn opon the brynke of the water, and yet he may save al hys honour; but yf he put furth hys fote but on steppe forwarde, all hys honour ys drowned. And the meanes which he hath devised to save the kyngs honour ys this.

The reste of this mater I must leave to shewe your lordshippe by mouth, whan I speake with you, which I purpose, God willynge, shal be to morrow, yf the kyng's grace let me not. Now the berer maketh such hast, that I can wryte no more; but that I heare no worde from my benefice, nor Mayster Russel's servunte ys not yet retourned ageyn, whereof I do not a lytle marveil. The kynge and my Lady Anne rode yesterday to Windsower, and this nyght they be loked for agayne at Hampton Courte: God be their guyde, and preserve your lordshippe to hys most pleasure. From Hampton Courte this xiij. day of June [1531].

Youre most humble beideman,
THOMAS CRANMER.

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## No. II.

*Dr. Cranmer, Ambassador with the Emperor, his Letter to the King.**

To the Kings Highnes.

PLEASITH it your highnes to understande, that at my last sollicitacion unto Monsieur Grandeveile for an answer of the contracte of merchandize betwene the merchaunts of your graces reaulme, and the merchaunts of themperors Low-Countreys; the said Monsieur Grandveile shewed me, that forsomoch as the diate concernynge the said contracte was lately held in Flaundres, where the quene of Hungary is governatrice, themperor thought good to do nothynge therein without her advice, but to make answere by her, rather than by me. Wherefore it may please your grace no further to loke for answere of me herin, but of the quene, unto whome the whole answere is commytted. Morover, whan the said Monsieur Grandeveile enquered of me, if I had any answere of the aide and subsidy, which themperor desyered of your grace, I reported unto hym fully your graces answere accordynge unto myn instructions sent unto me by your graces servant William Paget. Which answere he desyered me to delyver hym in wrytynge, that he myght referre the same truly unto themperor, and so I dyd. Nevertheles themperor, now at his departynge, hath had such importune busynes, that Monsieur Grandeveile assigned me to repaire unto themperor agayn at Lintz, for there, he said, I shal have an answere agayn in wrytynge. The French ambassador, and I with al diligence do make preparacion to furnish our selfs of wagans, horses, shippes, tents, and other thynges necessary to our viage; but it wil be at the lest viij or x dayes before we can be redy to depart hens. Yet we trust to be at Lyntz before themperor; for he wil tary by the way at Passaw x or xij dayes.

As for the Turke, he resideth stil in Hungary, in the same place, environned opon al parties, whereof I wrote unto your highnes in my last letters. And themperor departed from Abagh toward Vienna the seconde day of this month by lande, not commynge by this towne: but the same day the kynge Ferdinando departed from this towne by water, and at Passaw xiiij myls hens thay shal mete, and so pase furth unto Lyntz, which is the mydds way from hens unto Vienna. And there themperor wil tary to counsel what he will do: and there al the ambassadours shal know his pleasure, as Monsieur Grandeveile shewed me.

I have sent herewith unto your grace the copy of themperors proclamation concernynge a general councel, and a reformation to be had in Germany for the controversyes of the faith. Also I have sent the taxe of al the stats of thempire, how many souldiers every man is lymitted unto, for the aide agaynst the Turk. Wherein your grace may perceyve, that the greatest prince in Germany (onely the duke of Burgondy and Austry except) is not appoynted above 120 horsemen and 554 fotemen. Thus our Lord evermore have your highnes in his preservation and governance. From Regenspurgh the iiij. day of September.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Your graces most humble subjecte,
chaplain, and beidman,
THOMAS CRANMER.

## No. III.

*A Parcel of Jewels sent from Greenwich to Hampton Court to the King. To the receipt of which he set his hand.**

Henry R.

SENT unto the king's highnes from Grenewhiche to Hampton Courte, by Master Norrys the xxist day of Septembre in the xxiiijth year of his graces reigne thies parcelles ensueing. Which parcellex his grace doth knoledge him self to have receyved by this present bylle, signed with his most gracieux hand the day and yere above expressed.

Furste, one carkeyne of gold antique warke, having a shielde of gold, set with a great rose, contenyng xij dyamants. One fayer table dyamant. One poynted dyamant. One table rubye. One table emerawde. And iij fayer hinging perles.

Item, another carkeyne of golde of harts with ij hands holding a great owche of golde, set with a great table balasse. One pointed dyamant: two table dyamants: whereof one rising with lozanges, and the other flat. And one other long lozanged diamant. And iiij perles, with one longe perle pendaunt.

Item, another carkeyne of golde enameled with blac and white, with an owche of golde enameled white and blew: set with a great rockey rubye: one rocky emerawde: one pointed dyamant. One table dyamant. A harte of a dyamant, rising ful of lozanges. And one fayer hinging perle.

Item, another carkeyne of lynks of gold. The one enameled blac, the other gold: having an owche of gold, set with a great rockey balasse: two smal table dyamants; and one lozanged dyamant. Five slight perles, and one long perle pendaunt therat.

Item, another carkeyne of gold, garnished thorowly with xxij coletts of dyamants, contening in al lxxvij diamant smal and great: and xliij perles, with an owche of antique, set with xiiij dyamants, one rockey rubye, and one rockey emerawde; and a flat round hinging perle.

Item, another carkeyne of golde, enameled blac, with an owche, set with a fayer table balasse, and three smal tryangled dyamants, and five perles.

Item, a George on horse-back: garnished with xvj smal diamants. And in the belly of the dragon a rockey perle.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Item, another carkeyne of golde: al blac, having a George on horseback; garnished with xviij smal dyamants. And in the belly of the dragon a perle rugged.

Item, a cheyne of golde, of Spaynishe fncion, enameled, white, red and black.

## No. IV.

*The King to Dr. Bonner, his Majesty's Agent, to declare to the Pope his Appeal from him, and his Sentence.**

By the King.

Henry R.

TRUSTY and wellbeloved, we grete ye well. Signifying unto the same, that we have appelled from the Pope's sentence, lately gevyn against us; which appele ye receiving herewith, with a proxy devised for that intent, our mind and pleasure is, that if it is thought to you good and beneficial, for conservation of the same, ye intimate the same to the Pope after the order and forme of lawe, and according to our said proxy sent unto you. And if not, to advertise us of your mind and opynyon in that behalf. Geven under our signet at our castell of Windessour, the xviij day of August.

To our trusty and welbeloved Mr. Doctor Bonner.

## No. V.

*Cranmer's Protestation his Consecration.*†

IN Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis autentica persona et testibus fide dignis, hic presentibus, ego Thomas in Cantuar. archiepiscopatum electus dico, allego, et in hiis scriptis palam, publice et expressè protestor, quod cum juramentum, sive juramenta ab electis in Cantuar. archiepiscopos summo pontifici præstari solita, me ante meam consecrationem aut tempore ejusdem pro forma potius quam pro esse, aut re obligatoria, ad illam obtinendam oporteat, non est, nec erit, meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercumque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorundem posthac dicendum, faciendum, aut attemptandum, quod erit, aut esse videbitur, contra legem Dei, vel contra illustrissimum regem nostrum Angliæ, aut rempublicam, hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve aut prærogativas ejusdem, et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovismodo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis, reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, aut prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæve commoditatem, quoquomodo concernentem, et ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur; et secundum hanc interpretationem et intellectum hunc, et non aliter, neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me præstaturum protestor

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

† Cranm. Reg. [fol. 4].

et profiteor; protestorque insuper quodcumque juramentum sit, quod meus procurator summo pontifici, meo nomine, antehac præstitit, quod non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod juramentum, meo nomine, præstare potuerit, contrarium aut repugnans juramento, per me præstito aut imposterum præstando præfato illustrissimo Angliæ regi; et casu, quo aliquod tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum, meo nomine præstitit, protestor, quod illud me inscio, et absque meo auctoritate præstitum, pro nullo et invalido esse volo. Quas protestationes in omnibus clausulis et sententiis dictorum juramentorum repetitas et reiteratas volo, a quibus per aliquod meum factum vel dictum quovismodo recedere non intendo, nec recedam; sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo.

## No. VI.

### *Cranmer's Oath taken at his Consecration to the Pope.**

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Thomas, electus Cantuariensis, ab hac hora, inantea, fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domino nostro domino Clementi papæ vij$^{o}$ suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus; non ero de consilio aut consensu, vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione; consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se seu nuncium seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam; papatum Romanum, et regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem; legatum sedis apostolicæ in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo; vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione; apostolorum limina Romana curia existente citra Alpes singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis visitabo aut per me, aut meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvat licentia; possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam neque donabo neque impignerabo neque de novo infendabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice: sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.

## No. VII.

### *Cranmer's Oath to the King for his Temporalties.*†

I, THOMAS CRANMER, renonce and utterly forsake all suche clauses, words, sentences, and graunts, whiche I have of the Popes Holynes in his bulls of the archbishopriche of Caunterbury that in any maner wise, is, or may be hurtefull, or prejudiciall to your highnes, your heires, successors, astate, or dignite roiall. Knowlaging my selfe to take and holde the said archbishopriche immediately, and only, of your highnes, and of none other. Moost lawly beseching the same for restitucon of the temporalties of the said archbishoprich; promysing to

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* Cranm. Reg. [fol. 5].

† [Cotton MSS.] Cleopatra, E. vi. [246].

be feithful, true and obedient subject to your said highnes, your heires and successors, during my liff. So helpe me God, and the holy Evangelists.

## No. VIII.

### *The King's Proclamation*[*] *for bringing in Seditious Books.*[†]

THE kings moost royall maiestie being enformed that sundry contentions and synistre opinions *hath by wronge teachynge and nawghty printed boks in cresyd and* growen w$^{t}$in this his realme of England and other his domynyons amongs his loving subjects of the same *contrary to the* true faythe, reverence and due observation of such sacraments and sacramentalls and laudable rytes, ceremonies, as heretofore have ben used and accustumed within the Churche of England, whereof his hieghnes immedyately, under God is iustely and laufully soverayn, chefe and suppreme hedd in erthe immedyately under Christ *Estimyng also that* by occasion of sundry prynted bookes in Englishe tonge as be brought from outward parties and by such like books as have been prented within this his realme sett forth w$^{t}$ priviledge conteyning annotacions and additions in the margines, prologs, and calendars, imagyned and invented by the makers dyvisers and printers of the same books, as by sundry strange persones called Anabaptists *and Sacramentarys* which be lately comen into this realme wher some of them remayn privily vnknowen. And by *some* other his hieghnes subjects using som supersticious speches and rashe words of erroneous matters, and fantasticall opinyons *bothe* in their prechings and famylyar *communications* wherby dyverse and many of his *simple* loving subjects have ben enduced and encoraged arrogantly and supersticyosly to argue and dispute in open places tavernes and alehowses *not wonly vppon baptysme but allso vppon* the holy and blessed sacrament of the aultre, *and farther* allsoo to breke contempne and despise of their own private willes and appetites, other holye sacraments laudable rytes and ceremonyes heretofore vsed and accustumed in this his graces realme and churche of England not only to the greate slaundre of sundry the kings true simple and unlerned subjects and other but also to the reproche and vituperacion of this said hole realme and church, to his graces hiegh discontentacion and displeasor w$^{t}$ daungier of encrease of, the said enormities and abuses, onles his hieghnes shuld spedely reforme and redresse the same. Wheruppon his maiestie moost prudently pondering and consydering the grete cure and chardge which it hath pleased Allmighty God of his infynite goodnes to commytt to his maiestie over all the congregation of the said church of England. And above all things ernestly willing and desiring to advaunce and sett furth the holye worde of God to his dyvin honor and glorie, and to conserve his said realme and churche commytted to his chardge in peace vnytie rest and tranquillitie from all wykked errors and erronyouse opynyons and dissention. Doth therfor straitly chardge and commaunde by this his present proclamation aswell all and singuler his subjects *off what degre so ever they be* as all other what soever resyaunts or inhabitaunts w$^{t}$in this his realme or any other his domynyons that from hensforth they and euery of them for his part shall obey kepe and observe all and singuler such articles as hereafter folowe vppon the paynes and penalties conteyned and specyfied in the same.

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[*] Printed in this edition from the instrument itself in the British Museum; in which are several corrections and additions in the handwriting of King Henry VIII., distinguished here by Italics.—[Ed. Oxford, 1840.]

[†] Cleopatra, E. v. [321].

First for expelling and advoyding the occasion of the said errors and sedycyous opynyons by reason of bookes emprinted in the Englishe tong brought and transported from outward parties. The kings moost royall maiestie straictly chardgeth and commaundeth that no personne or personnes of what astate degre or condytion so ever he be, shall from hensforth withowt his maiesties specyall licence, transporte or bring from outward parts into this his realme of Englande or any other his graces domynyons any maner books printed in the English tong nor sell *gyff* vtter or puplishe any such books from hensforth to be brought into this realme or into any other his hieghnes domynyons vppon the paynes that the offendor in that article shall not only incurre and rune into his grac's moost hiegh displeasor and indignacion, but allso shall lose and forfait to his maiestie all *hys or* their goods and catalls, and haue emprysonment at his grac's wyll.

Item that no person or persones in this realm shall from hensforth printe any books in the Englishe tonge *onles* vppon examynacion made by some of his grac's pryve counsaile or other such as his hieghnes shall appoint, *they shall have lycence so to do and yet so havyng nott to put thes words cum privilegio regali w$^{t}$ owght addyng ad imprimendum solum.* And that the hole copie or ells at the lest theffect of his licence and privilege be therw$^{t}$ printed and playnly declared and expressed in the Englishe tonge vnderneth them nor from hensforth shall print or bring into this his realme any boks of dyvyn scripture in the English tong w$^{t}$ any annotacions in the margyn or any prologe or addytions in the calendar *or table* except such annotacions be first vieued examyned and allowed by the kyngs hieghnes or such of his counsaile or other as it shall please his maiestie to assigne therto but oonly the playn sentence and texte w$^{t}$ a table or repertory instructing the reader to fynde redely the chaptors conteyned in the said booke and theffects therof. Nor shall from hensforth prynt any boke of translacions in the Englishe tong, onles the *playne* name of the translator therof be conteyned in the same boke, or ells *that* the printer woll aunswer for the same as for his owne pryve dede and acte and otherwise *to make the translatour the prynter* to suffre emprisonement and make a fyne at the kings will and pleasor.

And the maynteners abetters printers sellers vtterers and kepers of any boks owt of the which any suche lewde opinyons eyther against the moost blessed sacrament of the aulter or setting forth any erronyouse opynion of the said anabaptistes maye be gathered his hieghnes allso intendeth in like case to punish as is aforesaid w$^{t}$owt any fauor or mercy to be shewed to any of them offending in any of the premisses.

Item that no persone or persones vsing the occupacion of printing of bokes in this realme shall print vtter sell or cause to be publisshed any books of scriptur in the English tong vntyll such tyme as the same bokes be first viewed examyned and admitted by the kings hieghnes, or oon of his grac's privie counsaile, or oon bisshop of this realme *whose name allso we woll to be expressyd* vppon payne not only to incurre and runne into the kings moost hiegh displeasor and indignacion, but allso to lose and forfait all their goods and catalls and suffre emprysonement at his grac's wyll.

Item forasmuch as dyverse and sundry straungiers of the sect and false opynyon of the Anabaptistes *and Sacramentarys* ben lately comen into this realme, wher they lurke secretely in dyverse corners and plac's myndyng craftely and subtely to provoke and stirr the kings loving subjects to their errors and opynyons wherof parte of them by the greate travaile and diligence of the kings hieghnes and his counsaile be apprehended and taken. The kings moost royall maiestie declareth and notyfieth to all his loving subjects that his hieghnes like a godly and Catholike prince abhorreth and detesteth the same sects and their wykked and abhomynable errors and opynyons and entendeth to proced against such of them as be all redy apprehended accordyng to their merities and the lawes of his realme, to thentent his subjects shall take exemple by their punyshmentes and not adhere to their false and detestable opinions but vtterly forsake and relinquishe the same which his hieghnes straightly commaundeth them soo to doo vppon payn of like punyshment *and also that whersoever any suche be knowne they shall be detected and with a convenyent diligence as may be informe his maieste or summe of hys counsell to the intente they may be punishyd accordyng to theyre desarts and the maynteners abetters or prynters off the same oppinions w$^{t}$ any owther abiections off all bokes owght of whyche any shuche leude oppinions mygh be gederyd.* And over this his maiestie straitly chargeth and commaundeth all other straungers of the same Anabaptistes *and Sacramentaries* erroneouse sects not being apprehended *or knowne* that they *within viij or x days* after this present proclamacion w$^{t}$ all celeritie shall departe oute of this realme and all other his domynions vppon payn of losse of their lyves and forfeicture of all their goods w$^{t}$out any fauor remission or indulgence to be administred to any of the offendors against the tenor of this present article.

Item forasmuch as the moost blessed and holye sacrament of the awter is the veraye body and bludd of o$^{r}$ lorde Ihus Crist o$^{r}$ only savior and redemor and so hath and ought to be taken and beleved by the hole congregacion of Christen men vppon the perill of dampnacion truly and w$^{t}$owt any synistre argumentes or sophisticall opynyons grounded w$^{t}$owt fayth vppon fantasticall reasons. His hieghnes therfor myndyng ernestly to conserve his people in the true and iust fayth of the said holly and blessed sacrament, and that they shall not be seduced or bigyled by fantasticall reasons and argumentes straictly chardgeth and commaundeth all and singular his louing subjects and other resiaunts w$^{t}$in this his realme and all other his domynions that they nor any of theim from hensforth shall reason dispute or argue vppon the saide hooly and blissed sacrament nor of the mysteries therof vppon payne of losse of their lyves and forfaiture of their goodes w$^t$owt any favour or pardon to be shewed by his maiestie to any offending in this bihalf. Except and reserued to lerned men in holye scripture instructed and taught in the uniuersities their libertie and priuilege in their scoles and places accustumed concerning the same and otherwise in communicacion w$^t$owt slaunder of any man for the onely confirmation and declaration of the trweth therof.

Item forasmuch as dyuerse and sundry personnes have presumed and doo arrogantly attempt of their sensuall appetits and frowarde rashe wills to contempne breke and violate dyuerse and many laudable ceremonies and rites heretofore vsed and accustumed in the Churche of Englande and yet not abrogated by the kings hieghnes authoritie, wherby dayly riseth much difference strife and contention amongs diuerse and sundry his loving subiects, as for and concerning the ceremonyes of holy bredd, holye water, processyon, kneling and kreping *oon Good Fryday to* the crosse and Ester daye, setting vpp of lights before the Corpus Christi, beryng of candels vppon the daye of the puryfycacion of o$^r$ ladye, ceremonyes vsed at the purificacion of wemen deliuered of child, and offering of their crysomes keping of the foure offering dayes, payment of tythes according to the old custumes of the realme, and all other such like *laudabyll* ceremonyes heretofore vsed in the church of England which as yet be not abholished nor taken awaye by the kings hieghnes.—His maiestie for advoyding such contentions and the occasions of the same amongs his loving subiects, dooth straictly chardge and commaunde all and singuler his subiects and other resyaunts w$^t$in this his realme that they and euery of them shall obserue and kepe all and singuler the ceremonyes bifore specyfied and all other such like ceremonyes heretofore vsed and accustumed in this realme and not abrogated nor abolished by his hieghnes nor by his lawes or authoritie royall, soo as they shall vse and obserue the same w$^t$owt superstition and esteme them for good and laudable ceremonyes, tokyns and signes, to put vs in remembraunce of things of hiegh perfection and non otherwise, and not to repose any trust of saluacion in theim but take them for good instructions vntyll such tyme as his maiestie doo chaunge or abrogate any of them, as his hieghnes vppon *resonable* consyderacions and respects if it shall hereafter seme, to his moost excellent wisedom so to be convenyent and expedyent for the quyetnes of his people and the advauncement of his coem wealth *bothe may and intendyth to doo.*

Finally his maiestie vnderstanding, that a fewe nombre of this his realme being prestes aswell religious as other, haue taken wifs and maryed themselfs contrary *to the holsumme monissions off saint Palle ad Thimotheum ad Titum and ad Corintheos bothe first and seconde and contrary alsoo to the oppinions off meny off the olde faders and expositers off scripture not estimyng also* the awowe and promyse of chastitie which they made at the receyving of their holye ordres *hys hyghtnes* in no wise myndyng that the generalitie of the clergie of this his realme shuld w$^t$ thexemple of such a fewe nomber of light persones procede to maryage w$^t$owt a coem consent of his hieghnes and the realme dothe therfor straictly chardge and commaunde aswell all and singuler of the said prestes as haue attempted maryages as all such as woll hereafter presumptuously procede in the same, that they ne any of them shall ministre any sacrament or other ministry misticall ne have any office, dignitie, cure, privilege, profite or commodytie heretofore accustumed and bilonging to the clergie of this realme but shall vtterly after such maryages be expelled and deprived from the same and be had and reputed as laye personnes to all purposes and entents, and that suche as shal after this proclamacion contrarie to this commaundement of their presumptuous mynd take wifs and be maryed shall rune in his grac's indignacion and suffre further punishment and enprisonement at his grac's will and pleasor.

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## No. IX.

*Bishop Fisher to Secretary Crumwel, declaring his willingness to swear to the Succession.**

After my most humyl commendacions. Where ass ye be content, that I shold wryte unto the kyngs hyghnes, in gode fathe I dread me, that I kannot be soo circumspect in my writeng, but that some word shal eskape me, wherewith his grace shal be moved to some farther displeasure aganste me, wherof I wolde be veray sory. For as I wyll answer byfor God, I wold not in eny maner of poynte offend his grace, my deuty saved unto God, whom I must in every thing prefer. And for this consideracion I am full loth, and full of fear to write unto his hyghness in this matter. Nevertheless sythen I conceyve, that it is your mind, that I shal so doo, I wyl endevour me to the best that I kan. But first hear, I must byseche yow, good M. Secretary, to call to your rememberance, that at my last beyng byfor yow, and the other comyssionars, for taking of the othe concernyng the kyngs most noble succession, I was content to be sworn unto that parcel concernyng the succession. And ther I did rehears this reason, which I sade moved me. I dowted nott but that the prynce of any realme, with the assent of his nobles and comons, myght appoynte for his succession royal such an order, as was seen unto his wisdom most accordyng. And for this reason I sade that I was content to be sworn unto that part of the othe, as concerning the succession. This is a veray trowth, as God help my sowl att my most neede; albeitt I refused to swear to some other parcels, bycause that my conscience wolde not serve me so to doo.

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## No. X.

*[Rowland] Lee, Bishop Elect of Litchfield and Coventry, to Secretary Crumwel concerning Bp. Fisher.†*

Plesseyth you to be aduertisseyd, that I have been with my lorde of Rochester, whoe is as yee lefte hym: that is to say, ready to make hys othe for the succession, and to swere never to mell more in disputacion of the validite of the matrimony, or invalidite, with the lady dooger; but that utterly to refuce. But as for the case of the prohibition Leviticall, hys conscience is soe knytt, that he cannot put it off frome him, whatsoeever betyde hym. And zeytt hee wyll and dothe fermely profess his allegians to our soveraign lorde, the kyng, during hys lyfe. Treuly the man is negh goyne, and dowtlesse cannot contynew, onles the kyng and his counsell be merciful to hym. For the body cannot bere the clothes on his bake as knewyth God. Whoo preserve you. In hast scriblyd by your own mest bounden.

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* Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. vi. 172.

† Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. vi. 165, b.

Roland Co. et Litch. electus et confirmatus.

## No. XI.

*The Archbishop to Secretary Crumwel, in behalf of Bp. Fisher and Sir Thomas More.*[*]

Right Worshipful Maister Crumwel,

After most harty commendations, &c. I doubte not but you do right wel remembre, that my lorde of Rochester and Master More were contented to be sworne to the Act of the Kings Succession, but not to the preamble[†] of the same. What was the cause of thair refusal thereof, I am uncerten, and thay wolde by no means expresse the same. Nevertheless it must nedis be, either the diminution of the auoritie of the bushope of Rome, or ells the reprobation of the kyngs first pretensed matrimony. But if thay do obstinatly persiste in thair opinions of the preamble, yet, me semeth, it scholde not be refused, if thay wil be sworne to the veray Acte of Succession: so that they wil be sworne to mayntene the same against al powers and potentates. For hereby shalbe a greate occasion to satisfy the princesse dowager and the Lady Mary, which do thynk that they sholde dampne thair sowles, if thay sholde abandon and relinquysh their astates. And not onely it sholde stoppe the mouthes of thaym, but also of th'emperor, and other thair freinds, if thay gyve as moche credence to my lorde of Rochester, and Master More spekynge or doinge agaynst thaym, as thay hitherto have done, and thought, that al other sholde have done, whan they spake and did with thaym. And peradventure it sholde be a good quietation to many other within this reaulm, if such men sholde say, that the succession, comprised within the said act, is good and according to Godds lawes. For than I thynke there is not one within this reaulme, that would ones reclayme against it. And where as diverse persones, either of a wilfulnes, wil not, or of an indurate and invertible conscience, can not, altre from thair opinions of the kyngs first pretensed mariage, (wherein thay have ones said thair minds, and percase have a persuasion in thair heads, that if they sholde now vary therefrome thair fame and estimation were distayned for ever,) or ells of the autoritie of the busshope of Rome: yet if al the reaulme with one accorde wolde apprehende the said succession; in my jugement it is a thynge to be amplected and imbraced. Which thing, although I trust surely in God, that it shal be brought to passe, yet hereunto might not a little avayle the consent and othes of thies two persones, the busshope of Rochester, and Master Moore, with thair adherents, or ratherconfederates. And if the kyngs pleasure so were, thair said othes might be suppressed, but whan and where his highnes might take some commodite by the publisshing of the same. Thus our Lord have you ever in his conservation. From my maner at Croyden the xvii day of April.

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[*] Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. vi. 181.

[†] The preamble to this act may be read in the History of the Reformation, part i. p. 145 [vol. i. pp. 294—297].

Your own assured ever
Thomas Cantuar.

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## No. XII.

### *Nix, Bishop of Norwich, to Warham, Archbishop of Cant., for suppressing such as read Books brought from beyond Sea.**

After most humbill recommendation, I do your grace tundrestande, that I am accombred with such, as kepith and redith these arronious boks in Englesh, and beleve and gif credence to the same, and teacheth others, that they shuld so do. My Lorde, I have done that lieth in me for the suppression of suche parsons; but it passith my power, or any spiritual man for to do it. For dyverse saith openly in my diocesse, that the kings grace wolde, that they shulde have the saide arroneous boks, and so maynteyneth themself of the kinge. Wherupon I desired my lorde abbot of Hide to shew this to the kinges grace, besechinge him to sende his honorabill lettres undre his seall, downe to whome he please, in my diocesse. That they may shew and publish, that it is not his pleasure, that suche boks should be had or red; and also punish suche as saith soo. I truste before this letter shal come unto you, my saide lorde abbot hath done so. The saide abbot hath the names of some, that crakyth in the kings name, that their false opinions shold goo furth, and will dye in the quarrell, that their ungracious opinions be true, and trustith by Michalmas daye, ther shal be more, that shal beleve of ther opinions, than they, that beleveth the contrary. If I had knowen, that your grace had bene at London, I wolde have commanded the saide abbot to have spoken with you. But your grace may send for him, whan ye please, and he shal show you my whole mynd in that mater; and how I thought best for the suppression of soch, as holdyth these arronious opinions. For if they contynue any time, I thynk they shall undoe us all. The said abbot departed from me on Monday laste: and sith that tyme I have had moche trouble and busines, with other in like mater: and they say, that whersomever they go, they here say, that the kings pleasure is, the N. Testament in English shal go forth, and men sholde have it and read it. And from that opinion I can no wise induce them. But I had gretter auctoritie to punyshe them, than I have. Wherfore I beseiche your good lordshep, to advertise the kings grace, as I trust the said abbot hath done, before this letter shal come unto your grace; that a remedy may be had.

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 360.

For now it may be done wel in my diocesse: for the gentilmen and the commenty be not greatly infect; but marchants, and suche that hath ther abyding not ferre from the see. The saide abbot of Hyde canne show you of a curat, and well lerned in my diocesse, that exorted his parisheners to beleve contrary to the Catholic faith. There is a collage in Cambrige, called Gunwel haule,* of the foundation of a bp. of Norwich. I here of no clerk, that hath commen ought lately of that collage, but saverith of the frying panne, tho he spek never so holely. I beseche your grace to pardon me of my rude and tedious writinge to you: the zele and love, that I ough to Almighty God, cause me this to do. And thus Almighty God longe preserve your grace in good prosperite and health. At Hoxne the xiiijth. day of Maij, 1530.

Your obediensary and dayly orator,

R. NORWICH.

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## No. XIII.

*Archbishop Cranmer to King Henry, complaining of a Prior in Canterbury that had preached against him.*†

PLEASITH it your grace to be advertised, that where aswel by your graces special lettres, dated the thirde day of June in the xxvijth. yere of your graces most noble reigne, as also by mouth in Wynchester at Michelmas last past, your grace comawnded al the prelates of your realme, that they with al acceleration and expedition sholde do their diligence every one in his dioces, fully to perswade your people of the bp. of Rome his autoritie, that it was but a false and unjust usurpation, and that your grace of veray right and by Godds lawe is the supreme heade of this Church of England, next immediatly unto God: I to accomplish your graces comawndment, incontinent opon my retorne from Wynchester, (knowinge that al the countrie about Otforde and Knol, where my most abode was, were sufficiently instructed in those maters alredy) cam up into thies parties of Este Kent onely, by preaching to persuade the peple in the said two articles. And in mine own church at Cantorbury, bicause I was informed, that that towne in those two poynts was lest perswaded of al my dioces; I preached there two sermons my selfe. And as it then chawnced, Dr. Leighton was present at my first sermon, beinge then your graces visitor. Of whome, if it so please your grace, you may heare the report what I preached.

The scope and effect of both my sermons stode in three thyngs. First, I declared, that the bp. of Rome was not Godds vicar on erth, as he was taken. And although it was so taught thies three or four hundreth yers, yet it was done by the meanes of the bp. of Rome, who compelled men by othes so to tech, to the mayntenance of his autoritie contrary to Godds worde. And here I declared by what meanes and craft the busshops of Rome obteyned such usurped autoritie. Seconde, bycause the see of R. was called *Sancta Sedes Romana,* and the busshope was called *Sanctissimus Papa;* and mennys consciences peradventure coulde not be quyete to be separated from so holy a place, and from Godds most holy vicar: I shewed the people, that this thyng ought nothynge to move theym. For it was but a holines in name. For in dede there was no such holynes at Rome. And hereupon I took occasion to declare the glory, and pompe of Rome, the covetousnes, the unchast lyvyng, and the mayntenance of al vices. Thirde, I spake agaynst the bp. of Rome his lawes. Which he calleth *Divinas Leges* and *Sacros Canones,* and maketh theym equal with Godds lawes. And here I declared, that many of his lawes were contrary to Godds lawes. And some of theym, which were good and laudable, yet thay were not of such holynes, as he wolde make theym; that is, to be taken as Godds lawes, or to have remission of synnes by observyng of theym. And here I sayd, that so many of his lawes, as were good, men ought not to contemne and despise theym, and wilfully to breake theym. For those that be good your grace hath receyved, as lawes of your realme, untyl such tyme, as other shold be made. And therfore as lawes of your realm, they must be observed, and not contempned. And here I spake as wel of the ceremonies of the Church, as of the forsaide lawes; that they ought neither to be rejected or dispised, nor yet to be observed with this opinion, that they of themselfes make men holy, or that they remytt synne. For seinge, that oure synnes be remitted by the deth of our Savior Christ Jesus, I sayd, it was to moch injury to Christ, to impute the remission of our synnes to any lawes or ceremonies of mans makynge. Nor the laws and ceremonies of the Church at their first making were ordened for that intent. But as the common lawes of your graces realme be not made to remit synne, nor no man doth observe theym for that intent, but for a common commodity, and for a good ordre and quietnes to be observed among your subjetts; evyn so were the laws and ceremonies first instituted in the Church for a good ordre, and remembrances of many good thyngs, but not for remission of oure synnes. And though it be good to observe theym wel for that intente, thay were first ordened; yet it is not good, but a contumelie unto Christ to observe theym with this opinion, that they remit synne; or that the veray bare observation of theym, in it self, is an holines before God: although they be remembrances of many holy thyngs, or a disposition unto goodnes. And evyn so do the lawes of your graces realm dispose men unto justice, to peace, and other true and perfite holines. Wherfore I did conclude for a general rule, that the people ought to observe theym, as they do the laws of your graces realm, and with no more opinion of holines or remission of synne, than the other common laws of your graces realme.

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* From whence came Shaxton, bishop of Sarum; and Skip, Queen Anne's chaplain, and bishop of Hereford.

† [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. vi. 232.

Though my ij sermons were longe, yet I have written briefly unto your highness the sum of theym both. And I was informed by sundry reports, that the peple were glad, that they harde so much as they did; until such time, as the prior of the Blacke Frears at Cantorbury preached a sermon, as it was thought and reported, clene contrary unto al the iij thyngs, which I had preached bifore. For as touching the first parte where I had preached against the erronious doctrin of the busshope of Rome his power; which errour was, that by Godds law he should be Godds vicar here in erth; the prior would not name the busshope of Rome but under color spake generally, that the Church of Christ never erred. And as touching the second part, where I spake of the vices of the busshopes of Rome and their see; the prior said, that he wolde not sclawnder the busshopes of Rome. And he said openly to me in a good audience, that he knew no vices by none of the busshopes of Rome. And he said also openly, that I preched uncharitably, whan I said, that thies many years, I had daily prayed unto God, that I might see the power of Rome destroyed: and that I thanked God, that I had now sene it in this realm. And yet in my sermon I declared the cause, wherfore I so prayed. For I said, that I perceved the see of Rome worke so many thyngs contrary to Godds honor, and the welth of this realme, and I sawe no hope of amendement, so longe as that see reigned over us: and for this cause onely I had prayed unto God continually, that we myght be separated from that see: and for no private malice or displeasure, that I had either to the busshopes or see of Rome. But this semed an uncharitable prayer to the said prior, that the power of Rome sholde be destroyed.

And as for the iij^de^ part, where I preched agaynst the lawes of the busshope of Rome, that thay ought not to be taken as Godds lawes; nor to be estemed so highly, as he would have theym: the prior, craftely levynge out the name of the busshope of Rome, preched, that the lawes of the Church be equal with Godds lawes. Thies thyngs he preched, as it is proved both by sufficient wytnes, and also by his own confession.

I leave the jugement hereof unto your grace and to your cownsail, whether this were a defense of the busshope of Rome, or not: and I onely, accordynge to my bownden duty, have reported the truth of the facte. But in myn opinion, if he had spoken nothynge ells; yet whosoever saith, that the Church never erred, mainteneth the busshope of Rome his power. For if that were not erroneous, that was taught of his power, that he is Christs vicar in erth, and by Godds lawe heade of al the worlde, spiritual and temporal, and that al people must byleve that *de necessitate salutis*, and that whosoever doth any thynge agaynst the see of Rome is an heretike; and that he hath autoritie also in purgatory, with such other many false thyngs, which were taught in times past to be articles of our faith: if thies thyngs were not erroneous, yea, and errours in the faith, than must nedis your graces lawes be erronious, that pronownce the busshope of Rome to be of no more power by Godds law than other busshopes; and theym to be traytors, that defende the contrary. This is certen, that whosoever sayth, that the Church never erred, must either deny, that the Church ever taught any such erroure of the busshope of Rome his power, and then thay speke agaynst that which al the worlde knoweth, and al books wrytten of that matter thies iij or iiij hundreth yers do testifie; or ells thay must say, that the said erroures be none erroures, but truthes. And than it is both traison and heresye.

At my first examination of hym, which was bifore Christmas, he said, that he preched not agaynst me, nor that I had preched any thyng amis. But now he sayth, that I preached amiss in veray many things, and that he purposely preached agaynst me. And this he reporteth openly. By which words I am marvelously sclawndered in thies parties. And for this cause I besech your grace that I may not have the jugement of the cause: for so moch as he taketh me for a partie: but that your grace wol commit the hearyng herof unto my lorde pryvay seale: or ells to associate unto me some other person at your graces pleasure, that we may heare the cause joyntly togither.

If this man, who hath so highly offended your grace and preched agaynst me openly, being ordinary and metropolitane of this province: and that in soch matters, as concerne the autoritie, the myslyvyng, and the lawes of the busshope of Rome; and that also within myn own church; if he, I say, be not looked opon, I leave unto your graces prudence to expende, what example this may be unto other with like colour to mayntene the busshope of Rome his autoritie: and also of what estimation I shalbe reputed hereafter, and what credence shal be gyven unto my prechynge, whatsoever I shal say hereafter.

I besech your grace to pardon me of my longe and tedious wrytynge, for I could not otherwise set the matter furth plaine. And I most heartily thank your grace for the stagge, which your grace sent unto me from Wyndesor Foreste. Which if your grace knewe, for how many causes it was welcome unto me, and how many wayes it did me service, I am sure, you would think it moch the better bystowed. Thus our Lorde have your highnes alwaye in his preservation and governance. From Forde the xxvj day of Auguste.

Your graces most humble chaplain and bedisman,

T. Cantuarien.

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## No. XIV.

*The Archbishop to Mr. Secretary Crumwel, concerning his styling himself Primate of all England.**

Right wurshipfull in my moste hartie wise I commend me unto you. Moste hartely thankyng you for that you have signified unto me, by my chapleyn Maister Champion, the complaynte of the busshope of Wynchester unto the kings highnes in two thyngs concernyng my visitation. The one is, that in my stile I am written *Totius Angliæ Primas,* to the derrogation and prejudice of the kyngs highe power and authoritie, beyng supreme hedde of the Church. The other is, that his dioces not paste five yeres agone was visited by my predecessor, and must from hencefurth pay the tenth part of the spiritualties accordyng to the act granted in the last session of Parliamente. Wherfore he thinketh, that his dioces should not be charged with my visitation at this tyme.

First, as concernyng my style, wherein I am named *Totius Angliæ Primas,* I suppose that to make his cause goode (which else indeed were nawght) he doth myxte it with the king's cause; (as ye know the man lacketh neither lernyng in the lawe, neither witty invention, ne crafte to set furth his matiers to the beste) that he might appear not to maintayne his awn cause, but the kynges. Against whose highnes he knoweth right well, that I will mayntein no cause, but gyve place, and lay both my cause and my self at my princes feete. But to be playne what I thynke of the bishop of Wynchester, I cannot persuade with my self, that he so moche tendereth the kynges cause, as he doth his own, that I shuld not visite hym. And that appereth by the veray tyme. For if he cast no farther but the defence of the kings graces authoritie, or if he entended that at all, why moved he not the matier before he receyved my monition for my visitation. Whiche was within four miles of Winchester delyvered unto him the xxti. day of Aprill last, as he came up to the courte. Moreover I do not a little mervayl, why he should now fynd fawt rather then he did before, whan he toke the bp. of Rome as cheff hedd. For thoughe the bisshop of Rome was taken for supreme hedd, notwithstanding that, he hadd a great number of primates under hym. And by having his primates under hym, his supreme authoritie was not less estemid, but moche the more. Why than may not the kyngs highnes, being supreme hedde, have primates under hym, without any dymynyshyng, but with the augmentyng of his said supreme authoritie. And of this I doubt not atall, but that the busshope of Wynchester knoweth, as well as any man lyving, that in caase this said style or title had byn in any poynte impediment or hinderance to the busshoppe of Rome's usurped authoritie, it would not have so long ben unreformed as it hathe byn. For I doubt not, but all the bushops of England would ever gladly have hadde the archbushopps both authoritie and title taken awaye, that thei myghte have byn equall to gether. Which well appeareth by the many contentions agaynst the archbushops for jurisdiction in the courte of Rome. Whiche had be easely brought to passe, if the busshops of Rome had thought, the archbushops titles and styles to be any derogation to their supreme authority.

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. F. i. 260.

Al this notwithstandyng, if the bushops of this realme passe no more of thair names, stiles and titles, then I do of myn, the kings highnes shal sone ordre the matier betwixt us all. And if I sawe that my stile were agaynst the kings authoritie (whereunto I am specially sworne,) I woude sue my self unto his grace that I myghte leave it; and so would have don before this tyme. For I pray Gode never be mercyfull unto me at the general judgement, if I perceyve in my heart, that I set more by any title, name or stile, that I write, then I do by the paring of an apple, farther than it shalbe to the setting forth of Gods wourde and will. Yet I wil not utterly excuse me herein. For God must be judge, who knoweth the botome of my harte, and so do not I my self. But I speak for so much as I do feale in my harte. For many evill affections lye lurking ther, and wil not lightely be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any just thyng at the pleasure and suite of the busshop of Wynchester, he beyng none otherwise affectionate unto me, than he is.

Even at the begynnyng of Christs profession Diatrephes desyred *gerere primatum in Ecclesia*, as saith Saincte John in his last epistell.

And since he hath had mo successors than all the apostells hadd, of whom have come al theis glorious titles, stiles and pompes into the Churche. But I would, that I and all my bretheren, the busshops wold leave all our stiles, and write the style of our offices, callyng our selves *apostelos Jesu Christi:* so that we toke not apon us the name vaynly, but were so even in deade. So that we myght ordre our dioces in such sort, that neither paper, parchemente, leade nor wexe, but the very Christian conversation of the people myght be the lettres and seales of our offices. As the Corinthians were unto Paule, to whom he said, *Literæ nostræ et signa apostolatus nostri vos estis.*

Now for the seconde, where the bp. of Winchester alledgeth the visitation of my predicessor, and the tenth parte now to be paid to the kyng. Truth it is, that my predecessor visited the dioces of Wynchester after the the decease of my Lorde Cardynall [Wolsey] as he did all other diocesses (*sede vacante.*) But els I thynke, it was not visited by none of my predecessors this forty yeres. And not withstanding that, he hymself, nott consyderyng thair chargis at that tyme, charged theym with a newe visitation within lesse than half a yere after: and that agaynste all righte, as Doctour Incent hath reported to my chancellor: the clargie at that tyme paying to the king half of their benefices in five years. Which is the tenth part every year, as thei paid before, and have payd syns, and shal pay stil for ever by the laste act. But I am veray gladde, that he hath nowe some compassion of his dioces, although at that time he had veray smale, whan he did visit theym the same year, that my predecessour did visite. And also other bushopps, whose course is to visite this yere, kepe thair visitation, (where I did visett the laste yere,) notwithstanding the tenth part to be paid to the kings grace. Howbeit I do not so in Wynchester dioces. For it is nowe the third yere syns that dioces was visited by any man. So that he hath the leste cause to complayn of any busshop. For it is longer syns his dioces was visited than the other. Therefore where he layeth, to aggravate the matier, the charges of the late acte graunted, it is no more agaynst me than againste all other busshops, that do visett this yere; nor maketh no more agaynst me this yere, then it made against me the laste yere, and shall do every yere hereafter. For if thei were true men in accomptyng and paying the kyngs subsidie, they are no more charged by this new acte then they were for the space of ten yers past, and shal be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude, if my said lorde of Wynchesters objections shuld be allowed this yere, he myghte by such arguments both disalowe al maner visitations, that hath be donn thes ten yeres past, and that ever shalbe done hereafter.

Nowe I pray you, good Maister Secretary of your advice, whether I shall nede to writte unto the kyngs hignes herein. And thus our Lord have you ever in his preservation. At Otteford the 12 day of May.

Your own ever assured

THOMAS CANTUAR.

## No. XV.

### *The Appeal of Stokesly Bishop of London to the King, against the Archbishop's Visitation.*[*]

Contra Visitationem Archiep. Cant.

FIRST, that tharchbp. of Canterburie in al his monitions and writings, sent to the bisshop, abbots, priors and archdeacons of London, concerning this his visitation, called himself *Apostolicæ Sedis legatum:* and that therfor the bisshopp of London, with the chapitre, did not only advertyse the archbp. therof by their letters before the day of visitation: but also that same day of the commencement thereof in the chapitre house of Powles, the said bp. and chapitre, before the delivery of the certificate to the abp. made there openlye a protestation, reding it in wryting, signifying, that they wolde neither accept him as such a legate, nor admytt or obey his visitacion, jurisdiction, or any thing, that he wolde attempte by the pretexte or color of that name of legate, or otherwyse, against the crown of our sovereigne, his regalitie, statutes, or customes of his realm. And required the said archbp. to commaunde his registre (there present) to enact the said protestation. Which he refused utterlye to do; shewing himself not willing to admit the said protestation.

Item, that tharchbp. in his said monition to the bisshop did expresly intymate and signyfye to him, that he wolde in this his visitation suspend al the jurisdiction of the bp. the dean and archdeacons from the beginning thereof to thending. In soche wise, that the bp. nor his officers, deane nor archdeacon, should or myght all that time, (which he would not determine how long it should endure) use no jurisdiction, whatesoever causes or necessities should chance of correction, institutions of benefices, confirmations of elections, consecrations of churches, celebracions of orders, or probation of testaments, with many other things mo appertaining *ad forum contentiosum.* But al and every of thise the archbp. and his [officers] wold have, and suffer none other to use and exercise the same, unto thend of his visitation. Which he hath now continued until the first day of December: pretending, that then he may likewise continue it other six months, and so forth without end at his plesure during his life, from tyme to tyme. So that by this means he only, and noon other, should be bp. but *titularis,* in all his province during his life, but at his plesure. Which were an inconvenience intolerable, and such as never was redde nor herde of, that ever any metropolitane, so mate legate or bp. of Rome, in the most tyrannie had usurped the semblable.

Item, that all men lerned, and books of the canon lawe dothe agree, that no metropolitane or primate, may thus, by any lawe written, suspende all the jurisdiction of the bishopps, for the tyme of their visitations, or exercise the premysses during the same *jure metropolitico.* And this the counsaill of the archbishop doth not denye, nor cannot.

Item, where the said archbisshop doth pretend, that his predecesssours tymes past hath put in use and exercise al the premysses: And so, though the common lawe doth not favor him, yet he may leyne to prescription: First, it is to be considred and remembrid, that the suspension of al jurisdiction of all the bishopps in maner aforesaid seemeth to be against holy Scripture, and thauctority given unto theym by God; and as it was said before, that suspension were a thing pernitiose, not redde, nor herde of, to have be attempted by the most tyranny of al the bishops of Roome, without the great offence of the bishopp. And as for the rest, considring, that none of his predecessours this hundred yeres did visite thus his province; and therfor noo man living can know this by experience, it had byne necessarie for tharchbp. to have shewed bookes for the profes of thise his seyings and pretences. Which he and his officers, being therunto desired, aswell before the visitation, as sithens, ever did refuse and deferre to doo.

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[*] [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. F. ii. 124.

Item, it is to be remembred, that in case it shal appere in any booke of th'archebisshopp that his predecessours have attempted any of the premysses; First, that his predecessours were legats, and though they did visite *jure metropolitico*, yet they might peradventure, as legats, attempte some things, which they had had no right nor colour to doo, if they had be only metropolitans and primates. Secondarilye, in this behalf and case it is to be remembred, that many of those archbps. of Canterburie, were not only legats, but also chancellers of England. By the which auctorite they peradventure did enforce and maintaigne many things attempted against the lawe, as the late cardinall did. And therfor it is to be dissevered what they did as legats, and what as metropolitans, and what by force after repelled, and what by right peasiblye enjoyed. And not to knytt now *jure metropolitico* such things as were done by his predecessours, as legats: nor to chalenge prescription, now the auctorite of the see of Rome is repealed and here extinquished in soche things, as were attempted oonlye by the pretexte of the auctoritie of that see; or else after were appealid, repelled or resisted. Thirdely, in this case it is to be remembrid, that it appears by the ancient registers of the bishops, and their chirches, that when the predecessours of tharchbisshop did attempt any of these cases aforesaid, the bishops and their clargies did appeale to the see of Roome. And dyvers times they obteigned sentences and executions against hym; and some remaigned undecised by the reason of the dethe of the ab. or bp. complainant for remedye and redresse of the same. In like maner as we, your faithfūl subjects have nowe for this our grife appeled unto your majesty.

Item, it is to be considred, whedre any metropolitane in odre Christen realmes, being now legatt, doth exercise the premysses after the fourme now here pretended, in his visitation. And in case they do not, as it is said they do not attempt anye such things, but oonly, in their visitations provinciall, useth that the comon lawe giveth theym, then here to be repelled and extinguished for ever. To thentent that the bishops of Roome hereafter shal have no color to mainteigne and justifye, that they kepe here yet, and continuallye the possession of their auctoritie, and of our subjection by their legate.

Saying, that although th'archbisshopp doo relinquish the name of a legate, yet neverthelesse he exerciseth soche jurisdiction as the lawes never gave to metropolitane, nor noo archbisshopp in Christendome dothe exercise (legates of the see of Roome onely excepted.) And therfor it is to be provided, that noo sparks remaigne, wherby he might suscitate any suche flame, if the matter shuld come in question.

Finally, it is to be remembred, that the bishops, nor their clergies doo not refuse to accept and obey the visitation of tharchbisshopp as metropolitane, and to pay to him proxies due and accustomed. But where the bishopps hath not only the comune laws, but also bulls and sentences executed against his predecessours, and that longe before the making of the statutes against *provisions*, declaring whate sommes he shal not passe for his proxies of their churches, the officers of th' archbisshopp demaundeth moche more: neither shewing the lawe, (for theire is none to bere theym) nor yet president nor example in any auncient books, wherby they might be satisfyed. Which doon he should without difficulty or grudge, have forthwith al his proxies upon the conclusion of his visitation. Unto the which time it is not due in monye. Many other things and consideracions there be, to be alledged concerning the premysses: which may be spokyn in tyme and place, as the debating of the matier shall require.

And for a conclusion, it may please your majesty to be advertised, that if my lorde of Canterburie can shewe by auncient presidents, that any his predecessours have used peasibly the premisses without interrupcion, and soo have enjoyed the same, those presidents shewed and brought in presens, allowed also by your lerned counsaill of the lawes spiritual, to be presidents sufficient, and of auctoritie in this behalf, we shal then immediatlye in all the premysses, obey the said abpp. without any further contradiction. In this our soo doing, whether we offre him reason or not, we referre us oonly unto your majestie, and unto your gracious jugement. Humble beseching the same, that forasmuche as all the lawes be for us, and this hundred years past: and nowe also in our dayes we have not herde nor sene the contrarie used to the said lawes: we nowe most lowlye, as your power and true subjects, desiere your majestie, that with your gracious favour and license, we may use suche defence, as your lawes, and your high court of your parliament, hath politikely provided for us, and other your subjects.

## No. XVI.

*An Inventory of the Cathedral church of S. Swithins in Winchester, as it was given in, by the Prior and Convent, to Crumwell, Secretary of State, and the Kings Vicar general over al Spiritual men.*[*]

*And first of the things that are abroad in the Church.*

IMPRIMIS, the nether part of the high altar, being of plate of gold, garnished with stones. The front above being of brodering work and pearls, and above that a table of images of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.

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[*] C.C.C.C. MS. Miscel. G. [No. cxlix. 355].

Item, Above that altar a great cros, and an image of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, Behind the high altar S. Swithens shrine, being of plate silver and gilt, and garnished with stones.

Item, In the body of the church a great cross, and an image of Christ and Mary and John, being of plate silver and partly gilt.

Item, A cros of plate of silver and gilt with an image over the iron dore. And the two images of Mary and John are but copper gilt.

### The Inventory of the Sextre.

### *Jewels of Gold.*

Imprimis, There are in the sextre five crosses of gold, garnished with precious stones. And one of the five is but of plate of gold fixed upon wood.

Item, One shrine of plate of gold garnished with precious stones.

Item, One little pair of candlesticks of gold.

Item, One little box of gold with his cover to bear the H. Sacrament.

Item, Three chalices of gold, and one of them garnished with precious stone.

Item, One little pax of gold.

Item, One little sacring bel of gold.

Item, Four pontifical rings of gold with precious stones.

Item, One pectoral of gold set with stones.

Item, One pectoral, partly gold, partly silver, and gilt, set with stones.

Item, Two saints armes of plate of gold, garnished with stones.

Item, S. Philips foot, covered with plate of gold, and with stones.

Item, A book of the four Evangelists, written al with gold; and the utter side is of plate of gold.

### *Jewels of Silver.*

Imprimis, One table of our Lady, being of silver and gilt.

Item, Nine crosses of silver and gilt, and one of cristal.

Item, One and twenty shrines, some al silver and gilt; and some part silver and gilt; and part copper and gilt; and some part silver and part ivory, and some copper and gilt, and some set with garnished stones.

Item, Twelve chalices of silver and gilt, belonging to the sextre, and to the altars, and chauntries founded in the church.

Item, Four paxes of silver and gilt belonging to the sextre, and other altars.

Item, Six casts of candlesticks belonging to the sextre, and the chauntries, being of silver and gilt.

Item, One candlestick of silver, belonging to S. Swithens shrine.

Item, Six pair of cruits of silver belonging to the sextre and chauntries.

Item, Seven censers of silver and gilt.

Item, Two Sarys, one of silver and gilt, and the other only of silver.

Item, Three pair of basins of silver and gilt.

Item, Two Ewers, one of them silver and gilt, and the other only silver.

Item, Six images of silver and gilt.

Item, One and thirty collars, six of them garnished with plate of silver, and gilt, and stones ; the residue of brodering work and pearls.

Item, Six pectorals of silver and gilt, garnished with stones.

Item, Three pastoral staves of silver and gilt.

Item, One pastoral staf of an unicorns horn.

Item, Three standing mitres of silver and gilt, garnished with pearls and precious stones.

Item, Ten old mitres, garnished with pearls and stones, after the old fashion.

Item, One rectors staf of unicorns horn.

Item, Four processional staves of plates of silver.

Item, Four sacring bells of silver and gilt, belonging to the sextre and altars.

Item, Nine pixes of christal, partly garnished with silver and gilt.

Item, Seven tables with relicks fixed in them ; and four of them are of plate of silver and gilt, and the three other of copper and gilt.

Item, Five saints heads, and four of them of plate of silver and gilt, and the first painted.

Item, Three saints armes, two of them covered with plate of silver and gilt, and the third is painted.

Item, Seven books, the outer parts of them being plates of silver and gilt.

Item, One book of K. Henry the Sevenths foundation, covered with velvet, and garnished with bosses of silver and gilt.

### *Copys.*

Imprimis, One principal cope of needle work, wrought with gold and pearles.

Item, One Chysible. Two tymasyles, and parel of the albes of the same work, of my L. Cardinal Beaufords gift.

Item, Eight and twenty other copys of divers other works and colors, and divers mens gifts.

Item, Forty two copys of tisshew : the one half of them blew, and the other of red.

Item, Twenty copys of red bawdkyne, wrought with connes.

Item, Eight white copys. Four of them of white velvet, and the other four of white damask, brodered with white red roses.

Item, Eight and twenty copys of white bawdkyne, woven with copper gold.

Item, Nine and twenty copys of blew silk, woven with rayes of gold.

Item, Thirty other copys of divers colors and works ; and many of them perished.

### *Chysybils, Tynnikyls [Tunicles] and Stolys.*

Item, Imprimis, Eleven principal chysybils with Tynnikyls, of divers sorts, and suites.

Item, Six and thirty old chysybils of divers colors and works, and bene commonly used, and some of them perused.

Item, Fourteen stolys of needle work.

### *Hangings for the Altars.*

Item, Eight divers hangings for the high altar, some of them precious, and some of them of les value.

Item, One and twenty pair of hangings for the altars of the Church.

### *Vestments, Albes, &c.*

Item, Twelve albes of silk.

Item, Of linn in albes, belonging to the sextre and other altars 326.

Item, Vestments belonging to the altars and chauntries are of divers values and works, to the number of twenty six.

Item, Corporows cases, and corporaws thirty six.

Item, Altar cloths of diaper, and linnin one and twenty.

Item, Mas books thirteen, belonging to the sextre and altars.

### *The Inventary of our Ladies Chappel.*

Imprimis, Five little shrines of copper and guilt.

Item, Three chalices of silver and gilt.

Item, Two paxes, the one of silver and gilt, and the other of silver.

Item, Two pair of beads, and silver and gilt, being but of ten stones a piece.

Item, Three chappels of divers suites.

Item, Two copys of silk.

Item, Thirteen albes, and three of them white silk.

Item, Three collars for the three altars of silk, garnished with plate of silver and gilt, and with stones.

Item, Four altar cloths of linnin.

Item, Two altars of silk for the altar.

### *The Inventory of the Priors House.*

Imprimis, Six salts, with three covers of silver and gilt.

Item, Six spoons of silver and gilt.

Item, Five and twenty other spoons of silver.

Item, Three standing cups; one plain, and other two swaged with their covers of silver and gilt.

Item, Seven bollis of silver and gilt with one cover.

Item, Six silver cupps with one cover.

Item, Four nuts with three covers.

Item, Two masers with one cover.

Item, Two silver basins with their ewers.

Item, Two gallon pots of silver and gilt, to serve Peter and Paul.

Item, Two smal silver pots.

Item, Two chalices of silver and gilt.

### *The Inventary of the Subpriors House.*

Item, Two salts of silver and gilt with a cover.

Item, One little salt of silver with a cover.
Item, Three silver peeces.
Item, Eighteen silver spoons.
Item, Three old masers perused.

*The Inventary of the Hordars House.*

Item, Two salts of silver and gilt with a cover.
Item, One standing nut with a cover.
Item, Three silver peeces.
Item, Eighteen silver spoons.
Item, Three old masers perused.

*The Inventary of the Fratrie.*

Imprimis, One standing cup of mother pearle, the foot and cover being of silver and gilt.
Item, Two great bollys of silver.
Item, One standing cup of silver and gilt with his cover.
Item, One standing massar with a cover of wood.
Item, Three great bollis of wood with bonds of silver and gilt.
Item, Seven and thirty silver spoons of divers fashions.
Item, Four old massars perused.

## No. XVII.

### *A Reply to the Archbishop, against his Court of Audience.**

To the firste, hys protestations sheweth no more, but that he is not to be suspected to kepe that courte of his Audyence by the authoritie of any legacy from Rome, as by the name of legat of Rome. But forasmoche as no abp. within Christendome hathe, nor never hadd, any aucthoritie to kepe any suche courte by the reason of hys archebisshoprike, but only legats of the see of Rome. Whiche legats what vexations and oppressions they have doone by the pretense thereof, not onely to ordynaries, but also to the layfee, by calling of poore men from the farthest parte of the realme to London for an halfpeny candell, or for a litell obprobrious worde, as was declared and proved playnely in this Parliament: which was a grete cause of making of a statute to remedy that, before the statute of thabolisshement of the bisshops of Romes authoritie within this realme; insomoche that this execution of legacyes in other jurisdictions and realmes, hath ben on of the gretest and the intolerablest usurpations of the bpe. of Rome these many yeres emonge the comonaltie, and therfore a thing moost necessary of reformation: in consideration of the premisses no archebisshop can exercise this authoritie, except he implieth to all the worlde (tho he speak it not, nor write it not) that he ys a legate of the see of Rome. And in case it shall please the kings grace to gyve like authoritie, notwithstanding so many incommodities to his graces subjectes proved by the use therof, and not oon comoditie at al to abyden by, yt shuld seme better to gyve it to some other by special commission at hys grace's pleasure. Wherby it shalbe known certeynely to come from his grace rather than to yoyne it to tharchebisshops see: wherby tholde poyson might stil lurke and break out on day agayne, if yt shuld chaunce some to be archebishop of Cant. that would chaunge theyr copie, as hath ben in tymes paste.

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, F. i. p. 88.

And more over, if his grace should make hym his legate, it should peradventure derogate the powre of his graces generall vicare. And if both shuld occupie, then shall the people somoche the rather take occasion to think and say, that his graces vicare exerciseth the power of a legate by his graces authority, and the apb. of Canterbery, by authorite of the bisshop of Rome.

And wher thabp. sayth, that he seith no cause, whye he should not kepe that court, at the lest, by aucthoritie of thact of Parliament, as al others enjoy by that acte al things, that they hadd before from the see of Rome; it seemeth that he never redd the said acte; nor yet can dyscerne bytwen a thing absolute, that may endure without a dependence, as an advouson in grose, and a thing that standeth in a contynual dependence, as service to the seignorie. For exemptions and dispensations, and such others be absolutes, depending nothing of the grantor after his grant. But legacyes be but respectyves: and as no longer lord, no longer service, so no longer bisshop of Rome lord here, no longer hys vicare, which was but his servant: as appereth by the text of his legacy, whereof thees be the words in the chaptre, *Quum non ignoretis de officio legati, qui in provincia sua vices nostras gerere comprobatur.* And the act of Parliament which he allegeth is so pleyn to every reder, that it cannot be drawen with twenty teme of oxen to stretch to the contynuance of this courte of his Audience. It is in the xxjth. chapter of the session anno xxv. and in the xxvjth. lefe in the later ende. The words therof ther be these: "Provided alwayes that this act, or any thing therin conteygned shall not herafter be taken, nor expounded, to the derogation, or taking away, of any grauntes or confirmations of any liberties, privilegies or jurisdictions of any monasteries, abbies, priories, or other houses or places exempte; whiche before the making of this act, hath ben obteigned at the see of Rome, or by thaucthoritie thereof." Loo, this act speaketh onelie of exemptions, which is a thing absolute: and that onely of houses exempte, and of their jurisdictions. Which might be suffered uppon their few parochianes and neighbours; as prebends hath in cathedrall churches. But this acte speketh not of no jurisdiction universall of archbishop, bishop, or other person. Legacye ys of that other sorte, and universall jurisdiction depending of hym, that usurped an universall authorite through the worlde.

And consydering, that the bp. of Canterbery besyde all the courts within hys own diocesse, kepith in London a courte at thArches, sufficyently aucthorized to hier and to determine all causes and complayntes apperteynyng to a metropolitane; why shuld he require this other court of his Audience, to kepe yt in London, within the churche and jurisdiction of an other bisshop except he mynded to call other bps. obedientiary out of their jurisdiction, contrarie to thact? Or else at the lest, forasmoch as this courte is kept within the church and jurisdiction of London, and thArches Courte within the city, but not within the jurisdiction, if he may not vexe the citizens and diocesanes of London at thArches, without an appele first from hys ordinary ymmediately, because of the canon lawes, yet he might pull theym to hys Audience at Pauls, as he dyd heretofore by hys legacie, and yet offende not that act made anno xxiij°. That no man shalbe called out of his own dioces.

And where the apb. sayth, that the kings grace badd hym contynne that court still, yt ys to be marvelled, that he then hath not, in his citations and other writings of that courte, expressed or signified the same, as he dyd call hymself in al his writings *Legatum Apostolicæ Sedis* longe after that act of the abolishing.

## No. XVIII.

*Archbishop Cranmers Order concerning the Proctors of the Court of Arches shewn to be inconvenient, by a Paper presented to the Parlament, as followeth.**

Allthough it be expedient, that every thing, which any weye may be noyefull unto the common wele, be duely reformed; yet is there nothing that shuld be rather loked upon for reformation, than suche abuses as maye be occasion of not indifferent ministration of justice. Wherfor amongest so many things, as heretofore hath been wel and condignely reformed, tochinge other the spiritualtie or the temporaltie, there is nothing that more necessarily required speedy reformation, than a certain ordenance late procured in the court of thArches at London, by the meanes of the proctors there, for thadvancement of their singular wele only. By the which maye and doo come divers abuses in the said court, and occasion of not indifferent ministration of justice, and chargeable and prolix processe there. Theffect whereof is this.

The proctors of the said courte of thArches hath of late, upon fayned suggestion, surmysed unto the moost reverend father in God, my lord archbusshop of Canterburie, president and hedd of the said corte, to have ben for the comen wele and ease of his provincialles, induced his grace to make suche an ordenance or statute in his said corte of thArches, that where heretofore, there were in the same twenty or four and twenty proctors, and my said lordes grace at his libertie alwayes to admit moo or fewer proctors there, as shuld be seen expedient to his grace for the sufficient attending of the causes there depending for the tyme; there shuld be from thencefoorth no man admitted proctor there, untill the said nombre of proctors, than being there, were decreased, and come downe to the nombre of tenne: and than the same nombre of ten proctors never after to be exceeded. And furthemore leste my said lords grace might be advertised at any tyme afterwards, upon better causes and considerations, to dissolve the said statute, as his predecessors did alike other statute, made in semblable case long bifore: the said proctors knowing, that his grace wold, as allwayes did, applye hymself to that thing that shuld be moost proffitable for the comen wele; and intending to take aweye that libertie from hym, abusing also his graces benignitie and good zele, to the restrainct of his liberties, and fulfilling of their covetous intent; incontinently apon the obteyning of the said statute, procured the same to be confirmed by the chapitre and covent of Christ Church in Cant. So that by reson of the same confirmatian, my said lordes grace ne his successors can not, as the said proctors do pretend (though they sée never so good a cause therto) infringe, ne dissolve the same. And so therby made in maner an incorporation among theym, tho they call it not so.

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. F. i. p. 91.

Wherin be it considered, whether they have first offended the king's lawes, which do prohibite such incorporacions to be made without licence had of the king's highness first thereunto. And though all incorporacions in any misterie or facultie be not lightly to be admitted, in this case, wherupon dependeth good or yll ministration of justice, moost of all suche confederacies are to be eschewed.

Also the said statute is divers wayes noyefull to the commonweale of this royalme, and prejudiciall to the king's gc's subjects in the same, and occasion of divers abuses in the said court hereafter to be declared.

But because the said proctors are persuaded, that my said lord of Cant's g'ce cannot himself dissolve the same, and seing that no man will lightely contend alone with all the said proctors for the dissolvyng thereof, (for though it toche every man generally, no man singularly will suppose the same to touch him so moche, that he shuld for thimpugnation of the same put himself in busynes agenst so many and so rich a company, as the said proctors be) it were not only expedient, but also necessarie, for the indifferent and speedy ministracion of justice in the said courte, that the said unreasonable statute were infringed and dissolved by the auctoritie of this present Parliament, (where all other abuses and excesses noyefull to the comen weale ought to be reformed,) for thies causes folowing.

First, the said statute is prejudicial unto the comen weale, because it is occasion of prolix sute and superfluous delayes in the said court, else more necessary to be restrained than augmented. For the said nombre of ten proctors appoynted by the said statute is unsufficient for the speedy and diligent attending of mens causes in the said court, though all ten were procuring there at once: as it is not like but that three or four of the same shal bee alwayes impotent or absent. For such they account also within the said nombre of ten. And besides that the same ten or fewer, that shalbe onely procuring, shal serve not onely for the said court of thArches, but also for my said lord of Canterburies Audience (wherein be as many causes as in thArches) and for the Consistorie of the busshop of London. For by the statutes of both the same Courts of Audience and Consistorie, there is no man admitted to procure in the same, unless he be a proctor admitted first in thArches. So that so few proctors, appoynted for so many causes as shal be in traverse in all the said courts, can never be able to spede their busines without great delayes taking.

For heretofor whan there were in the said courtes twenty proctors continually occupying, and moo, it hath been seen, that divers of theym hath been than so overladde with causes, that they were driven to take oft and many delayes and prorogations *ad idem*, for to bring in their matiers, libelles and plees. Than moche more must they do the same now being but ten of theym. And moost of al, when of the same ten there shalbe, (as like it is allwayes to be,) three or four absent or impotent, undoubted they must needs use infinite delayes. Which had alse rather more need to be restrayned, then that any occasion shuld be yet given of more using the same. For by reason of the same the king's subjects, called to the said court, are putto greate expenses, tedious labour, and losse of tyme. And therfor divers, that have good right to many things pleadable in the said courts, had lever renunce and forgoo their interest in the same, than entre so desperate a sute in the said courts therfor.

Alse mens causes cannot be diligently attended by so fewe proctors. And men shalbe destitute of counsaill (whereof shuld be allweys plenty in every courte.) And through the negligence of the proctors, that they must be than of, whan they shall have so moche busynes, divers good causes muste neds perish, for lack of good looking unto; as lightely maye be: for the forgeting of one houre, or mistaking of a worde, doth in the said courts otherwhiles marre the best matier.

And it is impossible, that the said ten proctors only shalbe able to applye accordingly al the causes, that shalbe depending in al the said courts, as proctors of duetie shuld. For a proctor's office is laborious, and requireth moche busynes. First, a proctor must take sufficient instructions of his clients, and kepe every court-daye, remember every houre, that is appoynted him to doo any thing at; solicite and instruct his advocates; write and penne every instrument that shalbe requisite to be made in his matiers. And whosoever of the proctors, that shalbe negligent or forgetfull in doing any of these his matiers, must needs decaye. But so few proctors as be appoynted by the said statute are not able not only to do so in each matier, but also scant able to remember their clients names, for so many that they shall than have. Each matier, if it were exactly applied, and men able so to do, wold require a proctor alone. But because every man is not able to find a proctor for every one matier, it were best, next the same, that there were so many proctors appoynted, as might most easily apply their causes, as they shuld. And though that were less profit to the said proctors, whose wele is best, when they are moost charged with busines: yet it shuld be more profit for the common wele, whose interest were to have causes speedily and diligently applyed in the said courts.

Also, the fewer that there be of the said proctors, the sooner they maye agree among theymselves to give delayes each to other: because that one may have the same leave, that he gave the other: as they do in termes to prove. Where, to each of the three termes, which they cal *terminos ad proband.* a moneth would suffice, though they dwelled never so fer from the court within this royalm; they take now by cross suffraunce of each an other of theym a quarter of a year commonly for ech of the same three termes. Which were enough and too moche, though the parties dwelled in Paris. Which delayes though they be nothing profitable, ne commodious for the poore sutors, be both profitable to the said proctors; by reason that the causes are kept thereby the longer in their handes. And also commodious by reason, that they, being greatly occupied, shuld have the longer time to do their busynes in.

And for like consideracion the said proctors do omitte commonly in every matier a certayn othe ungeven, called *Juramentum Calumpniæ*, which is the best provision ordeyned in al the said lawe of civile and canon, for the restrainct of unlawful sutes and prolixe processes. Theffect wherof is this. Both the parties being in sute, or their proctors, shal by the same oath swear, first the plaintiff, that he believeth himself to have a just cause to sue; and the defendant, a just cause to defend. Secondariely, that neyther of theym shall use any unlawful delayes, whereby justice may de deferred or letted. Thirdely, that eyther of theym, whan they shalbe asked by the juge, shall answer truly to every thing, that is asked of theym according to their belief. Fourthly, that there is nor shalbe nothing geven, ne promised, to the judge, or any other officer, but only the fees and duty permitted by the law. And fifthly, that neyther of them shal use, ne procure, any false witnes wittingly in the matier.

Which othe yf it were geven in every matier, as it shuld be, there shulde not be so many wrongful causes attempted and kept in the said courts, nor so many delayes, used in the same. But because that neither of bothe that standes with the proufitt of the said proctors, by common assent and crosse sufferaunce of eche another of theym, they omitte the same moost commonly not only ungeven, but also not spoken of. And yf they saye, that they doo so, because that ofte accustuming of othes maketh men to sett lesse by an othe; trueth it is that it doth so. And therefore the said othe ought to be chiefly commended. For the geving of the same but ones in any matier shuld excuse theym from geving of many other oaths that they geve in euery matier. For it alone conteyneth th'effect of div's other othes requisite. And where one shuld serve for all, better it were for advoyding of too ofte swering, that the same alone shuld be given, and al other omitted, than that it alone shuld be lefft, that al the other doth supplye.

Also, the said statute of ten proctors may be occasion, that the same shuld wax haulte, arrogant, negligent, and lothe to take payne, and excessive in taking, by reason that they shuld be so fewe. As we see experiently in al other faculties or mysteries, where fewest occupiers be of the same there be they moost dangerous, and hardest to be goten to do their facultie, and moost excessive in taking for the same: as scarsitie or raritie of any thing else maketh the same deir. For whan there be few of a faculty, they know than that be they never so excessive in taking, or negligent in their doing, they shalbe occupied wel ynough: whan men can have no other choice but of a fewe, that be al alike agreyd upon the price of every thing; as they maye soone doo, whan they be but a fewe. Where yf they were many, all shuld be contrary.

Moreover, the said statute of tenne proctors may be occasion, that justice shuld not indifferently procede in the said courts for lack of lauful defense. As if the juges of the said courts, or any of theym, be affectionate in any matier depending before theym (as it may be that the juges there shal not be allweys of such integritie as they be of, that be there nowe,) the said proctors dare not be retained of his part, that the juge doth not favor: or if they be retayned, they dare not purpose their client's best interest and remedye, yf the same do any thing offend the said juges affection. By reason that the said proctors be removeable from their proctors offices at the said juges plesure, and the same made so beneficiall unto theym by reason of the said statute.

Than, whan the said proctors shalbe in suche fear of the said juges, to speak in matiers of *instance*, where the juge doth bear but a light affection to another man: moch more will they be so in cases of *office*, where the juge is partie hymself, and hath his owne matier in hand. And no mervail, if they dare not speak in such. For it hathe not ben seldom seen, and harde there, that it hath ben spoken unto such proctors, as hath spoken any thing constantly, or frely, in their clients causes, by the juges aforesaid, *Non es amicus curiæ:* and that they were threttened of expulsion from their offices, and put to silence. Yet no lawe forbedeth the contrary, but that every man shuld have his lawful defense, yea, agenst the juge himself.

But if there were many proctors in the said courts, the juges could not so lightly keep them al in such subjection and feare of theym. Nor than the said proctors shuld not have so great cause to fere theym so moche, seeing their offices shuld not be so beneficiall unto theym than. And lesse shuld they yet fear to purpose their clients right duely, if it were ordeined, that the same proctors shuld not be removeable from their offices, at the said juges plesure, (as heretofor they were; and now are) but only for certain greate offences proved afore indifferent juges, to be committed by theym after their admission. And by reason, that the said proctors be so abondoned unto the said juges, where men had most nede of trusty counsaillors, there they be most destitute of the same, as when the juge is not indifferent. For the partialitie of a juge is more to be feared, than the manifest malice of an adversarie. For the tone hurteth prively, and is able to execute his malice: and the tother doth apertly all that he goeth about. And a man may provide for thadvoyding of the intent. And he is not so able to execute his purpose as the tother is. And though partialitie of any juge is to be greatly feared, yet most of all in the courts spirituall: where al depends upon the juges hands, and that one man's commonly. For which partialitie the remedie of appeal was first invented. Which remedy, like as it was at the first most holsomely provided for the avoyding of thiniquity of partiall juges; so it is nowe moost wickedly abused for the maintenance of yll doers in their wrongful causes and avoyding of due execution of justice, by reason that they be infinite: specially, after the canon lawe. For by civile, there is but appellacion permitted; and that not without penaltie on him that shal than appeal without cause: and that is more reasonable.

For like as it is daungerous to abide one mans jugement, so it is unreasonable that a man shall not abide the jugements of never so many. And therfor it were veray expedient, that the same appeals were restrained somewhat. For of theym it is cheffly long, that matiers be in maner infinite in the said courts. And that maye be the better doon, by reason that there be two legats within this royalme. Which were so appoynted, because that they might determyne al matiers spiritual within this royalme, without moche recorse to Rome, being so ferr from this contrey.

To the foresaid inconveniences may come also, through the said statute, this abuse abuse following: that is to wete, if there be a mightier or a richer man, that do sue a porer man in the said courts; the richer man maye the sooner, by reason that there be so fewe proctors, retain the moost partye and best lerned of theym. And thother proctors, by reason that they shal be than so welthy through their great occuping, which they shall have, whan they be so fewe, wil rather sett more by the same great mans favor, than the poore mans fee. And therfore wil other refuse to be retayned of the poor mans parte; or whan they be retayned they wilbe slacke in doing their duetie, for fear of displeasing the same greate man. Where yf there were many proctors, their offices would not be excessive gaynefull, but that they wold set as moche by their fees, as by any mans pleasure lightly.

Also, the said statute is a greate discorage to young [men] to leve their studie in the lawe. For by the same the reward of studie is taken away, and possest by a few. And the fewer that be promoted for their lerning, the fewer wil study to atteigne the same.

And to this, it maye be occasion, that the said proctors be not so well lerned, nor so diligent, whan they are so fewe, as they wold be, if they were many. For whan there is choyse ynough of theym, they that are best lerned, and moost diligent shalbe allwayes moost reassorted. And than shall they studie every man to excelle other in lerning and diligence, whan they see suche cheffly reassorted unto. And so no man wil labour than to be a proctor, onlesse he be well lerned, seeing that learned men shuld only have al the moost reassort. And they that be unlerned will aweye, and provide theym livings elsewhere, whan they see theymself nothing frequented with causes.

Furthermore, the said statute is playne contrary to their owne lawe of civile and canon. For by the same it is permitted for every man to be proctor for other; but only a fewe, which are specially and justly excepted by the same, as a woman, a child, a madde man, and such other. And by the said statute it is prohibited, that no man shal procure, in the said court for other, but only a fewe, that are specially admitted therto, and that within a precise and incompetent nombre.

The said law doth except and repell very few; and that of theym that are not mete to procure; and the said statute doth yet admitt fewer, and that of theym that are sufficiently qualified to procure. So that white and black can be no more contrary together, than the said law and statute be either to other.

And though any man wold rather preferre the said law before the said statute, yf he did but only consider, how that the law is made so long ago by the concord and discrete opinions of so many greate and wise clerkes and holy men, and afterward approved by continuall usage of divers countries, and long succession of tyme, and experiently known to be holsomely ordeined for the comen wele. And of the tother side, how that the said statute is but lately made by the procurement of a few private pesons for their singular advantage; approved by no tract of time to be profitable for the comen wele; but experiently knowen to be contrary. Yet besides that, yf al that were sett aparte, the lawe is grounded upon bettre reason, than the said statute is. For seing a proctor representeth him that he is proctor for, and maye make or marr his clients matier by one word speaking well or yll; and that thoffice of a proctor was first invented for men, that might or wolde not intend to their own busynes theymself; it were more consonant with reason, that a man were suffred to take to his proctor such as he lusteth, and may best trust unto of his matier, than be driven to commit the order of his cause, being maye fortune of great weight, to suche a one as he never knew, ne saw bifore. For whan a man is at his to choyse him what proctor he luste best, yf his matier do decaye through the defaulte of his proctor, than, he can blame no man but hymself. For that that he wold not take better hede, to whome he shuld have committed his matier unto. And whan a man is compelled to take one that he knows not, yf his matier do than decaye, he maye putt the blame therof to that statute, that constrayned him to take suche a proctor.

Nevertheless though the tone of bothe those weyes, that is the same that is taken by the said lawe, be moche better than the tother; yet the meane weye betwene bothe (as of al other extremes) were best. That is to saye, that nother every man onlerned, or unexpert, shuld foorthwith be admitted to procure for every man in the said courtes, lest of that there shuld be no good ordre, but a confuse tumulte there: nor yet that there shuld be so fewe admitted therunto, that they were not able, ne sufficient, for the due exercise of causes there depending. But moost reasonable and highely expedient for the common wele it is, that it were enacted by thauctorite of this present Parliament, that there shuld be as many of suche as were sufficiently lerned, and exercised in thexperience and practise of the said courtes, admitted to procure there, as shuld be seen sufficient to my said lorde of Cant. grace, or other presidents of the said courtes, for the due exercise and expedicion of causes there depending; as it was used there heretofore, till the obteigning of the said statute, without prefixion of any precise nombre, which for no cause maye be exceded. For howe can any precise nombre of proctors be prefixed, whan the nombre of causes can never be appoynted? For causes doth growe and decrease, as the nature of seasons and men doth requiere.

And therfore it were more expedient, that there were mo proctors than shuld suffice admitted, than fewer. For better it were, that some of theym shuld lacke causes, than causes shuld want theym. And that suche ones, so admitted, shuld not be removeable from the same their offices at the said juges, or any other mans, pleasure, as they were heretofor: but only for certain grete offences proved to be committed by theym after their admission, and judged so to be of indifferent juges, chosen to examyne the same by the consent of the proctors, that shalbe accused therof. And bicause that the proctors aforesaid are all sworne [at the] tyme of their admission, that they shall never after be agenst the liberties, jurisdiction and prerogatives of the said courtes; but shal mayntene and defend the same to their power: and that there may be in the said courts otherwhiles such causes depending, as shuld appertaigne to the kings graces determinacion by his royall prerogative, or suche other as may be there attempted ageinst the juges or presidents of the said courtes: it were highly expedient as wel for the conservation and soliciting of the kings interest there, as for the faithfull and bolde assistence of proctors there to the kings subjects, that were called thether at the instance of the said juges, or their fautors, or any other person; that, like as his grace hath, in other his courtes temporall, his solicitors and attorneys, he shuld also have in the said courtes two proctors, or moo admitted by his grace and his counsaill, which shuld be only sworne to promote and sollicite his graces interest there, and to advertise the same of any thing, that shuld appertaigne to his Gs. prerogative, and to defende suche of the kings subjects, as shall desire their assistance, boldely and without feare or affection of the said juges. And that the same proctors so admitted be not removeable from the same their offices by any man, but the kings grace or his counsaill.

Which so enacted and establyshed shuld be the readyest meane, that the foresaid abuses, with divers others here not rehersed, caused through the occasion of the said statute, shuld be utterly taken aweye, and justice more plainly and spedyly procede in the said courtes, than heretofore hath been seen to doo. And the kings subjects called thether from all parts of England shuld have plenty of counsaill, faithfull assistance in their matiers, and spedy processe in the same. Which ought to be tendered affectantly of every man, that regardeth the encrease of the common wele, and true execution of justice.

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## No. XIX.

*The Archbishop to the L. Crumwel giving him some account of his Visitation of his Diocess.**

THESE shalbe to advertise your Lp. that syns my last comyng frome London into Kent, I have found the people of my dioces very obstinately given to observe and kepe with solempnitie the hali dayes lately abrogated. Whereapon I have punished divers of the offenders; and to divers I have given gentle monition to amend. But inasmuche as by examination I have perceyved, that the people were partly animated therunto by their curates, I have given streight commandement and injunction unto al the parsons and vicars within my dioces, apon payne of depryvation of thair benefices, that thei shall not only, on thair bihalf, cause the said haly dayes, so abrogated, from tyme to tyme not to be observed within thair cures: but also shal from hensforth present to me suche persons of thair parishes, as will practise in wourde or dead contrary to that ordinance or any other; which is, or hereafter shalbe, set forth by the kings graces authority, for the redresse or ordering of the doctrine or ceremoney of this churche of England. So that nowe I suppose thorowgh this meanes all disobedience and contempte of the kings graces acts and ordinances in this bihalf shalbe clearly avoided in my dioces hereafter. Not doubting also, but if every bp. in this realm had commandment to do the same in their dioces, it would avoyd both moche disobedience and contention in this said realme. And I wold fayne, that al the envie and grudge of the people in this matier should be put from the king and his counsaile; and that we, whiche be ordinaries, should take it upon us. Or else I feare lest a grudge against the prince and his cowncel, in suche causes of religion, shall gendre in many of the peoples harts a faynte subjection and obedience.

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. p. 292.

*But, my lorde, if in the courte you do kepe such hollidayes and fastynge dayes, as be abrogated, whan shal we persuade the people to ceasse from kepyng of theym? For the kyngs owne house shalbe an example unto al the realme to breake his own ordinances.*[*]

Over this, whereas your lp. hath twise written for this poore man William Gronnow the berer herof to my lorde deputie of Callis, for him to be restored to his rowme; as far as I understand, it prevayled nothing at al. For he can get none answer of my lorde deputy. So that the poore man dispaireth, that your requeste shal do hym any good. If your lp. wold be so good to hym, as to obteign a bill signed of the kings grace to the treasurers and controllers of Calice for the tyme being, commanding theym to pay to the said William Gronnow his accustumed wages yerly, and to none other, your lp. should not only not farther trouble my said lorde deputy any more, but also do a right meritorious deade. For if the poore man be put thus from his lyving, he were but utterly undone. Thus, my lorde, right hartely fare you well. At Forde the xxviij day of Auguste [1537.]

Your Lordships own ever
T. CANTUARIEN.

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## No. XX.

*Richard Grafton the Printer of the Bible to the Lord Crumwel, complaining of some that intended to print the Bible, and thereby to spoyl his impression.*[†]

+ 1537.

MOOST humbly besechinge your lordship to understand, that accordyng as your commission was, by my servant to send you certen Bibles, so have I now done, desiring your lordship to accept them, as though they were well done. And whereas I wryt unto your lordship for a prevye seale to be a defence unto the enemyes of this Bible, I understande, that your lordshipes mynde is, that I shall not nede it. But now, moost gracyous lorde, forasmoche as this worke hathe bene brought forthe to our moost great and costly laboures and charges: which charges amount above the sum of five hundred pounds; and I have caused of these same to be prynted to the sum of fifteen hundred bookes complete: which now by reason that of many this worke is highly commended; there are, that will and dothe go about the pryntyng of the same work agayne in a lesser letter: to the entente that they may sell their lytle bookes better chepe than I can sell these gret; and so to make, that I shal sell none at al, or else verye fewe, to the utter undoynge of me your orator, and of all those my creditors, that hath bene my comforters and helpers therin. And now this worke, thus set forthe with great study and laboures, shall soche persons, (moved with a lytle covetousnes, to the undoing of other for their awne pryvate welthe,) take as a thynge done to their hands. In which haffe the charges shall not come to them, that hath done to your poore orator. And yet shall they not do yt, as they fynde yt, but falsefye the texte; that I dare say, looke how many sentences are in the Byble, even so many fautes and errours shalbe made therin. For their seekyng is not to set it out to Gods glorie, and to the edefying of Christs congregacyon, (but for covetousnes.) And that may apere by the former Bybles, that they have set forthe; which hath nether good paper, letter, ynke, ner correctyon: and even so shal they corrupt this worke, and wrap it up after their fassyons, and then may they sell it for nought at their pleasure. Ye, and to make yt more truer then yt is, therfore Douche men, dwellyng within this realme, go about the pryntyng of yt: which can nether speke good Englyshe, ner yet wryte none. And they wilbe bothe the prynters and correctors therof: because of a lytle covetousnes, that wyll not bestow twenty or forty pounds to a learned man to take payne in yt, to have yt well done.

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[*] This was writ with the abps own hand. Al the rest of the letter was his secretaries.

[†] [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. fol. 325.

It were therefore, (as your lp. doth evydently perceave,) a thing unreasonable to permyt, or soffer them, which now hath no soche busines, to enter into the laboures of them, that hath had both sore trouble and unreasonable charges. And the truthe is this, that if it be prynted by any other, before these be sold, (which I think shal not be these three yere at the least,) that then am I, your poor orator, utterly undone.

Therfore by your moost godly favor, if I maye obtayne the kynges most gracyous privilege, that none shal prynt them, tyll these be solde, which at the least shall not be this iij yere, your lordship shall not fynde me unthankfull, but that to the uttermost of my power I wyll consyder yt. And I dare say, that so wil my lorde of Cantorbury, with other my moost speciall frendes. And at the least God wil loke upon your mercifull heart, that consydereth the undoynge of a pore yonge man. For truly my whole lyvynge lyeth herupon. Which if I maye have sale of them, not being hyndered by any other man, yt shalbe my makyng and wealth, and the contrary is my undoyng. Therfore most humbly I beseche your lordship to be my helper herin, that I maye obtayne this my request. Or else, yf by no meanes this pryvylege may be had, (as I have no doubt thorow your helpe yt shall) and seeing men are so desirous to be pryntinge of yt agayne, to my utter undoyng as aforsayde that yet forasmoche as it hath pleased the kyngs highnes to lycence this work to go abroade; and that it is the moost pure worde of God which teacheth al true obedyence, and reproveth al scismes and contencyons: and the lack of this worde of the Almightie God, is the cause of all blyndnes and supersticion: yt maye therfore be comaunded by your lordship in the name of our most gracyous prynce, that every curat have one of them, that they maye learne to knowe God, and to instruct their paryshens. Ye, and that every abbaye should have six, to be layd in six several places, that the whole covent, and the resorters therunto, maye have occasyon to looke on the Lordes lawe. Ye, I wold none other, but they of the papisticall sorte, shuld be compelled to have them. And then I know there should be ynow found in my lorde of Londons dyocesse to spende awaye a great part of them. And so shuld this be a godly acte, worthy to be had in remembrance, whyle the world doth stande.

And I know, that a small comyssyon wyll cause my lorde of Cantorbury Salsbury and Worsetter, to cause yt to be done thorow their dioces: ye, and this shuld cease the whole scism and contencion, that is in the realme. Which is, some callyng them of the *Olde*, and some of the *Newe*. Now shuld we al folow one God, one book, and one learnynge. And this is hurtful to no man, but proffytable to all men.

I will trouble your lordship no lenger, for I am sory I have troubled you so moche. But to mak an end I desire your most gracyous answer by my servant. For the sycknes is bryme about us, or ells would I wayt upon your lordship. And because of comyng to your lordship I have not suffered my servant with me, since he came over. Thus for your contynual preservatyon, I, with all that truly love God, do most hartely praye, that you may overcome al your adversaryes of the papistical sorte.

Your orator RYCHARD GRAFTON.

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## No. XXI.

### *Archbishop Cranmer to the King for a Suffragan of Dover.**

EXCELLENTISSIMO et potentissimo in Christo principi et domino nostro domino Henrico Octavo Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, et domino Hiberniæ, ac in terris supremo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ [sub Christo] capiti, vester humilis orator et subditus Thomas permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, omnimodo reverentiam, et observantiam tanto principi debitas et condignas cum omni subjectionis honore. Ad sedem episcopalem de Doveria infra Cantuar. dioc. existen. dilectos mihi in Christo Richardum Yngworth, priorem domus sive prioratus de Langley Regis, et Johannem Codenham, sacræ theologiæ professores, juxta et secundum vim, formam et effectum statuti Parlamenti hujus inclyti

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* Abp. Cranm. Regist.

regni vestri Angliæ in hoc casu editi et provisi, vestræ regiæ majestati per has literas meas nomino et præsento; ac eidem majestati vestræ humiliter supplico, quatenus alteri eorundem, (cui vestra regia majestas id munus conferendum præpotaverit,) titulum, nomen, stylumque et dignitatem episcopalem ac suffraganeam ad sedem prædictam misericorditer conferre. Ipsumque mihi prefato archiepiscopo infra cujus dioc. et provinciam sedes antedicta consistit, per literas vestras patentes regias intuitu charitatis præsentare, mihique mandare dignetur vestra regia majestas; quatenus ipsum sic nominatum et præsentatum, in episcopum suffraganeum sedis prædict. juxta formam statuti prædict. effectualiter consecrem et benedicam, cæteraque faciam et exequar in ea parte, quæ ad officium meum archiepiscopale spectaverint, seu requisita fuerint in præmissis. Vivat denique et valeat in multos annos vestra regia celsitudo prælibata in eo, per quem reges regnant, et principes dominantur. Dat' apud Lambeth primo die mensis Decembr. anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo septimo: et regni vestri florentiss. vicesimo nono.

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## No. XXII.

### *The Archbishop's Letters of Commission to Richard Suffragan of Dover.*[*]

THOMAS permissione divina Cantuar. archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, venerabili confratri nostro domino Richardo Dei gratia sedis Doveriæ nostræ Cantuar. diocesios suffraganeo, salutem, et fraternam in Domino charitatem. De tuis fidelitate et circumspectionis industria plenàm in Domino fiduciam obtinentes, ad confirmandum sacri chrismatis unctione pueros quoscúnque infra civitatem et diocesin nostras Cantuar., et jurisdictiones nostras, et ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cantuar. immediatas, ac jurisdictionem nostram villæ Calisiæ, et marchias ejusdem sub obedientia excellentissimi principis, et domini nostri, domini Henrici octavi, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regis, fidei defensoris, et domini Hiberniæ ac in terris sub Christo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ capitis supremi ubilibet constitut. Necnon altaria, calices, vestimenta, et alia ecclesiæ ornamenta quæcunque et ea concernen., benedicend., locaque profana siquæ, inveneris, de quibus te inquirere volumus, a divinorum celebratione legitime suspendend., ecclesias etiam et cœmiteria sanguinis vel seminis effusione polluta forsan seu polluend. reconciliand., ecclesias et altaria noviter ædificat. consecrand. Omnes ordines minores quibuscúnque civitatis, diocesios, et jurisdictionum nostrarum prædictarum ipsos ordines a te recipere volentib., et ad hoc habilibus ad jurejurando de renuntiando Romano episcopo et ejus auctoritati ac de acceptando regiam majestatem pro supremo capite ecclesiæ Anglicanæ juxta statuta hujus regni in hac parte edita ab eisdem ordinand. et eorum quolibet per te primitus recepto, conferend. Ac etiam oleum sanctum chrismatis et sacræ unctionis consecrand., cæteraque omnia et singula, quæ ad officium pontificale in præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum quovis modo pertinent, vel pertinere poterunt, faciend. exercend. et expediend. tibi tenore præsentium committimus vices nostras, et plenam in Domino potestatem. Téque quoad præmissa suffraganeum nostrum ordinamus et præficimus per præsentes; donec eas ad nos duxerimus revocand., et ut officium tuum hujusmodi possis in præmissis liberius exercere, universis et singulis decanis, rectoribus, vicarijs, capellanis, curatis, et non curatis, clericis et apparitoribus quibuscunque in virtute sacræ [suæ] obedientiæ firmiter tenore præsentium injungendo mandamus, quatenus tibi in præmissis et quolibet præmissorum sint obedientes, assistentes, et intendentes in omnibus, prout decet. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus est appensum. Dat. in manerio nostro de Lamehith, decimo die Decembr. anno Domini mill. quin. xxxvij. et nostræ consecrationis anno quinto.

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[*] Abp. Cranm. Regist.

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## No. XXIII.

### *A Declaration to be read by al Curates upon the publishing of the Bible in English.**

Where it hathe pleased the kinges majestie, oure most dreadde sovereigne lord and supreme hed under God of this Churche of England, for a declaratyon of the greate zeale he bereth to the setting furth of Gods woorde, and to the virtuouse mayntenance of his comenwealthe, to permyt and comaunde the Bible, being translated into our mother tongue, to be syncerely taught and declared by us the curats, and to bee openly layde furthe in every parrishe churche: to thintent, that all his good subjects, aswel by reading thereof, as by hering the true explanation of the same, may first lerne their dieuties to Almightie God and his majesty, and every of us charitably to use other: and thenne applying themselfes to doo according to that they shall here and lerne, may both speke and doo christienly; and in al things, as it beseamethe Christien men. Because his hieghnes very much desireth, that this thing being by him most godly begonne and sett forward, maye of al you be receyved, as is aforesaid; his majestie hath willed and commanded this to be declared unto youe, that his graces pleasure and hiegh commandment is, that in the reading and hering thereof, first most humbly and reverently using and addressing your selfes unto it, you shall have alwayes in your rememberaunce and memoryes, that all things conteyned in this booke is the undoubted wyll, lawe, and comaundement of Almighty God, thonly and streit meane to knowe the goodnes and benefyts of God towards us, and the true duty of every Christen man to serve him accordingly. And that therefore reading this book with such mind and firm feythe, as is aforesaid, you shall first endevour yourselfes to conforme your owne lyvings and conversation to the contents of the same: and so by your good and vertuouse example to encourage your wifes, children, and servants, to live wel and christienly according to the rule therof.

And if at any tyme by reading any doubt shall come to any of you, touching the sense and meaning of any part therof; that thenne, not geving to moche to your own minds, fantazies, and opinions; nor

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 237.

having therof any open reasonyng in your open tavernes or alehowses, ye shall have recourse to such lerned men, as be, or shalbe auctorized to preache and declare the same. Soo that avoyding al contencions and disputacions in suche alehowses and other places, unmete for such conferences, and submytting your opinions to the judgments of such lerned men as shalbe appoynted in this behaalf, his grace may wel perceyve, that you use this most hiegh benefyte quietly and charitably every of you, to the edefying of himself, his wief, and famylye, in al things aunswering to his hieghnes good opinion conceyved of you, in thadvauncement of vertue, and suppressing of vice; without failing to use such discrete quietnes, and sober moderatyon in the premisses, as is aforesaid; as ye tender his graces pleasure, and intend to avoyde his hiegh indignation, and the perill and daunger, that may ensue to you and every of youe for the contrary.

And God save the King.

## No. XXIV.

### *The Aunswer or Declaracions of Richard Byshop of Chichestre, in the presence of the Kings Majestie, against the Sixt Reason or Argument of John Lamberte, concerning the Most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Aultre.**

THESE are the words of his sixt article. "Paule doth take it for a sore inconvenience, *Deducere Christum ex alto,* Rho. 10. And yet must the prestes do so, bringing his naturall body into the sacrament: or elles they cannot bringe the same body into the sacrament. Which I beleve rather."

*The Answer of the Bishop.*

BY this reason you maye evidently perceyve the vanitye, and also the malyce of this man. So that you may judge by what spirite he is ledde, to make such an argument against so hiegh and preciouse a mystery as this is.

What Christen man is so ignoraunt, that knoweth not this to be evidently true, that this most holy sacrament hath not his vertue of the preste, which is a mortall man, and many tymes a sinner. For he is but a ministre, and a very instrument, by whom God worketh. Sainct Chrysost. saith, "that the ministre is as it were the penne, God is the hande. The grace, the vertue is of God." In the 27th. Homelye in the second tome. So dothe teache the Apostle to the Corinthians, in the third chapitre of the first epistle. "What is Apollo," saith he, "What is Paule? Ministres of him, in whom ye beleve; and as he hath gyven to every one. I have planted," saith S. Paule, "Apollo hath watered: but God hath gyven the encrease. Wherfore neither he that planteth, nor he that watereth, is ought, but he that gyveth the encrease." For "men must esteem us as ministres of Christ," saith he in the next chapitre. By these words he proveth, that the minister gives none effect or virtue, but oonly God.

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 371.

*Sanct. August. ad Cresconium Grammaticum* saith also expresly, That "if there be among good ministres one better then an other, the sacrament is no better given by the better; and it is no worse gyven by an evell man." Ther is for this purpose a goodly saying of Eusebius Emissenus, which was much persecuted by the Aryans. These are his wordes. "Invisibilis sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis et sanguinis sui, verbi sui secreta potestate, convertit." No Christen man doubteth, who is this invisible prest; which is our Savior, the hieghe prest, the perpetuall preste, as the apostle saith *Ad Hebr.* 7. Which to our carnall eyes is invisible, and otherwyse may not be sene, but by the eyes of our sowle, and faith onely. This invisible preste, saith Eusebius, converteth and torneth the visible creatures of bread and wyne, not only into his body and bloud, but into the substaunce of his body and blood.

It is not thenne the preste, that worketh this thing, or bringeth Christ out of hevyn, as this man mockingly and skornefully wryteth in this artycle, but it is Christ himself. For of S. Augustin saith, "Idem est Mediator, qui offert, et qui offertur."

And what spirit this man hath towardes this mooste holy sacrament, you maye well conjecture, and evidently perceyve his malignitie, which not only gathereth a certain nombre of vayne arguments together, to the nombre of eight; that it might appeare to the simple ignoraunt people, as though it were a great fundacion, which he hath for his detestable purpose: and yet (as I saye), they are all vayne, and grounded only uppon gross naturall reason, which canne in no wise attayne to this high misterie: but also in so grave, weighty, and moost reverend cause, as this is, he dalyeth, tryfleth, mocketh, and scorneth in this fonde reason, without any reason; saying, that the preste must bringe the body of Christ out of heven. But it is little to be wayed in this man, though that he scorneth the ministration of the preste; sith that he so depraveth the veray Lorde and maistre.

And in case that he would say, that he doth not skorne the ministracion of the preste, thenne must he nedes be veraye ignoraunt, to suppose in any wyse, that the preste worketh any thing in this, or any other sacramente, more thenne as I have before sayde.

In this argument also he alleadgeth one parte of scripture in the tenth chapitre to the Romaynes, to blind also the symple people, that they should think al that he speaketh is the veraye scripture. And surely this place of scripture maketh evidentlye against him, and such as he is. For it is written against infideles, such as wollnot believe the word of God written, but wolde yet have knowleage from heaven. And so the apostle ther maketh example of him, that woll not believe, that Christ is ascended; but notwithstanding the testimonye of scripture, he demandeth, "Quis ascendet in cœlum? Hoc est, Christum de cœlo deducere," sayth the apostle. Wherefore the apostle monysheth every Christen man in this maner, "Nè dixeris in corde tuo, Quis ascendet," &c. That is to say, Thinke not in thy mind, have no such doubt to aske, who ascended, or how: but beleve the scripture. For as Moses in the 30th. chap. of Deuteronomy sayth, "Thou shalt not nede to seek into heaven for the knowleage of these things: it is not sett, nor left in heven; it is not above thee; it is not ferre frome the; but the worde of God is nighe the; even in thy mouth," as it were, and redye at hande: beleve that, and doo according to that. For so it was aunswered to the rich man in the 16th. chapitre of Luk, "Thy bretheren have Moyses and the prophetes, let them heare them." And, "Yf they woll not heare and beleve theim, they woll not beleve any oone, that shall come frome hense."

Wherfor Chrisost', in the formor tenth chapitre of Paule, teacheth every Christen man in these thinges of the faith, in no wyse to ask or searhe, how it maye be; but leaving this infirmitye and weaknes of our thoughts or reasons, let us recyve with a certain undoubted faith the promesses of God by his word.

Sainct Cyprian also, in a worke *De cena Domini,* hath these wordes, "The fleshely man is not to be admitted to this feast of the table of God. Whatsoever the flesh and the bloode," that is to saye, the naturall reason of the mortall man, "estemeth or judgeth, nedes must be excluded frome this mystery. For it savereth nothing to this matier, or in any wyse helpeth, whatsoever the soubtilitie of mannes witte attempteth to serche. Such are wise men of this worlde, that whatsoever is above their wit, they think it otherwise thenne the truthe. But the truthe," saith he, "cannot be comprysed by mannes witte, which is erroniouse and many tymes deceyved. Wherfor they that are faithfull and pore in spirite, not arrogant of their owne witts, by their faith do see parfaictly this sacrament."

We have the expresse words of Christ, "Hoc est corpus meum, This is my bodye." The wordes are plaine not oonly in Matthew, but the same playne wordes are in Luke and Mark, without any figurate speaking. Wherfore we may not add, diminyshe, chaunge, or alter these wordes, that are so manifeste and playne; but certainly beleve these wordes to be true in the same sense, that they are clearely spoken, howsoever they are impossible to mannes witte. For as it is impossible for God to make a lye, as the apostle saith in the sixth *Ad Heb.* so every thing is possible to him, howsoever it is thought impossible to men.

We must therfore leave all our carnall reasons, and only receyve, without any doubte, the teaching, the words, the promesses of God, howsoever they seem impossible to our naturall and fraill reason. Or elles we shulde not believe the power of God to be so hiegh and absolute as it is: to whome is nothing impossible.

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## No. XXV.

### *Tho. Cranmeri Archiep. Cant. Epist. super Controversiam de Cœna Domini ortam.**

Illustri et erudito Viro Joachimo Vadiano, Consuli apud Sanctum Gallum in Helvetia.

Tandem a negotijs consilijsque publicis missionem, vel verius respi-

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* [Archiv. Eccles. Tigurin.] Ex Dudithij Orationib. et Opuscul. [Colomesius, Epist. Clarorum Virorum, No. xxxvj.]

rationem nactus, et inter cæteros doctos viros, quorum epistolis responsa jam diu debueram, tibi quoque, Vadiane, vir illustris doctissimeque, nunc demum vertente anno respondere incipiens, (utpote cujus literas superiore hyeme acceperim, una cum munere literario, quod genus quidem soleo vel inter preciosissima numerare) illud imprimis mecum reputare pudebundus occœpi, vererique, ne forte suspicionem, aut etiam opinionem mihi aliquam sinistram apud animum tuum, silentio meo tam diuturno, contraxerim; quia sciam apud vulgus hominum fieri plerumque solere, cum hospes hospitem salutat, ut in primo maxime aditu responsum solicite exspectent. Quid si differatur, vel superbiam aliquam vel neglectum sui, vel, ut minimum, oblivionem, intervenire suspicantur, qualemque in primo illo accessu invenere, talem in universam reliquam vitam erga se fore præjudicant. Cum qui cito respondet, libenter et gratanter id facere judicatur, eumque proinde humanum, facilem gratumque interpretantur. Contra, qui tarde, fastuosus, difficilis, et incivilibus ac inamœnis moribus preditus existimatur. Usque adeo bis facit, quod cito facit, quicquid quis cito facit. Verum ego de tua neutiquam vulgari prudentia, et humanitate meliora mihi polliceor, confidoque te hanc meam non spontaneam tarditatem aut cessationem, sed necessariam dilationem benigne accepturum, eamque non tam moribus quam negotijs meis imputaturum. Quæ qualia et quanta fuerint, puto rumores ad vos usque jampridem pertulisse, et ego de eisdem nonnihil ad Grynæum meum, imo nostrum, scripsi, cum quo pro amicitiæ jure omnia, tibi communia futura esse non ambigo. Ad illum igitur te remitto, siquid hac re offenderis, qui me tibi reddat excusatiorem.

Tuam erga me voluntatem et promptitudinem animi ad contrahendam mecum sanctiorem necessitudinem, in literis tuis perspicio, et libens amplector osculorque. Virum enim dignum te judico, quem ego propter eximiam eruditionem, qua me quoque adjutum profecisse neutiquam dissimulavero, et propter morum probitatem, multorum gravissimorum virorum testimonijs comprobatam, omni amore, favore, ac veneratione prosequar. Veruntamen ut animi mei sensum (sicuti inter bonos viros fieri oportet) ingenue tibi profitear, argumentum quod tractas in sex illis libris,* quos mihi dono dederas, in totum mihi displicet, vellemque vigilias tuas tantas felicius collocasses, et mecum jucundæ amicitiæ melioribus, aut certe minus improbatis, auspicijs fuisses usus. Nam ego nisi certiora afferri video, quam hactenus videre potui, sententiæ illius vestræ nec patronus nec astipulator esse volo. Et plane mihi vel ex eo maxime persuasum est, causam esse non bonam, quod eam viri tam ingeniosi, tam diserti, tamque omnibus artibus et disciplinis instructi, non videamini satis valide tueri ac sustinere. Vidi pleraque omnia, quæ vel ab Œcolampadio, vel a Zuinglio scripta sunt et edita, didicique omnium hominum omnia cum delectu esse legenda. Et fortasse illud D. Hieronymi de Origene elogium in illos quoque non absurde aliquis detorserit, "Ubi bene, nemo melius," &c. Nosti enim quod sequitur. Quatenus quidem papisticos et sophisticos errores et abusus indicare, convincere, corrigereque sunt conati, laudo et approbo. Atque utinam intra fines illos constitissent, neque fruges una cum zizanijs conculcassent, hoc est, veterum doctorum primorumque in ecclesia Christi scriptorum auctoritatem, una violassent. Nam ut ingenia vestra quantumcunque versaveritis, mihi tamen certe nunquam approbaveritis, nec cuiquam, opinor, æquo lectori, veteres illos auctores in hac controversia pro vestra facere sententia. Fuistis nimirum in investigandis erroribus plus satis curiosi, et dum omnia purgare studetis, illic quoque errorem subesse putavistis, ubi nullus fuit. Quando hic certe si error est, jam inde a primordio ecclesiæ, ab ipsis patribus et viris apostolicis, nobis fuit propinatus. Quod quis pius sustinuerit vel audire, nedum credere? Ut nequid interim dicam, quod bonus Dominus noster unice dilectam sponsam suam nunquam in tam pudenda cæcitate tamdiu dereliquisset. Quamobrem quum hæc, quam tenemus, catholica fides de vera presentia corporis tam apertis ac manifestis scripturis fuerit ecclesiæ ab initio promulgata, et eadem postea, per primos ecclesiasticos scriptores, fidelium auribus tam clare, tamque studiose commendata, ne quæso, ne mihi pergatis eam tam bene radicatam et suffultam velle amplius convellere aut subruere. Satis jam satis tentatum est hactenus. Et nisi super firmam petram fuisset firmiter ædificata, jam dudum cum magnæ ruinæ fragore cecidisset. Dici non potest, quantum hæc tam cruenta controversia, cum per universum orbem Christianum, tum maxime apud nos, bene currenti verbo evangelij obstiterit. Vobis ipsis affert ingens periculum, et cæteris omnibus præbet non dicendum offendiculum. Quo circa si me audietis, hortor et suadeo, imo vos oro, obsecro, et visceribus Jesu Christi obtestor et adjuro, uti concordiam procedere et coire sinatis, in illam confirmandam totis viribus incumbatis, pacemque Dei tandem, quæ superat omnem sensum, ecclesijs permittatis, ut evangelicam doctrinam unam, sanam, puram, et cum primitivæ ecclesiæ disciplina consonam, junctis viribus quam maxime propagemus. Facile vel Turcas ad evangelii nostri obedientiam converterimus, modo intra nosmetipsos consentiamus, et pia quadam conjuratione conspiremus. At si ad hunc modum pergimus ad invicem contendere, et commordere, timendum erit, ne (quod dicens abominor), juxta comminationem apostolicam, ad invicem consumamur.

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* "Aphorismorum, de consideratione Eucharistiæ."

Habes, optime Vadiane, meam de tota controversia illa neutiquam fictam sententiam, una cum admonitione libera ac fideli. Cui si obtemperaveris, non modo inter amicos, sed etiam vel inter amicissimos mihi nomen tuum ascripsero. Bene vale. [1537.]

T. Cantuariens.

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## No. XXVI.

*Part of a Letter from a Member of Parlament, concerning the transactions of the House, about passing the Act of the Six Articles.**

And also newes here, I assure you never prince shewed himself so wise a man, so wel lerned, and so Catholik, as the king hath done in this Parlyment. With my penne I cannot express his marvelous good-

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 128, b.

nes, wiche is come to such effecte, that we shal have an act of Parlyment so spiritual, that I thinke none shall dare say, in the blessed sacrament of the aultar doth remayne either bred or wine after the consecration: nor, that a priest may have a wif: nor, that it is necessarie to receve our Maker *sub utraque specie:* nor, that privat masses shold not be used, as they have be: nor, that it is not necessary to have auriculer confession. And notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Elye, my lord of Salisburie, my lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davys, defended the contrary long tyme: yet finally his highness confounded them all with Goddes lerning. York, Duram, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwiche and Carlile have shewed themselfe honest and well lerned men. We of the temporaltie have be al of one opynyon. And my lord chauncellor, and my lord pryvye seal as good, as we can devise. My L. of Cant. and al this byshoppes have geven their opinion, and come in to us, save Salisburie, who yet continueth a lewd foole. Fynally, all Englond have cause to thank God, and most hertilie to rejoyce of the kings most godlie procedings.

Without any name subscribed.

## No. XXVII.

### *The Solution of some Bishop to certain Questions about the Sacraments.**

| *The King's Animadversions, of his own hand.* | *The Questions.* | *The Answers.* |
|---|---|---|
| Why then shulde we cal them soo? | 1. What is a sacrament by the Scripture? | 1. Scripture usith the word, but it defineth it not. |
| | 2. What a sacrament is by the authors auncient? | 2. In them is founde no perfect definition, but a general declaration of the word, as a token of an holy thing. |
| | 3. Howe many Sacraments be there by the Scripture? | 3. Soo named oonly matrimonye: in effecte moo: and at the lest vij, as we find the Scripture expounded. |
| Why these vij to have the name, more than al the rest? | 4. Howe many sacraments be the by the auncient auctors? | 4. Auctors use the word *sacrament* to signifie any Mysterye in the olde or newe Testament: but specially be noted Baptisme, Eucharist, Matrimonie, Chrisme, *Impositio manuum, Ordo.* |
| Then why hath the Chyrche so long erryd, to take upon them so to name them? | 5. Whither this word *sacrament* be, and ought to be, attribute to the seven oonly? | 5. The worde, by cause it is general, is attribute to other thenne the seven. But whether it ought specially to be applied to the vij oonly, God knowith, and hath not fully revealed it soo as it hath been receyved. |
| | Whither the seven sacraments be found in any of the old auctors, or not? | The thing of al is found, but not named al sacraments, as afore. |

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 36.

| *The King's Animadversions.* | *The Questions.* | *The Answers.* |
|---|---|---|
|  | 6. Whither the determinate numbre of vij sacraments be a doctrine eyther of the Scripture, or the olde authors; and soo to be taught? | 6. The doctrine of Scripture is to tech the thinge, without numbryng, or naming the name *sacrament*, saving only in matrimony. Old authors number not precisely.<br>[Twelve Articles of the Faith not numbred in Scripture, ne Ten Commandments, but rather now oone, *Dilectio*, vij petitions, vij dedly synnes.] |
| * Then penance is changyd to a new term, *i.e.* absolution. Of penance I redde, that withowght it, we cannot be saved after relapse; but nott so of absolution. And penance to sinners is comandyd, but absolution, ye, in oppen crymes, is left fre to the askers.<br>† Laying off hands, being an olde ceremony of the mis, is but a small proof of confirmation. Then shew were. | 7. What is founde in Scripture of the matier, nature, effecte, and vertue of such as we cal the seven sacraments. So although the name be not in Scripture, yet whither the thing be in Scripture or noo, and in what wise spoken? | 7. Scripture speaketh—1. Of baptisme manifestly. 2. Of the holy communion manifestly. 3. Of matrymony manifestly. 4. Of absolution * manifestly. 5. Of bishopps, prests and deacons ordered *per impositionem manuum cum oratione* expressly. 6. Laying† of the hands of the bishop after baptisme, which is a part of that is done in confirmation, is grounded in Scripture. 7. Unction of the sick with prayer is grounded in Scripture. |
| This answar is not directe: and yett it proveth nother any of the two poynts to be groundyd in Scripture. | 8. Whither confirmation *cum chrismate* of them that be baptised be found in Scripture? | 8. The thing of *confirmation* is found in Scripture, though the name *confirmation* is not there.<br>Of *chrisma* Scripture speakith not expressely; but it hath been had in high veneration, and observed synnes the begynnyng. |
|  | 9. Whether the Appostells lacking higher power, not having a Christen king among them, made bishops by that necessite, or by auctorite geven them by God? | 9. The calling, namyng, appoyntement, and preferrement of oone before another to be bishop or prest, had a necessity to be doon in that sort, a prince wanting.<br>The ordering apperith taught by the Holy Gost in the Scripture *per manuum impositionem cum oratione*. |
|  | 10. Whether bishoppes, or prests were first: And if the prests were first, thenne the prest made the bishop? | 10. Bishoppes, or not after. |
|  | 11. Whether a bishop hath auctorite to make a prest by the Scripture, or | 11. Scripture warranteth a bishop (obeying high powers, as his prince |

| *The Questions.* | *The Answers.* |
|---|---|
| noo: And whither any other, but oonly a bishop may make a prest, or noo? | christianed) to ordre a prest *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.* And soo it hath been from the begynnyng.<br>Of other Scripture speakith not. |
| 12. Whether in the Newe Testament be required any consecration of a bishop or prest, or only appoynting to thoffice be sufficient? | 12. *Manuum impositio cum oratione* is required. Which is a consecration. Soo as oonly appointing is not sufficient? |
| 13. Whether if it fortuned a prince Christian lerned, to conquer certain dominions of infideles, having noone but temporal lerned men with him, it be defended by Goddes law, that he and they shuld preach and teach the Word of God there, or no; and also make and institute prests, or noo? | 13. It is to be thought, that God in such case, assisting the perfection of such an enterprise, wold further tech and inspire the conscience of such a prince, what he shuld and might doo, more thenne is yet openly taught by the Scripture. Which in that case were a good warrant to folowe. For a secrete vocation supplieth, where an open wantith.<br>[A reason: Necessite, in things absolutely necessary, conteyneth in it order, law and auctoritie.] |
| 14. Whether it be forfended by Goddes law, that if it soo fortuned, that al the bishoppes and prests of a realme were ded, and that the Word of God shuld remayne there unpreched, the sacrament of Baptisme, and other unministred, that the king of that region shuld make bisshoppes and prests to supplie the same, or noo? | 14. [This question is without the compasse of Scripture.]<br>Synnes the begynnyng of Christes Church, wherein Christ himself made distinction of ministers, the order hath a derivation from one to another *per manuum impositionem cum oratione.* How it shuld begynne agayn of an other fashion, where it faileth by a cace, Scripture telleth not, ne doctors wryte of it, that I have read. |
| 15. Whether a man be bounde by auctoritie of this Scripture *Quorum remiseritis*, and suchlike, to confesse his secrete dedly synnes to a prest, if he may have hym, or noo? | 15. Bounde ordinarily. |
| 16. Whither a bishop or a prest maye excommunicate? | 16. They maye, being before of their prince auctorised to ministre. |
| For what crymes? | For open, publike, dedly sins. |
| And whether they oonly by Goddes law. | Of excommunication by other we rede not in the Newe Testament. |

| *The Questions.* | *The Answers.* |
|---|---|
| 17. Whither unction of the sik with oyl to remytte venyal synnes, (as it is now used,) be spoken of in the Scripture, or in any auncient auctors. | 17. The thing is in Scripture, and in auncient autors, according whereunto the use shuld be.<br>Howe it is indede used, is a matter of facte, and not of lerning. |

## No. XXVIII.

*The judgment of another Bishop upon the aforesaid Questions.**

I. To the first, Scripture sheweth not what it is, but useth the word *sacramentum* in Latyn for the word *misterium* in Greke.

II. *Sacrament* by the auctours is called *sacræ rei signum,* or *visibile signaculum, sacrosanctum signaculum, visibile verbum, visibilis forma invisibilis gratiæ;* and perfytt difinition we fynde none.

III. In Scripture we fynde no determynate numbre of sacraments.

IV. There be very many in the most generall signification: and there is no precise or determinate numbre of sacramentts in the ancient auctours.

V. Not only to the seven, but to many moo. We fynd in the old auctours Matrymony, the holly Communyoun, Baptisme, Confirmation, Ordre, Penaunce, and Extreme Unction. In Penaunce it is doubted of the name of sacrament.

VI. As towching the determinate numbre of seven onely, we find neyther in the Scripture, ne auntient auctours, any such doctrine, that there should be seven onely.

VII. Of *Baptisme* Scripture speaketh, that by it synnes be remittede. Of *Eucharistia,* that we be united by it to Christ, and receive thereby spiritual nurrishement to the comfort of our soulles, and remission of our synnes. Of *Matrymony,* that the acte of it is made lawful, and without synne; and grace given, whereby to directe ordinately the lusts and appetites of the flesshe. Of *Pennaunce,* that by it we be restaured agayne to the favour of God, from which we dyd falle by synne. Of *Ordre,* that by it grace is given to mynistre effectually in preachinge the worde of God, and ministration of the sacramentes. Of *Confirmation,* (which is conteyned in Scripture, speaking *De impositione manuum post baptisma,*) it appeareth by Scripture, how therby encrease of grace is given. Of *Inunction* of the sicke, Scripture speaketh, that by unction of the sick, and prayer of the prestes, comfort is geven to the sick, and sins be forgeven hym.

VIII. *Impositionem manuum post baptisma,* which we call *Confirmacion,* we reade in the Scripture. But that it was done *cum chrismate,* we fynde not in the Scripture expressed. But in the olde auctours we find, that *chrisma* hathe been used in the sayd confirmation.

IX. Making of bisshopes hath twoo partes. Appointment and Ordering.† Appoyntament, whiche the appostels by necessyte made by common election, and sometyme by their owne several assignment, coulde not then be doon by Christen princes, bicause at that tyme they were not: and nowe at these dayes apperteyneth to Christen princes and rulers.[*] But in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred (as afore) the apostells dyd folowe the rule taught by the Holly Ghoste, *Per manuum impositionem cum oratione et jejunio.*[†]

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleop. E. v. 38.

† *Where is this distinction fonde?* [The King's Note.]

X. Christe made the apostels first; which were of his making bothe prestes and bisshopes. But whether at one time some doubt. After that, the apostels made bothe bisshopes and prestes. The names whereof in the Scripture be confounded.

XI. A bysshope having auctoritie of his Christien prince to give orders, maye by his ministerye, geven to him of God in Scripture, ordeyne a preste. And we rede not, that any other, not being a bisshope, hathe sence the begynnyng of Christes Churche ordered a preste.

XII. Onely appointement is not sufficient, but consecracion; that is to saye, imposition of handes with fasting and prayer is also requyred. For soo thapostells used to ordre them, that were appoynted: and soo have been used contynually; and we have not rede the contrarye.

XIII. In that necessite, the prince and his lerned men shulde preache and teache the worde of God, and baptise. But as for making and constituting prestes, the prince shall and maye thenne doo, as God shal thenne by inspiration teache him. Whiche God hath promysed to doo allwayes to his Churche, in reveling and teaching every necessary knowledge, where any doubte requyring discussion doth arryse.

XIV. The aunswer to the other questyon nexte bifore dissolveth this.

XV. He that knoweth himselfe gylty of any secrete deadlye synnes, must, if he wyll obteyne the benefyt of absolucyoun ministred by the preste, confesse the same secrete synnes unto hym.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Yorke. | Eggeworth. | Absolution to be ministred by a preste, if a convenient preste may be had, is necessarie. |
| Duresme. | Daye. | |
| Carelil. | Redman. | |
| Corwen. | Robynson. | |
| Simon. | Wynchestre. | |
| Oglethorp. | | |
| Cant. | Layton. | Absolution by a preste is the surest waye, if he may be conveyentlye had. |
| Hereford. | Tresham. | |
| Rochestre. | Cocks. | |
| Davye. | Crayford. | |
| Westmester. | | |

XVI. Bisshoppes and prestes, auctorised by the prince, may excommunicate by Goddes lawe, for publique and open crymes. But that

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[*] *Now sins yow confesse, that the appostyllys did occupate the won part, whych now yow confesse belongyth to princes, how can you prove, that orderyng is wonly commytted to yow bysshopes?* [The King's Note.]

[†] *Ubi hoc?* [The King's Note.]

other thenne bisshopes and prestes maye excommunicate, we have not rede in Scripture. Summe scolemen saye, that other, thenne prestes or bisshopes, deputed therunto by the Church, maye excommunicate. Bicause it is an acte *jurisdictionis*, and not *ordinis*.

XVII. We find it spoken of in Scripture and in old auctours.

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## No. XXIX.

### *Archbishop Cranmer to Osiander concerning some abuses in Matrimony among the Germans.**

Doctissimo D. Andreæ Osiandro, Concionatori Norenbergensi.

SALVE plurimum. Vix tribus abhinc diebus elapsis, Osiander dilectissime, literas ad te scriptitabam, quas per subitum et festinatum Tabellarij discessum coactus sum abbreviare. Imo abrumpere plane, prætermisso eo, quod et tunc quam maxime scriptum volui, et nunc otij plusculum nactus, nescio quam nervosè, verbosè certe decrevi pertractare. Res est, ut mihi quidem videtur, non parva, neque leniter animadvertenda, ut quæ ad omnium evangelicam veritatem profitentium sugillacionem, ne dicam ignominiam et culpam, manifestè pertineat. Proinde te rogo, ut et scriptum hoc meum legas attentè, et tuum vicissim responsum super eo conficias accuratè, maturéque remittas, quo habeam tandem, quod respondeam ijs, qui me interrogant. Nosti enim, opinor, ut soleant homines hic omnium, quæ istic geruntur, a me rationem exigere: alij quidem bono animo, et communis evangelicæ causæ studio soliciti, ne quid a vobis fieret, secus quam oporteret. Alijs autem malus est animus, mala mens. Nihil magis cupiunt, aut captant, quam ut justam aliquam, vos et vestra facta dictave reprehendendi, ansam undecúnque apprehendant; et gaudent, si mihi in os subinde talia possint objicere. Quibus duobus inter se diversis hominum generibus respondeo. Ego persæpe, quæ vel ipse comminisci possum, vel quæ ex scriptis vestris, sive in publicum emissis, sive ad me privatim missis, possim colligere. Incidunt tamen persæpe nonnulla, quæ nec negare possum, nec absque rubore fateri, neque denique quo pacto a vobis honestè aut pie fieri doceantur, rationem ullam saltem excogitare sufficientem. Nam ut interim de usuris taceam, a vobis aut vestrum certe nonnullis, ut apparet, approbatis, déque eo, quod magnatum filijs concubinas habendas permittitis, (videlicet ne per nuptias legitimas hereditates dispergantur) qui concubinatum in sacerdotibus tantopere aversati estis; quid poterit a vobis in excusationem allegari pro eo, quod permittitis, a divortio, utroque conjuge vivo, novas nuptias coire, et quod adhuc deterius est, etiam absque divortio uni plures permittitis uxores. Id quod et tute, si recte memini, in quibusdam tuis ad me literis apud vos factum disertè expressisti, addens, Philippum ipsum sponsalibus posterioribus, ut paranymphum credo atque auspicem, interfuisse.

Quæ ambo, tum ipsius conjugij rationi, quæ non duo, sed unam carnem facit, tum etiam scripturis sunt expresse et manifeste contraria.

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* [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. v. 111.

Ut patet Matth. 19. Marc. 10. Luc. 16. Ro. 7. 1 Cor. 7. Quibus locis perspicuum fit ex apostolorum, atque adeo Christi ipsius, institutione, unum uni debere matrimonio conjungi, nec posse sic conjunctos postea, nisi interveniente morte alterutrius, denuo contrahere. Quod si responderitis, hoc intelligi excepta causa fornicationis: An uxoris adulterium fuerit causa, quur Philippus marito permiserit aliam superducere, vos melius nostis. Quod si fuerit, tunc objiciemus, ab ineunte hucusque ecclesia (cujus exemplis oportet scripturarum interpretationes conformarique) nunquam, quod scimus, hoc sic fuisse acceptum. Augustinus, quid ipse de hoc senserit, imo quid ecclesia ante ipsum, et usque ad ipsum, clare docet, li. *de adulterinis conjugijs*, ad Pollentium. Quid igitur ad hæc dicetis, libenter vellem audire abs te quidem, si et ipse in eadem cum cæteris es sententia. Sin minus, per te saltem vellem cognoscere, quid ab illis exploraveris ad talia responsum iri. Nam cum eorum nonnulli, ut audio, statuta nostra parlamentalia censorie nimis, ac superciliosè condempnent, quorum tamen gravissimas justissimasque causas ac rationes ignorant; mirum est, quod interim ipsi non advertant apud ipsos plurima designari, quæ optimis atque gravissimis viris jure optimo displiceant. Scire atque aveo, an ista tanquam honesta, et promiscue quibusvis licita, ac evangelicæ veritati non repugnantia defendant: an secundum indulgentiam (ut dixit apostolus) ad ea, dum à quibusdam fiunt, connivent, nequid gravius contingat, non idem omnibus itidémque permissuri. Illud prius, haud equidem credo illos esse facturos, nisi legis Machometanæ potius quam Christianæ assertores videri voluerint. Posterius hoc si faciunt, videant, quomodo permittant, quæ Christus, apostoli, evangelistæ, atque adeo totius ecclesiæ consensus districte ab initio huc usque prohibuit.

Quod si fortè dixerint, ea jam quoque tollerari posse, eo quod ante Christum natum fuerunt vel approbata vel tolerata; tunc enimvero causam nobis reddant, cur non et cætera toleremus, quæcunque tunc legimus pari jure usitata; aut definiant, quænam hujus generis, aut quatenus erunt admittenda. Nam in Veteri Testamento expressum habemus olim patrem concubuisse cum filiabus, ut Loth; socerum cum nuru, ut Judam; patrem familias, nempe Abraham, cum ancilla pellice, conscia uxore, atque etiam id ultro suadente, nempe Sara; eundem ipsum uxorem suam, adhuc juvenculam ac formosam, sororem nominasse, eámque, regibus, Pharaoni et Abimelech, ultro in concubinam permisisse. Præterea, unum sæpe hominem plures habuisse uxores, ut Jacob et Mosen ipsum, legis latorem a Deo constitutum. Postremò, principes multos, eosque nec illaudatos, præter uxorum numerosa contubernia, concubinarum etiam greges aluisse: ut Davidem, Solomonem, &c. Nec Assuero vitio datur, quod singulis pæne noctibus concubinam novam asciverit. Et Hester, fœmina laudatissima, utpote quam ad salutem populi sui Deus excitavit, quum esset Judæa, et legi Mosaicæ obnoxia, Assueri regis cubiculum ante nuptias intravit. Quid pluribus opus, quum gravissimi autores, Ambrosius et Augustinus, disertis verbis affirment, hic poligamiam, ille concubinatum, peccato tum caruisse, quando nec contra morem, nec contra præceptum fierent, quæ nunc et legibus et moribus pronuntiant esse contraria. Talia, inquam, constat apud veteres fuisse usitata, nec a bonis quidem viris tunc temporis improbata. Quæ vel omnia probabunt novi isti homines, et rerum novarum introductores, vel aliqua, vel nulla. Quod si nulla, dicant nobis, cur ista admiserunt? Si aliqua, quur non et reliqua? et præscribant nobis regulam, qua sciamus, quæ sunt admittenda, quæ vero rejicienda. Si omnia, (in qua sententia videtur esse Bucerus) quæso te, qualem rerum faciem, quantumque a priore mutatam in ecclesia videbimus? Quam erunt confusa, inversa, atque præpostera omnia? Sed adhuc proprius urgebimus eos, interrogabimusque: An non tantum, quæ sub lege facta sunt, sed etiam quæ ante legem, et an non tantum, quæ a Judæis, sed et quæ a Gentibus fuerint usitata, veluti jure postliminij, ad exemplum revocabunt? Et si illa tantum, quur non hæc æque atque illa? Presertim quæ a sanctioribus et sapientioribus viris, ut Socrate, Platone, Cicerone, &c. fuerint vel facta, vel approbata. Quod si utraque concedent, concedant et nobis Britannis, more majorum nostrorum, denos, duodenosque uxores habere insimul communes, et maximè fratres cum fratribus, parentes cum liberis. Quod aliquando in hac insula usitatum fuisse Cæsar, non ignobilis author, testatur in Commentarijs. Concedant fœminis Christianis, quod Solon suis Atheniensibus concesserat, ut quæ viros parum ad rem Veneream idoneos sortitæ fuissent, aliquem ex mariti propinquis impune admitterent. Concedant, quod Lycurgus concessit viris Lacedemonijs, ut qui minus esset ad procreandam prolem idoneus, alteri, cui vellet, suam conjugem impregnandam daret, et prolem precariò sibi natam, ut propriam, suo nomine nuncuparet. Aut denique, quod Romanorum legibus permissum erat, ut qui satis liberorum procreasset, uxorem suam alteri commodaret prolem desideranti. Id quod et Cato, vir gravissimus sapientissimusque habitus, Hortenssio amico suo legitur fecisse. Talia cum probata fuerint antiquitus viris sapientissimis, ac philosophorum legumque latorum optimis et sanctissimis, ut Platoni, Xenophonti, Catoni, &c. quum eadem fuerint moribus recepta Hebræorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, (quorum populorum respublicas et politeias constat optimè fuisse constitutas, et ab omnibus scriptoribus maximè celebratas) age, faciamus et nos, si Deo placet, similia, et Christianis fratribus permittamus facienda. Imo Christus Opt. Max. tam fœda tamque incestuosa connubiorum portenta a sua sancta ecclesia dignetur avertere, nunc et in diem Domini. Amen.

Hæc ego ad te potissimum, charissime Osiander, in presentia scribenda duxi propter eam, quæ inter nos est, et jam diu fuit summa necessitudo et familiaritas; quamvis putem, atque adeo certo sciam, te ab hujusmodi tam absurdis et moribus et opinionibus quàm alienissimum esse. Cum cæteris vestratibus doctoribus levior et minus arcta michi intercedit amicitia, cujus ipsius quoque fateor me multum pœniteret, si scirem hos esse fructus novi evangelij ab ipsis tantopere jactitati, et a vobis quoque hactenus, ut putabamus, non temere aliqua ex parte probati. Bene vale. Dat. Lambeth xxvijmo. Decembr.

Tui Amantissimus,

T. Cantuarien.

## No. XXX.

### *The French Kings Licence to print the English Bible in Paris.*[*]

FRANCISCUS, &c. dilectis nobis Richardo Grafton et Edwardo Whitchurch, Anglis, et civibus Londini, salutem. Quia fide digno testimonio accepimus, quod charissimus frater noster Anglorum rex, vobis, cujus subditi estis, sacram Bibliam tam Latinè quam Britannicè sive Anglicè imprimendi, ac imprimi curandi, et in suum regnum apportandi et transferendi, libertatem sufficientem et legitimam concesserit: et vos, tum propter chartam, tum propter alias honestas considerationes, animos vestros in hac parte justè moventes, dictam Bibliam sic imprimendam Parisijs infra hoc nostrum regnum curaveritis, ac in Angliam quamprimum transmittere intenderitis: NOS, ut hæc vobis facere liceat, potestatem facientes, vobis conjunctim et divisim, ac procuratoribus, factoribus, et agentibus vestris et cujuslibet vestrum, ut in regno nostro apud chalcographum quemcúnque dictam sacram Bibliam, tam Latina quam Anglicana lingua, tuto imprimere et excudere possitis, et possint: necnon excussa et impressa in Angliam dumtaxat sine ulla perturbacione aut molestia vel impedimento quocúnque, transmittere et apportare. Dummodo, quod sic imprimetis et excudetis, sincerè et purè, quantum in vobis erit, citra ullas privatas aut illegitimas opiniones, impressum et excussum fuerit: et onera ac officia mercatoria nobis et ministris nostris debite in hac parte extiterint persoluta; licentiam nostram impartimur et concedimus specialem per præsentes. Dat. &c.

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## No. XXXI.

### *Three Discourses of Abp. Cranmer, occasioned upon his review of the King's Book, intitled,* The Erudition of a Christian Man.[†]

### I. FAITH.

THIS book speaks of pure Christian faith unfeigned, which is without colour, as wel in heart as in mouth. He, that hath this faith, converteth from his sin, repenteth him, that he like *Filius prodigus*, vainly consumed his wil, reason, wits and other goods, which he received of the mere benefit of his heavenly Father, to his said Fathers displesure: and applyeth himself wholy to pleas him again: and trusteth assuredly, that for Christs sake he wil, and doth remit his sins, withdraweth his indignation, delivereth him from his sin, from the power of the infernal spirits, taketh him to his mercy, and maketh him his own son, and his own heire. And he hath also the very Christian hope, that after this life he shal reign ever with Christ in his kingdome. For S. Paul saith "Si filij sumus, et hæredes, hæredes quidem Dei, cohæredes autem Christi." This is the very pure Christian faith and hope, which every good Christian man ought to profess, believe, and trust: and to say of himself even as Job said, "Scio quod Redemptor meus vivit," &c.

And as for the other faith, that the good shal arise unto glory, and

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[*] [Cotton Libr.] Cleopatra, E. 5, 326, b.

[†] MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. civ. 241].

the evil unto pain, or, that those that persevere in Gods precepts and laws, so long as they so do, they be the right inheritors of his kingdom, this is not the commendation of a Christian his faith, but a most certain proposition, which al the devils believe most certainly. And yet they shal never have their sins forgiven by this faith, nor be inheritors of Gods kingdom. Because they lack the very Christian faith: and not trusting to the goodness and mercy of God for their own offences. But they hate God, envy his glory, and be utterly in dispair.

For the more large declaration of the Christian faith, it is to be considered, that there is a general faith; which al that be christned, as wel good as evil, have. As to believe that God is; that he is the maker and creator of al things: and that Christ is the savior and redeemer of the world: and for his sake al penitent sinners shal have remission of their sins: and that there shal be a general resurrection at the end of this mortal world; at the which Christ shal judge al the good to joy without end, and the evil to pain without end; with such other like thyngs. And al these things the devils also believe, and tremble for fear and grievousnes of Gods indignation and torments, which they shal endure, and ever shal do. But they have not the right Christen faith, that their own sins by Christs redemption be pardoned and forgiven; that themselves by Christ be delivered from Gods wrath, and be made his beloved children, and heires of his kingdom to come. The other faith have al devils and wicked Christen people, that be his members. But this pure Christen faith have none but those that truly belong to Christ, and be the very members of his body, and endeavor themselves to persevere in his precepts and lawes: altho many pretend to have the same pure faith, which nevertheless have it not, but only in their mouths. For as there is a ly in the mouth, and a ly in the heart; even so there is a faith in the mouth, and a faith in the heart. Examine every man, if he trust in God, and love God above al things. And in word he wil answer, Yea. But examine every mans acts and deeds, and surely in a great number their acts and deeds condemn their words. For they walk after their own wills and plesures, and not after Gods commandments. And Christ himself saith, "Qui diligit me, mandata mea servat." And S. John saith, "Qui dicit se nosse Deum, et mandata ejus non custodit, mendax est." And therefore al those, that bridle not their own appetites, but follow them, and accomplish the wil of their own carnal minds, they trust in God, and trust God no further, then the lips. And if they persuade themselves, that they trust in God, and love God in their hearts, and be of any estimation before God, then be they much deceived; and as S. Paul saith, "they deceive their own hearts." Our own flesh and carnal mind is contrary to the spirit, and motion of God. And "they," saith S. Paul, "that belong unto Christ, do crucify their flesh with the affections and lusts thereof." And contrary he saith, "They that follow the lusts of the flesh shal not inherit the kingdom of God." These be very notable, and fearful sentences unto al such as be not repentant, but live after their own wills, and not after Gods wil: neither have the right faith, nor love unto God, nor shal be inheritors of his kingdom. And though Christ hath payd a sufficient ransome for al the sins in the world, and is a sufficient Redeemer and Saviour of al the world; yet shal they have no part therof. For they belong not unto Christ, and Christ utterly refuseth them for his, which have faith and love only in their mouths, and have not the same engraven in their hearts, and expressed in their actions and deeds.

And so he goes on more largely to illustrate this argument of the necessity of more than a mere faith in the mouth. Afterwards the discourse thus procedes.

If as treacle, kept only in the mouth, doth not remedy poyson in the whole body; but the treacle must enter down into the body; and then it altereth the whole body, and expells al venome and poyson: in like maner, he whose profession of his faith is only in his mouth, and altereth not his evil life, is not forgiven his sins; is not delivered from hel, nor from the power of devils; is not made the son of God: but continueth stil in his poyson of sin, in the wrath and indignation of God, and in the damnation of the wicked in hell.

But if the profession of our faith of the remission of our own sinns, enter within unto the deepness of our hearts, then it must needs kindle a warm fire of love in our hearts towards God, and towards all others for the love of God; a fervent mind to seek and procure Gods honor, wil and pleasure in al things; a good wil and mind to help every man, and to do good unto them so far, as our might, wisdome, learning, counsil, health, strength, and al other gifts, which we have received of God, will extend: and *in summa*, a firm intent and purpose to do al that is good, and leave al that is evil. This is the very right, pure, perfect, lovely, Christian, hearty, and justifying faith, which worketh by love, as S. Paul saith, and suffereth no venome or poyson of sin to remain within the heart: (Acts 15. "Fide Deus purificans corda.") But gendreth in the heart a hatred unto al sin, and makes a sinner clean a new man; and is the faith which every Christen man ought to profess in his creed. And of this faith runneth al our *paraphrasis* upon the same. For as for the other fained, pretended, hypocritical and adulterate faith in the mouth, it is but only a painted visor before men; but before God it is hollow within, dead, rotten, and nothing worth.

## II. JUSTIFICATION.

And for a further declaration, to know how we obtain our justification, it is expedient to consider first, how naughty and sinful we are al, that be of Adam's kindred: and contrariwise, what mercifulnes is in God, which to al faithful and penitent sinners, pardoneth al their offences for Christs sake. Of these two things no man is lightly ignorant, that ever hath heard of the fal of Adam, which was to the infection of al his posterity: and again, of the inexplicable mercy of our heavenly Father, which sent his only begotten Son to suffer his most grievous passion for us, and shed his most precious blood, the price of our redemption. But it is greatly to be wished and desired, that as al Christen men do know the same, so that every man might acknowledg himself a miserable sinner, not worthy to be called his son; and yet surely trust, that to him being repentant Gods mercy is ready to forgive. And he that seeth not these two things verified in himself, can take no maner of emolument or profit, by knowledging and believing the said things to be verified in others. But we cannot satisfy our minds, settle our conscience, that these things be true, saving that we do evidently see, that Gods word so teacheth us. The commandments of God lay our faults before our eyen; which putteth us in fear and dread, and maketh us se the wrath of God against our sins. As S. Paul saith, "Per legem agnitio peccati." Et, "Lex iram operatur." And maketh us sorry and repentant, that ever we should come into the displeasure of God, and the captivity of the devil.

The gracious and benign promises of God, by the mediation of Christ, showeth us, and that to our great relief and comfort, whensoever we be repentant and return fully to God in our hearts, that we have forgiveness of our sins, be reconciled to God, and be accepted and reputed just and righteous in his sight, only by his grace and mercy, which he doth grant and give unto us for his dearly beloved Sons sake, Jesus Christ, who payd a sufficient ransome for our sins; whose bloud doth wash away the same; whose bitter and grievous passion is the only pacifying oblation, that putteth away from us the wrath of God his Father: whose sanctified body, offered on the cross, is the only sacrifice of sweet and pleasant savour, as S. Paul saith; that is to say, of such sweetnes and pleasantnes to the Father, that for the same he accepteth and reputeth of like sweetnes al them, that the same offering doth serve for. These benefits of God with innumerable others, whosoever extendeth and wel pondereth in his heart, and therby conceiveth a firm trust and feeling of Gods mercy, wherof springeth in his heart a warm love, fervent heat of zeal towards God: it is not possible, but that he shal fal to work, and be ready to the performance of al such works, as he knoweth to be acceptable unto God.

And these works only, which follow justification, do please God; forasmuch as they procede from a heart endued with pure faith and love to God. But the works which we do before our justification, be not allowed and accepted before God, although they appear never so great and glorious in the sight of men. For after our justification only begin we to work, as the law of God requireth: then we shal do al good works willingly, although not so exactly as the law requireth, by means of the infirmity of the flesh, nevertheles by the merits and benefits of Christ, we being sorry, that we cannot do al things no more exquisitely and duely, al our works shalbe accepted and taken of God as most exquisite, pure and perfect. Now they that think they may come to justification by performance of the law, by their own deeds and merits, or by any other means, than is above rehearsed, they go from Christ, they renounce his grace. "Evacuati estis a Christo," saith S. Paul, Gal. 5, "quicunque in lege justificamini; a gratia excidistis." They be not partakers of his justice, that he hath procured, or the merciful benefits that be given by him. For S. Paul saith, (a general rule for al them, that will seek such by-paths to obtain justification,) "Those," saith he, "that wil not knowledg the justice, *or righteousnes,* which cometh by God, but go about to avaunce their own righteousnes, shal never come to that righteousnes, which we have by God, which is the righteousnes of Christ." By whom only al the saints in heaven, and al others that have been saved, have been reputed righteous, and justified. So that to Christ our only Savior and Redeemer, of whose righteousnes both their, and our justification doth depend, is to be transcribed al the glory therof.

## III. FORGIVENES OF INJURIES.

THESE two may stand both wel together: that we as private persons may forgive al such as have trespassed against us with al our heart, and yet that the public ministers of God may se a redres of the same trespasses that we have forgiven. For my forgivenes concerns only mine own person, but I cannot forgive the punishment and correction, that by Gods ordinance is to be ministred by the superior power. For in so much as the same trespas, which I do forgive, may be the maintenance of vice, not only of the offendor, but also of others taking evil example therby, it lyes not in me to forgive the same. For so should I enterprize in the office of another, which by the ordinance of God be deputed to the same. Yea, and that such justice may be ministred to the abolishment of vice and sin, I may, yea and rather, as the cause shal require, I am bound to make relation to the superior powers, of the enormities and trespasses, done to me and others: and being sorry, that I should have cause so to do, seek the reformation of such evil doers, not as desirous of vengeance, but of the amendment of their lives. And yet I may not the more cruelly persecute the matter, because the offence is peradventure done towards me: but I am to handle it as if it were done to any other, only for the use of the extirpation of sin, the maintenance of justice and quietnes: which may right wel stand with the ferventnes of charity, as the Scripture testifieth. "Non oderis fratrem tuum in corde tuo, sed publicè argue eum, ne habeas super illo peccatum." Levit. 19. So that this may stand with charity, and also the forgiveness that Christ requireth of every one of us.

And yet in this doing, I must forgive him with al my heart, as much as lyes in mee; I must be sorry, that sin should have so much rule in him; I must pray to God to give him repentance for his misdeeds; I must desire God, that for Christs sake he wil not impute the sin unto him, being truly repentant, and so to strengthen him in grace, that he fal not again so dangerously. I think I were no true Christen man, if I should not thus do. And what other thing is this, than as much as lyeth in me, with al my heart to remit the trespas? But I may by the lawes require al that is due unto me by right. And as for the punishment and correction, it is not in my power to enterprize therin: but that only belongeth to the superior powers, to whom, if the grievousnes of the cause shal require by the commandment, which willeth us to take away the evil from among us, we ought to shew the offences, and complain thereof. For he would not that we should take away the evil, but after a just and lawful means, which is only, by the ordinance of God, to shew the same to the superior powers, that they may take an order in it, according to Gods judgment and justice.

## No. XXXII.

### *Other Discourses of Archbishop Cranmer.**

### I. *De Consolatione Christianorum contra metum mortis. Ex Doctoribus Ecclesiasticis.*

If death of the body were to be feared, then theym, which have power to kil the body should we fear, lest they do their exercise over us, as they may at their pleasure. But our Saviour forbids us to fear them, because when they have killed the body, then they can do no more to us. Wherfore it is plain, that our Savior would not that we should fear death. "To dy," saith S. John Chrysostom, "is to put off our old garments, and death is a pilgrimage of the spirit from the body:" (he means, for a time) "and a sleep, somewhat longer than the old custome." The fear of it, saith he, is nothing else, than the fear of buggs, and a childish fear of that thing that cannot harm thee. Remember holy S. Ambrose's saying, which S. Augustin, lying on his death bed, ever had in his mouth, "I do not fear to dy; for we have a good and merciful Lord and Master." Lactantius, the great learned man confirms the saying of Cicero to be true, which said, "that no man can be right wise, which feareth death, pain, banishment or poverty: and that he is the honest and vertuous man, which not regardeth what he suffers, but how wel he doth suffer." Sedulius, one of disciples, defineth death to be the gate, by the which lyeth the strait way unto reign and kingdom. Basilius, who as in name, so both in vertue and learning was great, thus he exhorteth us: "O! man," saith he, "shrink not to withstand your adversaries, to suffer labors; abhor not death, for it destroys not, nor makes not an end of you, but it is the beginning and occasion of life. Nor death is the destruction of al things, but a departing, and a translation unto honors." And S. Hierom, the strong and stout champion of Almighty God, saith, declaring this saying of holy Job, "the day of death is better than the day of birth;" "that is," saith he, "because other [either] that by death it is declared what we are, or else because our birth doth bind our liberty of the soul with the body, and death do loose it."

The holy martyr Cyprian saith, "he ought to fear death, that would not, nor hath no lust to go to Christ: and that he hath no wil to God, the which believeth not, that by death, he shal begin to reign with Christ, as it is written, 'The right wise man liveth by faith.' Wherefore," saith he, "do not ask that the kingdom of God may come, if this earthly bondage do delight us, &c."

With a great deal more: al upon allegations.

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* MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. civ. 299.]

### II. *An Exhortation to take Sicknes wel, and Adversity patiently: drawn out of Cyprian.*

"This misliketh some men, that disease of sicknes cometh to the Christen, no less then to the heathen. As who should say, that therfore the Christian believeth, because he should be quiet from danger of adversity, and might have the fruition of this world at his own pleasure: and not because that after he hath suffered adversity here, he shalbe reserved for the joy to come," &c.

### III. *An Exhortation to take the Pain of Sicknes patiently; translated out of S. Augustin. Lib. 1. De Visitatione Infirmorum.*

"Thou wilt say, I love God: God grant, saith S. Augustin, that it be so indeed as thou promisest in words. The proof and trial of the love of God is the fulfiling of his commandments, the fulfilling of his works, willingly to love that God loveth, with a fervent desire to embrace that, the which God worketh. Then if thou lovest God, thou lovest that that God doth, and if thou love that that God doth, then thou lovest Gods disciplin. When thou art chastened, thou lovest Gods rod. Thou art pained with the cough, the lungs faileth thee: thy stomack abhorres his meat: thou pinest away with a consumption: thou tastest not thy drink: thou art vexed within thy body: thou art grieved with many sundry and divers kinds of diseases. But al these, if thou have an eye to perceive, if thou reckon God, al these, I say, are the gifts of God. Son, cast not away the discipline of the Father. There is no child, which the Father doth not correct," &c.

## No. XXXIII.

### *Interrogatories for Dr. London.*[*]

Whether he commanded Serles upon Palm-Sunday even, to write such articles or sermons, as had been preached in Kent: [by those of the new learning: which Serles would have to be done by the countenance of Cranmer.]

Whether Serles brought the articles upon Palm-Sunday.

Whether he required Serles to go with him to the Councel, to present the said articles, or else to subscribe them with his hand. And Serles refused so to do, because they were not proved by witnesses, but only by hear-say.

Whether he threatned Serles, because he would not set to his hand; notwithstanding that Serles knew them not, but by hear-say.

How Dr. London did find out Serles; and how long he had enquired for him before he could find him.

Whether in the presence of Serles Dr. London did pen the articles anew, otherwise then they were presented.

Whether Serles said then to Dr. Willoughby, whom Dr. London had persuaded to go with him to the Councel; "Beware what you do: for you shall never be able to prove of this sort, that Dr. London doth now pen them."

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[*] MSS. C.C.C.C. intit. Synodalia. [No. cxxviij. 203.]

Whether beside the book subscribed by divers prebendaries and others of Cant. Dr. London made another great book of many more articles. Where that book is, and of whom he had his instructions.

What matters he knew against the abp. of Cant. or others in Kent, before Palm-Sunday last past, when he had articles of Serles. And of whom he had such knowledg before the said day.

### *Dr. Willoughbies Confession and Submission; as to his medling in the Abp. of Canterburies busines, under his own hand.*

He declared, that he first met Serles at Dr. Londons house at London, on Palm-Sunday, coming to London to speak with the chamberlain of London. And then they opened the busines first to him. That he was not able to say any thing against any one person mentioned in these articles, more then by hear-say. That he and Gardiner had been gathering of matter a quarter of a year before. That he knew nothing that they minded any thing towards his grace, til he saw it in writing: by whom, and whose devise God, the devil and they know; he knew nothing for his part. And that it was the most deceitful and disobedient country in the world. As concerning their preferment of their articles at the sessions, he knew nothing of that neither. Nor was in Kent at that time, nor knew of no sessions, as God should be his help. Nor that he spake with any justices of peace in this matter; or that he was privy, that any of them did. That he told Mr. Moyle, and Mr. Thwaite [two eminent justices] what Mr. London said to him, that the justices al would be shent, because they suffered such preachings and contentions without doing any thing therin. That he only consented to bear the name of putting up of these matters [that is, of preferring the articles to the sessions.] He acknowledged, that he said, he heard that it was in the country in many places: lying upon himself like a fool: and yet that he never came before the Councel, nor never minded. But to avoyd the suspition, he made much babling, bringing himself into much slander.

And for this doing he submitted himself to God, and my lords grace. That, by his father, [a sort of oath] he had no dealing with Pettit, nor any other lawyer, or did know what they did, as to indictment, or any other thing thereunto belonging: nor ever reasoned with Pettit about any such matter. What effect or head they intended to bring this matter unto, God knoweth: most likely to subdue his graces power. That they had good hope to have had other commissioners, than his lordship. So London promised them at the beginning, or else they would not have medled so much, as they did: and especially against his grace. That as concerning their authority, he suspected they took it of Londons presumption, seeing him go forward against such men of worship [meaning the late indictments of so many eminent persons at Winsor] and of the rigor in handling and fetching up of persons.

### *Another Confession of Dr. Willoughby.*

Mr. Serles manitimes resorted home to me, and stil lay upon me to put up articles that he and they should devise, because I was the kings graces chaplain. Whereupon I granted, so they might be proveable and true. And so it fortuned in Passion week, he and I on Friday in the same week rode to London, and on Saturday he had be with Dr. London and put up his articles, [nothing to my knowledg, that he had any] and promising him, that he would put them up himself. And on Palm-Sunday in the morning he sent for me, and prayed me to go with him to Mr. London: and so I did. And there (wo worth them both, London and Serles, who is ordained to cause much trouble) he told London that I would put up the articles: and so asked me the question. And I bad him read them, for I never saw them before, nor knew whether they were true or false: and so I told him. And Serles said, Ye know, it is openly spoken. And I said, Though I hear such things, I am not sure they be true; and also here is no record to affirm them true: which methink were row [rough] matter, knowing neither party nor record. And therfore seeing Serles hath put them to you, let him present them himself. Then Mr. London said, I have shewed them to part of the Councel already: and chid sore with Serles, saying, that he would shew the truth, who brought them. Then said Dr. London to me, Put ye them up, knowing such shameful articles presented here before your own face, it shal be hard for you to byde the danger hereof, knowing the kings wil is to have it so. And also fear not; for I have set such a spectacle before you at Winsor, in bringing to light abominable heresies: at the which the kings majesty was astonied, and wondred, angry both with the doers and bearers. And therfore if ye shrink herein, ye shal shew your self not to be herein the kings true subject. Therefore seeing ye be his chaplain, ye did him never such service, as ye may do herein, to present them for your discharge. For now ye shal not be rid of them, and ye would. [Having heard them read, and so being privy to them.]

And with this threatning and fear I was content. And so Dr. London wrot them new, and added to them at his pleasure: wherwith both Serles and I were vexed. Meaning, as he said, to bring the matter into the justices hond, and certain of the spiritualty; whose names Serles recited at his request: saying to us, it would never be known to be our doing. And so was I fain to take the old copy with me into Kent, to get them recorded. And he sent his copy to my L. of Winchester. And so when I came down into Kent, remembring this article to be put up in my name, and neither had record, nor knew them to be true, I came to the prebend of Christschurch, and brought with me the articles, being al of Serles hand, and gathering of him, and them among themselves: and bad me ask for one Salisbery that had the key of his chamber, for certain other writings, and copy al in one, and set their hands to them: and Mr. Gardiner to sign for himself, and Serles to boot. I could get neither writing nor sign. And so I went up again: and told London of it with a heavy heart. Then Mr. London told me, I should tel Mr. Moyle, that the Councel said to him, that the justices of every shire should be shent, that such things should be, and not brought to knowledg. For if every justice had done his duty, according to the kings injunctions, such enormities need not to have been. And I told Mr. Moyle and Mr. Thwaites both, what I heard of London. Also Mr. London came to Mr. Moyles lodging one day, and talked with him his mind, as may fortune he hath better in remembrance then I. But then I heard him tel Mr. Moyle, how he took up my L. of Cant. before the Councel. Then the next day I came to Mr. Moyle again; and because he heard, that the Councel should say so, and also had other commandments for his discharge, sent certain letters to Mr. Thwaites, Mr. Walter Moyle, Mr. Green and Mr. Norton, to search out any priest that lacked a crown with such articles as the country rumoured of. Wherupon each of them sent up some: and then the prebendaries wrote up apace. And Mr. Moyle brought al that came to his hand to my L. of Cant. And therwith Mr. London was angry, and said he would mar al.

Then I went down into Kent again, and brought up the articles, wherin was matter against my L. of Cant. and received them of Mr. Gardiner on Good-Friday or Easter-Even. Mr. Shether copied them again. Which articles they prayed me to carry to my L. of Winchester. And I kept it, and let Dr. London see it. And he caused me to send it down to be signed with the hands of them. And so I did, and kept the copy. And then, when I had it signed, I kept it stil, til their coming. And they took it of me, and carried it to the Councel themselves. And Dr. London had a copy of them, or else before. And they told me, they had great comfort of my L. of Winchester, and of Mr. Baker both.

Also Dr. London brought me by commandment of mine allegiance, to go with him to the Councel chamber door; meaning to have me in before the Councel. But he went in, and told them of my being there; giving me this lesson, that I should say. "My lords al; it is so, that the kings majesty and his honourable council hath been at great charges, and taken great paines, to set a good and a godly way among us. And for al that, in Kent among us we have the most enormous heresies, that may be. And because I heard of this gracious tydings, that his wil and pleasure is, that every man in pain of his allegiance to bring in what he knoweth, or else hereafter we know, and would not speak it, our damage would be thence. And because of this, I come for my discharge to shew this." But I came not in, nor spake with none: their busines was so much.

Also the next day after Dr. London carried me to my L. Privy Seals chamber, and the articles with us. But he had no leisure to se them.

Also the next day after that I had been with my L. Privy Seal, Dr. London carried me to my L. of Winchester. And there he was carried in to my lords secret chamber: and tarried there an hour, and had his articles new copied with him. And in the next day, in the morning betimes, I went there to speak with my L. of Winchester my self. And I spake with him, and prayed him, that the articles that Mr. London brought, should not be put up in my name, for I knew not the matter; but in the names of them that sent them. And he said, he would. And another time I came to my L. of Winchester, and brought a roll from Mr. London: and then I prayed him again, that he would not put them up in my name, and had him recommended from Mr. Gardiner, that he would be good lord to him for a busines of           for he had taken great paines in this matter. But he made me no promise. And also my L. of Winch. bad me not fear to do my duty. And the matter were not to be byde by, the doers should bear the blame, and not the presenter. It is al our duties to stand in such things, as are contrary to the kings injunctions.

And here is al that ever I did in this matter, as I can remember: and al the Council that ever I came before in this matter, or any other. But thus by the comforting in this matter of my L. of Winchester, and Dr. London's threatnings, have brought my self in great dangers with other mens matters nothing of my self, that I can either se or prove, nor never did. But busied myself with other mens articles: yet had I never done it, and London had not been, that threat me to be no true subject. Wo worth them both, he and Serles: for by their false inventions I am shamed. If their articles be false, punish the inventors with shame: for shameful matters, and many have been gathered among them.

Also Mr. London commanding both Serles and me, that in ony wise wee should get as much matter as could be devised: for it would be the goodliest deed, and the most bounden duty to our prince, that ever we did.

Also Mr. Shether sent his man to me on Sunday before Al-Solne day, bidding me in any wise not to be known of nothing: for that they had uttered nothing themselves. And that I should go to his brother Parson, and I should know more. But he was sworn not to write to me: but he had written to his brother al his mind; and of him I should know al. For Mr. Dr. Cockes, and Mr. Hossy, as he thought, was sent to catch me. And therefore he sent his man to be afore. And if I did speak with them, I should say, that I received no letter, but of Cockson, which is dead. And this was but to bring me in danger, and skuse themselves. And if I come before the Council, I will byde by al this: for it is true. But it is impossible for a man, to have every day or time in remembrance, that hath been done or said in a year. But I put al to Gods grace, and the kings, and to your lordship.

Also, I asked Shethers man, whether he had been with my L. of Winch. since the coming down of my lords grace. And he said, Yea: and told my lord, how al was handled here among us. And my L. of Winch. answered and said, My lord of Cant. could not kil them. Therfore suffer. For al was against himself that he did. And he should se, what would come of it.

Also, at the coming up of the prebendaries to London, Mr. Shether put the articles and writings to Mr. Ford, that married his sister; that he should write them. Which was a great book of two dayes labour. What was the contents therof I know not. I think al the whole articles compiled together.

Also Mr. Dr. Thornton in the ale [alley] before my door in London, I desired him to speak to my L. of Cant. or some of his officers, to instruct him, that I never put up articles against any man in my life. And he bade me stick to it, and be not afraid. For he had spoken to the Councel his mind therin, as he was bound: and so be yee, being the kings chaplain: or else hereafter it would be laid to your charge.

By me JOHN WILLUGHBY.

### *Another Writing of Willoughby.*

ABOUT Avent Mr. Serles preached at home with me at Chillam, and there he talked of his trouble: saying, he had put up certain articles to the kings majesty: and yet they were so cloaked, that his grace never saw them. Whereupon at his return he was layd in prison. And so he lay upon me, and moved me, to put up such articles, as he and his company should devise. Whereupon I granted, so they might be true and proveable. So I heard no more of this, til Passion-Sunday. For that day he preached with me again. At which time he told me, he would to London that week, and so to Oxford. And I promised to ride with him. And so I did, meaning no more of this matter, than the child unborn. Mine errand was to speak with the chamberlain of London. So on Palm Sunday in the morning, he sent his man for me to come meet him in Pauls. And so I did meet him there. And so he prayed me to go to Dr. London with him. Which man I never saw before, of my faith. But he had been with him the night before, and put up his articles: promising him, that he would go on Monday in the morning with him to the court, and put them up before the Councel; as Mr. Lond. said before his face. And in the morning he was clean changed; saying to Mr. London, that there was one Willoughby, that came to the town with him, which had promised him, that whensoever we wil bring our articles unto him, he wil present them. And so Dr. London told me, that Serles said so unto him; and hereupon he moved me. And I desired to hear them: and so they were read unto me. Which things methought were but trifles. And I said, they were of no effect, to present before the Councel: and also neither knew, nor could affirm none of them to be true: saying, Let Serles put them up, that brought them hither. For here is no record to affirm none of them to be true. Then said Serles, Ye know that al the country doth speak of these. And I said, Though I did hear part of them, yet I am not able to say, that one of them is true. And because ye know them perfect, and the doers of them, and have also brought them hither, it is most meet for you to answer to them. And then Mr. London said, that he had shewed them to part of the Councel, and to my L. of Winchester. For I see the copy that was sent to my lord, was of Londons own hand. For he that copied them out before us, was a gentleman of my L. Winchesters, or to him belonging, Mr. Londons copy lying before him. This appeareth, that this matter was consulted before: Serles can tel what the man was; (and so cannot I,) that did write them. But as I now remember, it was German, [that is, German Gardner.]

By me JOHN WILLOUGHBY.

### *Gardiners penitent Letter unto the Archbishop.*

GENTLE father. Whereas I have not born so good, so tender a heart towards you as a true child ought to bear, and as you never gave unto me occasion otherwise, but rather by benefits provoked me unto the contrary, I ask of you with as contrite a heart, as ever did David ask of God, mercy. And I desire you to remember the prodigal child: which although from his father swarving, yet into favour received again, to receive me, although unkindly now by folly I did forsake you, and not born my heart so lovingly, so truly towards you, as in dutifulness I should have done. I am ful sorry for my fault. And yet, good father, be you wel assured, as I opened my conscience unto you at my last communing with you, that I never did bear malice against you. But the greatest cause, that ever occupied my heart against you, and for the which I did bear my heart so little towards you, was, as God shall save the soul of me, that I saw so little quietness among us, and so great jars in Christs religion: supposing, that by your permission and sufferance, (which was not so, as I do now perceive,) that it did arise unto the great grief of my conscience. I condescended the sooner unto the making of the book against your grace, when I was thereunto moved by that same suggester, Willoughby; where and of whom he took occasion to bring his bills unto Canterbury, I know not. Good father, for my setting forth the same book, partly by me made, heartily confessing my rashness, and indeliberate doings, I ask of you mercy. Requiring of you, of your charity, to impute the great fault of it unto those, which ministred unto me occasion; and to remit unto me my lightness. For of truth I was greatly seduced. Remember, good father, that our parent was seduced, and yet of God forgiven. Forgive me, good father. By whom I was seduced, my confession doth declare. And, father, if it shall please you now, more of your goodness then of my deserving, (punishment and that sharp I have deserved) to forgive unto me this my fault and unkindness: you shal never hereafter perceive in me, but that at al times I shal be as obedient, and as true unto you, as ever was child unto his natural father. If otherwise at any time you find of me, never trust me, never do for me; but utterly without al favor cast me into pain, as possible is for a wretch to suffer. Gentle father, ponder my grief, which is at my heart not little. And through your goodness remitting unto me my unkindness, and granting mercy with liberty, I desire your grace to set me into ease, both of heart and body. I am yours, and shal be yours; and that truly, while I live. God prosper your grace

per me WILLIAM GARDINER.

Good father, I have given my self unto you, heart, body and service; and you have taken me unto you. Now remember me, that I am your true servant.

### *Another Letter of Gardiner to the Archbishop.*

MOST honourable prelate. Due commendations premised, these be to give thanks unto your grace, for that that you did yesterday, so favourably, as my sending for unto your presence: whom I thought that I should never (pensiveness lay so sore to my heart) have seen again. And among al your communications, that your grace had unto me, I noted these words of highest comfort. Your grace did note that I did cal you *father* in my writings, you said unto me yesterday, "You cal me father: in good faith I wil be a father unto you indeed." Words of high comfort unto me. Besides this, most honorable lord, you promised that I should have a book of al articles layd in against me, to make answer unto them. I beseech your grace that I may so have. For there is nothing that I have done or known to be done, but if I can cal it into remembrance, I will truly open it. God prosper your grace.

By yours, and ever shal be, WILLIAM GARDINER.

### *Shethers Letter of Submission to the Archbishop.*

MY duty always remembred unto your gracious lordship. I most humbly beseech the same to have compassion upon me your prisoner. And for as much as I think, by the articles, which Mr. Joseph mentioned, that your grace hath not only the articles subscribed with the witnes hands, but also other articles: which I noted since that time; as I heard by Mr. Gardiner, Coxton, Morice and others. So that your gracious lordship knoweth al, that ever I have heard. Pleaseth it your lordship to understand, that many of those articles last noted were of the book, that was presented to my L. of Winchester, as unperfect and not proved: as indeed many could never be justified, as far as ever I heard. And therefore my L. of Winchester sent it again, as I have said in my first declaration. And it was never willed to be shewed as true. But, gracious lord, whether I have offended in that, that I noted those articles, after that I was willed by Mr. Baker, to mark the chiefest fautors of new opinions, I refer it to your gracious judgment: and whatsoever shal be thought (as nothing can be hid, nor I would should not, of any my life, from any of you both,) that I have offended in; I beseech you both of your mercy and favor, and to be good to me, instantly and briefly (for I am loth to trouble you, or to seem to mistrust your goodness) desiring you to have in remembrance my weak nature, and the long and solatory durance I have suffered, with grievous vexation of mind. And for refreshing thereof to licence me to eat and drink at meals with company: and being so nigh my chamber, that I may remain in the same: to the intent I may pas the time with my own books. Heartily desiring your good lp. that nothwithstanding any thing heretofore done, or how ever I have before wandred, not conformably to your gracious advertisement or expectation: yet gracious lord, accept a poor heart, which would gladly be received into your fatherly favor again, to declare his faithful mind, he hath conceived towards your goodness, upon such pity as your gracious lp. hath shewed, and I trust now wil, in his extreme need. Assuring your grace that my whole confidence and only trust is reposed in your goodness only, and gentle Mr. Doctors; whose native merciful hearts, as they have be declared oftentimes towards many, so I most meekly beseech you both mercifully to interpretate my acts, and declare your pity in releasing my sorrows as shortly as shal seem convenient to your wisdomes. For whom I wil not cease to be a perpetual orator to Almighty God. I most heartily desire to know your gracious pleasure in the premises, and especially whether your lordship hath the book subscribed with the witness hands or no. For although that, in the copy of my brothers book, it appeareth who hath subscribed to other articles of Mr. Drom and Mr. Scory and others, which I do not remember.

Your gracious prisoner EDMOND SHETHER.

### *Milles Letter of Submission.*

MOST reverend father in God, my humble duty remembred unto your grace. And I know right wel in that I subscribed unto certain articles (though unadvisedly) have shewed great unkindness unto your grace in so doing. And again, for that have deserved little kindness at your graces hand, and do now suffer cold imprisonment at your graces pleasure. Which is very tedious painful unto me, and as I fear, great danger might ensue unto me, by augmenting that cold and cough, that I have taken before, and now increaseth. Besides the inward pensiveness of heart taken, for this my rash fact, at other mens light motion, as others of my company did: which now I think lamenteth them much: yea so much, that at such time as I have been in company with them, I have heard them say, that they could not sleep, neither eat that thing, or drink, that did do them much good, as I am one of them. Wherefore, most gracious lord, these premisses and others considered, by the which sickness of body may not the heart wast, this shal be to humbly beseech your grace to mercifully intreat me, and that now I may find some drop of mercy at your graces hands, for this my imprisonment. Assuring your grace that I shall take this punishment for my learning; and not at any time hereafter to be so lightly allured at any mans motion to put so unadvisedly my hand, or consent to any such matter hereafter. Now, gracious lord, shew pity and mercy unto me, which I do ask of your grace, and do heartily desire it with weeping ey, and sorrowful heart, as knoweth God.

By your JOHN MYLLYS.

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## No. XXXIV.

### *A Letter prepared for the King to sign, to ratify certain Ecclesiastical Lawes.*

HENRICUS octavus Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor, et dominus Hiberniæ, ac in terris Anglicanis sub Deo caput supremum: omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, clericis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, generosis, ac alijs cujuscunque generis hominibus, subditis et legiis nostris, per regnum nostrum, et dominia nostra ubilibet commorantibus, salutem, et evangelicæ veritatis incrementum.

Cum VOS optimi cives mei mihique charissimi, me nunc unum atque solum hujus regni principem, in terrisque secundum Deum, hujus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ unicum supremúmque caput, quemadmodum divini atque humani juris ratio postulat, potestatémque tam ecclesiasticæ quam mundanæ politiæ mihi majoribusque meis, ipso jure divino concessam (verum multis seculis unius Romani episcopi malitia, fraude, dolis atque astutia ereptam) ad me et successores meos pertinere una voce, uno omnium assensu agnoscitis, non possum in dies magis magisque, muneris atque officij mei rationem non habere, deque illustranda Dei gloria, de Christianæ pietatis vera doctrina propaganda, de

imperij hujus incolumitate, et quiete tuenda, summa animi cura atque cogitatione non esse solicitus. Occurrant enim subinde animo meo verba illa, quæ *Sapientiæ* cap. septimo habentur ad hunc modum: "Audite reges et intelligite, quoniam data est a Domino potestas vobis, et virtus ab Altissimo; qui interrogabit opera vestra, ut scrutabitur cogitationes. Ad vos ergo, reges, sunt hij sermones mei ut discatis sapientiam, et ne excidatis. Qui enim custodit justitiam jüstè judicabuntur, et qui didicerunt justa, invenient quid respondeant," &c. Hinc facile perspici potest exactissime a regibus potestatis suæ reddendam esse rationem, illosque gravissimas manere pœnas, si non, ut oportuit, in rep. administranda sese gesserint.

Quod si tanta cura, ac solicitudine quibuscunque regibus opus est, quam anxios igitur ac solicitos Christianos reges esse debere censendum est, quibus non politia modo civilis, sed ecclesiastica etiam potestas data est? Hos enim non tantum quæ ad humanam societatem pertinent, sed etiam quæ divinæ Christianæque religioni maximè consentanea sunt, curare necesse est. Præsentem hujus sæculi fælicitatem principes Christianos ita metiri convenit, ut hac potestate sua ad Dei cultum dilatandum utantur, et in hoc incumbant, ut recta doctrina propagetur, orneturque Dei gloria.

Cum igitur a Christianis regibus justitiam in imperio, pacis tuendæ curam, pietatem, studium juvandæ et ornandæ religionis Christianæ exigi animadverterem, nihil mihi potius esse debere judicabam, quàm ut omnes inirem rationes, quo minus in hoc meo regno hæc a me desiderentur, et quo ad possem, muneri imposito satisfacerem. Hoc ut facilius, expeditiusque præstare valeam, non ignoratis vos, quantam curam adhibuerim in illis rebus promovendis tuendísque, quæ huic negotio maximè conducere, atque adjumento esse videbantur; quæ contra impedire atque obesse visa sunt, quanto studio tollere ac delere conatus sum, assiduéque conor. Abunde enim vobis declaratum hactenus fuit, quam in hac nostra Britannia, multis retro sæculis, episcopi Romani vis injusta, ac non ferenda, sacro sancto divino numini inimica fuit; quantopere religioni Christianæ, veræ doctrinæ propagandæ adversata est, quantum hujus reip. pacem ac tranquillitatem sæpissimè interturbavit, protestatémque regiam divinitus constitutam labefactando, debitam omnium obedientiam, a vero ac justo principis sui imperio, contra omne jus divinum et humanum, ad se transferre ausus est. Hujus potestatem huic cum divino munere sublatam esse manifestum est, et nequid superesset, quo non planè fractam illius vim esse constaret, leges omnes, decreta atque instituta, quæ ab authore episcopo Romano profecta sunt, prorsus abroganda censuimus. Quorum loco, ut facilius imposterum Dei opt. max. gloria illustretur, et vera philosophia Christiana regnumque Christi vigere possit, et quo omnia decenter et ordine in Christi hac ecclesia gerantur; en vobis authoritate nostra editas leges damus, quas a vobis omnibus suscipi, coli et observari volumus, et sub nostræ indignationis pœna mandamus, ut vestra in Deum pietas, amor erga patriam, principemque vestrum obedientia, non sine immensa divini nominis gloria omnibus conspicua sit, ac vosmetipsos non minus de vestris rationibus solicitos ostendatis, quam ego vestra causa de officio fuerim meo, stricte præcipientes, ut his nostris constitutionibus vos

omnes et singuli, tam in judicijs, quam in gymnarijs utamini, severè prohibentes, ne quisquam vestrum alias, præter has, et regni nostri leges admittere præsumat. Valete.

## No. XXXV.

*The Bishop of Winchester to Archbishop Cranmer: relating to the Reformation of Religion.*[*]

After my duty remembred to your grace. Your letters of the third came to my hands the of the same. And, upon the reading, and advised consideration of the matter in them, have thought requisite to answer unto them: and at length to open my mind frankly in some points of them. Tempering my words so, as I shal not be seen to have forgotten your place and condition, ne such familiarite, as hath been between your G. and me. The remembrance of which familiarite maketh me speke as frely, as on the other side your astate brydeleth me to be more moderate in speech, then sum matier I shal herafter speke of, wold ells suffre and permit.

It greveth me moch to rede wryten from your G. in the begynning of your lettres, how the king our late soveraign was seduced, and in that he knew by whom he was compassed in that I cal the *Kings Majesties Book.* Which is not his book, bicause I cal it so, but bicause it was indede so acknowledged by the hol Parliament, and acknowledged so by your G. thenn, and al his life; which, as you afterwards write, ye commaunded to be published and red in your diocese, as his book: against which by your G's spech ye commaunded Joseph he shuld not prech. Al which I think your G. would not have doon, if ye had not thought the book to have conteyned truth. And in the truth can be no seducyng to it, as the kings book conteyneth; but from it. Which if it had been so, I ought to think your G. would not for al the princes christened, being so high a bishop, as ye be, have yelded unto. For "Obedire oportet Deo, magis quam hominibus." And therfore after your G. hath foure yere continually lyved in agrement of that doctrine under our late soveraine lord, now so sodenly after his death, to wryte to me, that his highness was *seduced,* it is, I assure you, a very straunge spech. Which if your G. shuld bring in to open contention, as I know your G. of your wisedome, wyl not; but in that case wyl I, as an old servaunt of my late soverayne

*Much wanting.*

it self so many calamities besides, wherof I have more laysor to think on, thenn your G. as my chance is now, which I reckon in this respect very good; after so many yeres service and in such trouble without daunger passed over, to aryve in this haven of quyetnes without losse of any notable takel, as the marryners say, (which is a great matier as the wynds hath blowen) and if the present astate in this world wer to be considered, I have many times alleged for confirmation of thopinion of some in religion and the Protestants take it for a gret argument, to establish ther procedyngs, that themperor was ever letted, when he went about to enterprize any thing against them, as Bucer declareth at gret length in a letter written to the world. And whenne Sledanus was here in England, he told me the like at Windesore: and then *tanquam prædixit* of the effect of certain eclypse: adding, that I shuld see *magnas mutationes.* And so I have seen, and have heard mervelous chaunges synnes that; but otherwise than Sledanus toke it, and to destroy ther fancies, if that were to be regarded. But for my self, I have seen my soveraine lord, with whom I consented in opinion, make the honourable conquest of Bolen, and honorably in his life mainteyne it. And after in honorable peace made, leave this world over soon to us: but that was due by him to be payd to nature, discharged it honorably; buried honorably with sorrow and lamentation of his servants and subgetts; and my self his poor servant, with a litel fleebyting of this world, conveyed to an easy astate, without diminution of my reputation. And therfore whenne I hear fondly alleged, or rede more fondly wryten, the favor *toto*, that is by Bale, Joye and Joseph, or such like, newly called *the word of God,* to be embraced for preservation of the worldy astate, I se the clere contrary in experience, and conclude with my self, that it proveth nought before man; and take it before God to be abomination. Which causeth me to spend some of my laysor to wryte so long a letter to your G. who hath lesse laysor: wyshing that our laysor, gret or litel, may be spent otherwyse then to trouble this realm in the time of our soveraine lords minority, with any novelte in matiers of religion: being so many other matiers, which, for that I was so late a counsellor, cannot out of my memory: requiring the hol endeavour of such as have charge, and silence in the people, who shuld serve and obey, without quarelyng among themself for matiers in religion. Specially considering it is agreed our late soverain is receyved to Goddes mercy. And though some wold say, he had [his errors] and saw not perfitely Gods truth: yet for us, it were better to go to heven with oon yie after hym, thenne to travayle here for another yie with daungier to lose both. There was good humanite in him that said, "Malim errare cum Platone, quam cum alijs vera sentire." Which affection were to the world plausible towching our soveraine lord, that made us: but we Christen men may not teach so, but esteme God above al, and his true divinite. In which case nevertheles, whenne the divinite pretended is so rejected of many, and utterly reproved: so doubted of many other, as it is suspected and confessed among us, it is not necessary. For our soveraine lord is gone from us to heaven, in his way.

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[*] Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxvij. 79–88.]

It is a mervelous matier what a certain loss it is aforehand to entreprize to serch, which among a very few hath the name of divinite, and of al the rest is so named* as I wil not reherse. And this I write not, because your G. entendeth any such thing soo far. For I may not, and wil not so think of you. But this I take to be true, that the way of error is let in at a little gappe. The vehemence of novelty wil flow further thenne your G. wold admitte. And when men hear of new gere, every man maketh his request, sum new hose, sum new robes, sum newe cappes, sum new shirtes. Like as in religion we have seen attempted, where the people thought they might prevayle. Which caused the commotion in Germany *in bello civili rusticorum*, and hath made the same stir there now *in bello civili nobilium*. It was a notable act of our late soverain lord, to reform and thenne moderate religion, as he did. Which he did not without al trouble. And how safe we be in religion, when al quietnes is acquired you wisdome canne consider. Our late soveraine lord was wont to say, which I never forget, speaking of himself man had not looked to the pacification. He saw men desirous to set forth their own fancies, which he thought to have excluded by his pacification.

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* Heresie.

If your G. would say to me now, that I wasted moch speche in vaine, and declared therby, I had to moch laysor to write so moch in this matier, as though I feared that nedeth not to be feared: for your G. hath commaunded our late soveraine lords book * to be redde, and mindeth nothing now, but oonly omylies, wherin your G. wold, I shuld write. Which to do wer neyther gret payne, ne hardnesse to me: and I might as soon wryte an homilie, as these letters. As for the facilite of the matier of wryting, or wryting by not traverse. But then I consider what contraversie may arise in wryting. As for example (for seing I have laysor to wryte, I will forget what laysor your G. hath to rede) if I should make an homily *de vita perfecta,* I wolde note two parts, oon of life, another of perfiteness. For the grownde of the oon, I wolde take S. John, "Misit Deus filium suum, ut vivamus per eum." And for the other, "Estote perfecti, sicut Pater vester, &c." In declaration of life, I wolde take occasion to speke of *faith* the gift of entre to life, and of *charite* the very gift of life; which who hath not remaineth in dethe. And therfore S. James said, "Fides sine operibus mortua est." Not expounding that so, as though faith without charite were no faith, as we say a dead man is no man. For I wolde wish the people in any wise to beware of that fashion of teaching, and such a sophistical understanding of S. James; and for detection therof, declare, that deth conteyneth not alwayes a denyal of the thing dead not to be, but oonly wher the name of the thing noted now dead, conteyned before in it a signification of life. As the word *man* signifieth a body living: and thenne it is truly said, that a dead man is no man, no more thenne a paynted man. But faith signifieth not alwayes a life in it. For devils have faith without life. And when we speke of ded faith, it is like as when ye speke of a body indeed without life, but apt and mete to receyve life. As spawne is a body without life, and dead, but mete to receyve life with convenient circumstance. And then we say not, that a body dead is no body. And therfore we may not say, that a dead faith is no faith. After which understanding, we shuld make S. James to treate, whether no faith might justify a man, or no: which were a cold matier. And yet so must we say, if we wil expound this saying, that a dead faith is no faith.

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* The Erudition of a Christian Man.

And in this poynt I wold, in my homily *De Vita,* be most ernest to shew, that in charity is life, wherunto faith is thentre. Which faith without charite is not noo faith, but dead. And therfore God, that geveth al life, geveth with faith charite: wherof I wold make the moo words in the homily, bicause the handling of S. James in the other sophistical interpretation is an entre to unwholsome doctrine. And if your G. wold say, What of this, or to what purpose shuld it be wryten to you, that myndeth no such matier: surely for nothing but bicause I have plenty of leasour, and wryte as though I talked with you. And that not al in vaine, for that I have hertofor harde of other, whom I have harde moch glory in that exposition, to say S. James meaneth, that dead faith is no faith, evenas a dead man is no man. Which, by my faye, is overfar out of the way: and yet myn omylie might in such an homiler, and company of omylies, encontre with oon of the trade I have spoken of; and bring forth matier of contention and altercation, without al frute or edification. And thus much for example of trouble in homylies: which these five yeres have rested without any busines, and the people wel doon their dueties, I trust, to God in heven, and know wel, to ther soverain lord in yerth. And our soverain lord, that governed them without these omylies goen to heven, whether, I trust, we and the people shal go after, although we trouble them with noo homilies. Which shal hardly be so accumulate *ex diversis tractatibus,* with diverse fashion of wryting, diverse phrase of speches, diverse conceits in teachings, diverse ends per case entended, as some wil construe.

*The rest is wanting.*

## No. XXXVI.

### *Gardiner Bishop of Winton to the Duke of Somerset, concerning the Book of Homilies and Erasmus Paraphrase, englished.**

After my moost humble commendacions to your good grace with hartie thanks that it haith pleased yow to be content to heare from me. Wherein now I have liberty to write at large from yow; I cannot find the like gentellnes in my bodye to spende so much tyme as I wolde. And therfore I shal nowe desier your grace to take in good parte, thowgh I gather my matter in breaf sentences.

The injunctions in this last visitation conteyne a commandement to se taught, and lerned two bookes. One of Homilies, that must be tawght; another of Erasmus Paraphrases, that the prestes must learne.

These bokes stryve one against another dyrectly. The book of the Homilies teacheth faith to exclude charity in the office of justification. Erasmus Paraphrases teacheth faith to have charitie joyned with him in justification.

The boke of Homilies teacheth how men may swere. The Paraphrasis teacheth the contrarie verye extremelye. The boke of Homilies teacheth howe subjectes owe tribute to theire prince, and obedience verye wel. The boke of the Paraphrases in a place upon S. Poule violentlie, and against all truthe, after it hath spoken of dewtie to heathen princes, knytteth the matter up untrulie; that betwene the Christen men at Rome, to whome he writeth, which is a lesson for all, there shoulde be no debte, or ryght, but mutuall charitie,* which is a mervelous matter. The boke of Homelies in another place openeth the Gospell one waye. The Paraphrases openeth it clerely contrarye. The matter is not greate, but because there is contrarietie.

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* Cotton Library, Vespas. D. 18, fol. 139.

Nowe to consider each of the foresaid bookes. The booke of Homilies in the sermon of salvation teacheth the clere contrary to the doctrine established by thact of Parliament;† even as contrarye as includeth is contrarie to excludethe. For these be the words of the doctrin established by Parliament; where in a certain place faith doth *not exclude.* The doctrine of the Parliament speaketh how they be joyned in justification. The homile speaketh the vertues to be present in the manne justified, and howe faith *excludeth* theim in thoffice of justifieng. Which can never be proved; and is in the meane time contrarye to the act.

The boke of Homyles hath in the homilie of salvation, how remission of synne is taken, accepted and allowed of God for your perfect justification. The doctrine of the Parliament teacheth justification, for the fulness and perfection therof, to have more parts than remission of sinne, as in the same appereth. And althowght remission of sinne be a justification, yett it is not a full and perfite.

The boke of Homiles numbreth the hallowing of bread, palmes and candles among papisticall superstitions and abuses. The doctrine of the Parliament willeth them to be reverently used. And so do the injunctions nowe set fourthe. Which made me thinke the printers myght thrust in an homelie of his owen devise.

The booke of Homyles hath wordes of S. Crissostom alledged untrulye, and not after such a sort, as might escape by over sight, but of purpose. As calling that faithe which Crissostome calleth hoope. And in place of one sentence putteth another, which should better serve the purpose of the maker of the homelie. Nowe if one wold reason with me, that Crisostome mente this, I would denye it him, as I may. But I maye affirm, that Chrisostome saith not. It is but a defamation of the truthe: and under such a princes name as our soverant lord is, whose tongue, in this so pure innocency, hath not bene defiled with any untruthe; I assure you, I thought there was not so great hast in homelies, but they might have tarried the printing either, for that only cause. Truth is able to maintain it self, and needeth no help of untrue alligation. It serves only for enemies to tak avantage. All which [i. e. enemies] use to be curious to know what they may reprove.

And nowe al the eyes and ears of the world be turned towardes us. And as they shal have cause to talke honorablie of your valyantnes in the warres, so they talke otherwise of that, that is done in your absence, if any thing be amysse.

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* But these are not the words of Erasmus, but S. Paul. Rom. xiii. 8.

† In the book of The Erudition, &c.

Y 2

Now shal I shew your grace what autor Erasmus is, to be, by name and speciall commandment, had in credit in this realme. Yf he be to be beleved, the doctrine of *only faith justifieth,* is a verye poyson. And he writeth by expresse termes, and calleth this another poyson, to deny punishment in purgatory after this life. And another poyson, to denye the invocation of sainctes, and worshipping of theim. And this he calleth a poyson, to saye, We nede no satisfactory works, for that were to mistrust Christ. Erasmus in another place conferring the state of the Church in the beginning, and nowe, he concludeth, that if S. Paule were alive at this daye, he would not improve [i. e. disallow] the present state of the Church, but cry out of mens faultes. This is Erasmus judgment in his latter dayes.

His work, the Paraphrasies, which should be authorized in the realm: which he wrote above 26 yeres agoo, when his penne was wanton as the matter is so hauled, as being abrode in this realme, were able to minister occasion to evell men to subverte, with religion, the policie and order of the realm.

Theis be the generall wordes, the uttering whereof to your grace in the place yow occupye, wer a great faute, unles I wold shewe ye good ground and true, whye to saye so. And therfor I am glad I do rather writt to you, then to have come and speake with you, because my words in numbre might flye away; whereas written words remain te be redd agayne and agayne.

First, as concerning the pollicye and state of the realme, wher-soever Erasmus might take an occasion to speake his pleasure of princes, he paieth home, as roundly, as bishops have been of late touched in playes. And suche places of Scripture as we have used to alledge for the state of princes, he wresteth and windeth them so, as if the people redde him and beleved him, they wold after smalle regard that allegation of theim. And if Erasmus did truly, and that the Scripture bound him so to saye, yt were more tolorable, (for truth must have place) but when it is done in some place untrulye, and in some place wantonlye, to check that estate, yt can be no good doctrine among people, that should obey. And this booke of Paraphrasies is not like the other expositions of Scripture, where the aucter speaketh in his owen persone. For Erasmus taketh upon him the evangelists persons and Christs person, and enterpriseth to fill up Christs tale and his wordes. As for example where the Gospel rehearsith Christs speach, when he said, Give to the emperoure, that is the emperowres; (by which speache we gether and trulye gether, that Christ confessed themperoure to have a dewtie;) Erasmus writeth it with an IF, after this sorte, "IF there be any thing dewe to them." Which condition Christ put not to it, but spake planely, "Give to Cesar the things which are Ceasars, and unto God the things that are Godds." And I write the verie words of the Paraphrases, as they be in Englishe, for I have the booke with me. And so shall no manne saie, that I mysreporte the boke. The words be theis. "Render therfore unto Cesar, if any things appertaine unto Ceasar. But first of all, rendre unto

God the things, that appertaine unto God. Meaning that it is no hurte to godlines, if a man being dedicate to God, do give tribute unto a prophane prince, altho he ought it not." These be the words in the book ordered to be set forth. Wherin what needeth Erasmus to bring in doubt the dutie, when God putteth no doubte at all. It were too long to write to your grace every fault. This one I put for example, wher Erasmus doth corrupt Christs wordes, with a condition, which Christ spake not.

The other places of raylings wolde encumber your grace overmuch. But as I writt, your grace shal find true, that whatsoever might be spoke to defame princes government, is not left unspoken. Bushoppes be more gentle handled. Erasmus maketh theim verye kings of the Gospell, and calleth the true kings of the world prophane kings. Busshops have the sworde, he saieth, of God geven, that is to saie, the Gospell. Prophane princes, as he calleth theim, have a sword permitted unto theim, and by Homer, he saith, be called "Pastures of the people." This matter is within the compasse of the Paraphrases, if it be not lefte oute; with a comendacion also of Thomas Becket of Caunterburye, in excommunicating the king of the realm, that then was, by implecation, for the manor of Oxforde, which the kinge, as he reherseth, then withhealde. It maye be the translator woulde have left this owte. But Erasmus penne in those dayes [was] very light.

Moreover when, Erasmus teacheth, that betwene Christen menne is no debt, or right, but charitie. It is a mervelouse matter to the dissolution of lawes and duties. And therin Erasmus dothe violate Godds Scripture, and saith not true.

Thus far is the doctrin pernitious for comen policy. Nevertheles yf he hath saied trueth, let the truth prevail, but the truth is not so.

As touching religion in this worke of Paraphrasies, it is so wantonly, (I beseche your grace note my wordes) and therwith untrulye handled, as if we should use to readd it, ther should ensue a mervelous confusion. Some speciallties I will note, but not all.

The sacrament of the aulter is so wantonly talked of by him, that as the world is nowe, the reading of him were the whole subvertion. Erasmus in his latter dayes, hath for the sacrament of the aultar spoken as reverendlye, and said as muche for confirmation of it, as maye be, and cryeth out of them, that would take him otherwayes. But this in thend, when age had tempered him.

In this Paraphrasies, whiche he wrott in his wanton age, the words and termes were able to subverte, if it were possible, as Christ saith, thelecte.

If this Paraphasies goo abrode, people shalbe lerned to call the sacrament of the aultar holi bread, and a symbole. At whiche newe name manye will marvayle. And they be wanton wordes spoken of Erasmus without necessitie.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrasies, whosoever hadd done awaye his wyfe for advotrie might marrie agayne. By the Paraphrasies all men maye marrye, bushoppes and prestes. Wherin Erasmus toke his pleasure to understand S. Poule, as though he should describe, of whate qualitie priests wyves shuld be, wherin he forgatt himselfe.

For Sainct Poul knewe, that if a bysshop or prest were once maried, his wife must passe with al her faultes; and it shuld be to late to tel what she should be. For otherwise then she is, she will not be, neither for St. Poul, nor St. Peter. And if bushoppes had that priviledge, that they might chaunge while the founde suche one, as Erasmus saith S. Poule wold have them, their estate wold be wonderfullye envied. But St. Poule did not speak there of bushops wyues. And so therin he doth violence to the Scriptures undoubtedlye. Wherfor I write somwhat merely to shewe the absurditie of the thinge.

By the Paraphrasies the keping of a concubyne ys called but a light fault. And that were good for Lankeshire. And Erasmus bringeth it so pretilye, that a ruler of a countrey, yf he be himselfe the servant of avarice or ambition, should not browke with his brother, because being overcome by weaknesse of fleshe he useth a concubine. Even thus it is Englished in the booke that should gooe fourth. And when to have a concubine, yt is called a light fault, methinks if the maid can redd, yt maye serve well, lightlye to persuade hir. And yet if the man doth it, overcome by the weakeness of his fleshe, as the book termeth it, is made matter. Wherin Erasmus speake over lightly, to call it a light fault. And the translator in English wanted speache, when he turned it thus: That a man overcome with the weakenes of his fleshe should desyre a concubyne. I am bould with his grace, to joyne here Erasmus lyghtnes with the discretion of the translator. Yf to kepe a concubine shalbe by authoritie called a light fault, the multitude of them maye make the faulte heavye.

By the doctrine of the Paraphrasies, everye man must cum to the high pricke of vertue, or to be extremly nought. Which differeth far fro the teaching of the Homelies, and from the truthe also.

The Paraphrasies teacheth thus trulye; "More glorious it is to dye for the Gospell sake. Which deathe, though yt shal be violent and sore; yet yt shall not come before the daye. Whensoever yt cometh yt shal not come without the providence of God." And by this it cometh to passe, that if ye endevor to avoyd it, ye cannot. This ys the doctrine which if yt were taken for true, might engender like obstinacy in mayne, as it hath of late in some. Erasmus teacheth here further, then he hath warrante by Scripture.

The Paraphrases in another place dothe clerely violente the texte, and untrulye handle yt, in a matter of tythes, which your grace is desierous, as appeareth by the injunctions, to have truely paid. Wherin if Erasmus had said truth, lett truth prevaile; but when he handleth it untruly, it is pity it should be suffered.

Thus have I here rekened your grace some speciall faultes, that be Erasmus owne faults, with a greate nomber, that I have not spoken of.

And further your grace shal understande, that he which hath taken the labours to translate Erasmus into Englishe, hath offended sometime, as appereth plainlye, by ignorance, and sometimes of purpose, to put in, leave oute, and change, as hee thought best. Wherwith I will not encoumber your grace, but assure yow it is so. And therin I will grante to your grace, that for every lye, that I make unto your grace, set on one hundreth poundes fine of my hed; and lett me liue here like a beggar, untyll my revenus paye. My words remaine in writting, and be against me matter of recorde. And so I yelde to have me charged, as the bisshoppe of London was with offering the farme of his busshoprick. Which matter I do remember, when I wrote this.

I remit the reader for the rest of this letter to Winchester's ninth letter in Foxes Acts: this former part of the letter, which is now exposed to view, having been by him omitted.*

## No. XXXVII.

*Roger Ascham to Mr. Cecyl, giving him an account of a Disputation in S. John's College, whether the Mass and the Lord's Supper bee al one.*†

S. P. in Christo Jesu. Ornatissime vir. Ante mensem, aut plus eo, disputatum fuit in hoc collegio more nostro de missa, ipsane cœna Dominica fuerit, necne. Magna sane eruditione hæc questio tractata fuit a Thoma Levero et Rog. Hutchinsono, quos opinor nosti. Sunt profecto docti viri. Quidam in academia hanc rem ægre tulerunt. Huc tandem res perducta est, vel ego potius pertractus fui hortatu communi multorum in nostro collegio, ut hanc ipsam quæstionem e domesticis parietibus in publicas scholas præferrem, hoc animo et instituto, ut disceremus libenter et sine rubore a doctis viris, quid e fontibus sacræ Scripturæ libari potuerit ad defendendam missam; quæ non solum summum locum in religione et conscientijs hominum occupat, sed omne fidele propemodum ministerium verbi Dei et sacramentorum, ex usu et consuetudine Christianorum, abstulit. Rem quietissime aggressi sumus, communia studia nos inter nos conferebamus, Scripturam canonicam nobis proposuimus, cujus auctoritate totam hanc rem decidi cupiebamus: veteres canones ineuntis ecclesiæ, concilia patrum, decreta pontificum, judicia doctorum, quæstionistarum turbam, recentiores omnes, quos potuimus et Germanos et Romanos, ad hanc rem adhibuimus. Quidam in academia publicis concionibus notabant hoc factum nostrum, et tandem laborarunt, ut D. Madeûus vicecancellarius, literis suis hanc disputationem prohiberet. Nos libenter paruimus, ut par fuit; sed ægre tulimus disputandi facultatem nobis intercipi, concionandi vero copiam pro libidine alijs concedi.

Audivimus Cantuariensem nobis iniquiorem fuisse. Nec mirum est, nam adversarij nostri, cogor invitus acerbiori voce uti, prudentissime vir, tragicis clamoribus hanc rem illi detulerunt. Quod factum illorum majorine malitia, aut imperitia institutum fuit dubitari potest. Thomas enim Aquinas probat missam Dominicam cœnam multis prærogativis superasse, et longissime ab ea discrepasse multis notis; sexu, missare enim mulieres non debent: a cœna tamen non excludantur: ætate, vitio parentum, luxatione membrorum. Nam pueri, nothi et mutilati a missæ dignitate repelluntur, ad cœnæ humilitatem recipiuntur: et multis alijs modis. Ut siquis affirmaret eandem esse missam et cœnam, multo magis exclamarent.

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* [See Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. vi. pp. 42—46.]

† MSS. Sir W. H[icke's].

Sed quid dicam de hijs nostris? Nihil aliud, nisi quod "Herodes turbatus est, et tota Hierosolyma cum eo." Dicunt nos esse præcipites. Certe nemo tam præceps est, quin facile revocari possit; ut calcaribus potius, quam habenis tota Cantabrigia egeat.

Sed quod institui tibi narrare, quanquam disputatio nostra fuerit prohibita, studia tamen nostra in eadem re quodammodo aucta sunt. Scripsimus enim fere justum librum de missa, quem brevi offerre instituimus D. protectori, nisi tibi et magistro Checo aliter visum fuerit.

Quantum ad tractationem rei pertinet, vellem ut judicium tuum, non sermoni aliorum, sed ipsi rei reservare velis. Neque hoc dicimus, quia de nobis aliquid polliceri audemus, sed quia veremur, ne certi homines nimis studeant illud impedire quovis modo, quod ipsi non probant.

Legimus sanctissimas confessiones reginæ nostræ cum tua eloquentissima epistola. Utinam aliquid temporis tui ad excolendam Anglicanam linguam impartire velis, ut homines intelligerent et nostram linguam omnes eloquentiæ numeros facile admittere. Literæ magistri Checi ad collegium nostrum fuerunt omnibus nobis gratissimæ, ubi minimis verbis maxima benevolentia, et ejus et tua, comprehensa fuit. D. protectoris literæ ad acad. a te scriptæ mirifice nos omnes delectarunt. Commune votum est apud nos, ut Cantabrigia aliquando, imo brevissime, sentiat Joannem Checum præpositum Regij collegij. Episcopus ille * nihil prodest studijs, vellem ut non obesset. Et hoc non dico ad aucupium cujusvis gratiæ, sed ad commodum totius academiæ. Plurima sunt, quæ nos sic sentire cogunt, et plura tua prudentia videt. Nos sic amici inter nos communicamus, fortasse non prudentissime, cautissime tamen: et quod minimum est, valde amanter. Cogita de hac re quid vis, promove tamen eam quantum potes. Nimis molestus sum. Vale ἐν Χριστῷ. Quinto Januarij, 1548. E Coll. D. Joan. Cant.

Dignitatis tuæ studiosiss. R. Aschamus.

Ornatissimo Viro Magistro Gulielmo Cicello
Supplicum libellorum Magistro.

## No. XXXVIII.

*The University of Cambridg to the Archbishop.*†

Aliquid a te suppliciter petere, cum tu omnia nobis lubenter tribuis, doctissime præsul, non inane et supervacaneum negotium, sed gratæ voluntatis debitum potius officium esse ducimus. Rogamus igitur te, ut in hoc senatu vestro, privilegia nostra confirmentur. Quantum reipub. interest, ut doctrinæ ratio haberetur, omnes fere intelligunt: quantum vero puræ religionis interest, tu unus plus universis alijs animadvertis: scis enim tu, quod annis abhinc quingentis, aut plus eo, cognitio literarum, regum vitio, a quibus ali debuerat, e conspectu hominum sese abducere, et in tenebras relabi cœpit. In quibus temporibus sic caligine obductis, sic ignorantia involutis, aper ille singularis de sylva, supra modum depopulatus est vineam Jesu Christi, non proculcans solum reges terræ, et imperium sibi collocans mundi; sed ita invasit erupitque in sanctam sedem, et templum conscientiæ, ut nulli fere nunc sint mores [hominum], nulla institutio vitæ, nullus cæremoniarum ritus, nullum ecclesiæ sacramentum, nullum Christi vestigium, quod non sit ejus aut fulmine prostratum, aut halitu fœdatum; quod non sit (ut mitius, seu significantius cum divo Paulo loquamur), prudentia humanæ ἐθελοθρησκείας fœdissime corruptum, et constupratum. Hæc nox disciplinarum, et ignoratio vocem Domini nobis abstulit, et humanæ doctrinæ imperium, in illam libidinem evexit, ut pro vero cultu Dei, recto divinissimarum rerum usu, integra et pura vitæ consuetudine, hypocrisis, idololatria, et adulterium cervicibus hominum astutissime imponeretur. Hanc inscientiæ pestem libentius commemoramus, qud nunc in magnam spem ducimur constituendæ de integro dignitatis literarum, in hijs præsertim temporibus, cum omnia ad veram religionem illustrandam, a qua præclara doctrina abesse certe non potest, mirifice comparata sunt. Et cum prudentia tua, ad verbum Dei restituendum, divinitus sit et nunc excitata, et diu reservata: non dubitamus, quin omnem operam et authoritatem tuam, ad salutem etiam literarum continendam collaturus sis: commotus aliquid certe vel hac ratione, quod nulla hoc tempore literis vel insperata clades, vel expectata commoditas accidere potest, cujus tu non aut author ad magnam commendationem; aut particeps ad aliquam reprehensionem, voce ac sermone omnium jactatus eris. D. Jesus, &c.

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* *Daius Cicestrensis.*

† Aschami Epp. [pp. 314, 315].

## No. XXXIX.

### *Richard Smith D.D. his Recantation of his Books.**

In my book of Traditions I sayd and affirmed, that Christ and His apostles taught and left to the church many things, without writing, which we must both beleve stedfastly, and also fulfil obediently under pain of damnation ever to endure. Among the which I rehersed by name a great number to be obeyed, kept and followed: as, the observation of Lent from flesh or wyne; the keeping of the sacrament in the pix; the receiving [of] it at the priest's hands; the hallowing of the water in the font; the thrice dipping of the child in the water at the christening; the putting on of the chrism; the consecration of the oyl; the anoynting of the christened children; the hallowing of the altars; the praying toward the east; the censing of the altar; the washing of the hands; the saying of "Confiteor;" the lifting up of the sacrament at mass; the making of holy water; that the twelve apostles, every man a piece for his portion, made the Crede; and many more beside these. And after like sort I spake of canons, decrees, and ordinaunces of bishops and general councels. I do now confes the said doctrine, as concerning the observing of the said traditions, [under that pain,] to be false and tyrannical, and unjust, unlawful and untrue, burden of men's consciences, not fit to be taught, preached or defended.

There be many things ascribed to the apostles, and called traditions, deduced from the time of the apostles, and read in the name of old

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* Becon's Reports, [part 3, vol. ii. f. 271].

authors, and set forth under the pretensed title of their name, which be both feigned, forged and nothing true, ful of superstition and untruth, feigned by them, which would magnify their power and authority; as is the epistles of Clemens, Anacletus, Evaristus, and Fabianus and others, which are set forth by the bishop of Rome, and his accomplices, which be forged, fayned and of no authority, nor to be beleved, but counterfeited by them; who, with the colour of antiquity would magnify that usurped power of the bishop of Rome.

And now concerning another book, which I made of the sacrifice of the mass; where the most chief and principal article of our faith, and most directly pertaining to the redemption of our sins, and to our salvation, is, that our Savior Christ Jesus, by His most precious death, and effusion of His most precious blood upon the cross, did redeme mankind, taking away our sins, pacifying the indignation of His Father, and cancelling the obligation, that was against us. In which sacrifice-making unto His Father, our said Savior Jesus Christ, as St. Paul saith plainly to the Hebrews, was not a priest after the order of Aaron, forasmuch as he was of another tribe: and also, that priesthood was imperfect and unprofitable, bringing nothing to perfection. But our Savior Christ made His sacrifice upon the cross perfectly, absolutely, and with the most highest perfection that could be, so much that after that one oblation and sacrifice for sin, made by Him but once only, neither He nor any other creature should at any time after make any more oblations for the same. And for that St. Paul saith, he was called an eternal priest after the order of Melchizedec, and not of Aaron.

This faith ought every man and woman undoubtedly to beleve, and openly to profess upon pain of everlasting damnation; and also to die in this profession, if case shal so require. The which most wholsome and most necessary doctrin of our faith, I not diligently considering, as many times to right great clerks and learned men in much writing in like matters it hath chaunced to say too far, the infirmity and weakness of men being such, that seldome in many words error hath escaped; so in my book of the sacrifice of the mass, I did incircumspectly and rashly write and set forth to the people, that Christ was not a priest after the order of Melchizedec, when He offered Himself upon the cross to His Father for our sins, but was a priest after the order of Aaron. And that when Christ did offer His own body to His Father after the order of Melchizedec, to appease His wrath, it may not be understand of the sacrifice of the cross, but of the sacrifice, that Christ made at His maundy in form of bread and wine. To the which indede St. Pauls doctrin is contrary, both in other places, and in the epistle "Ad Hebræos," very manifestly. Against whom, (who without doubt had the very Spirit of God), neither it becometh, nor I wil not willingly teach or defend any thing. Wherfore ye shal impute that, good audience, to the frailty of mans nature, and to my negligent marking, having at that time rather a respect to a fantasy that I then had in my mind, than to the true and infallible doctrine of Scripture.

And moreover, in the same my book I said not only, that the sacrifice of the mass is the self same substaunce of Christ, but also the self same oblation or offering of our Savior Christ's very flesh and bloud, which Himself once offered to His Father on the cross to appease His wrath: and that the priests do continually and daily in the mass offer not only the self same body of Christ, but also to the same effect, that Christ did offer Himself to His Father at His Maundy. Of the which words and doctrine, if they be not very warily and circumspectly read, and more favorably taken, then the words as they ly, may wel bear, it might be gathered, that priests herein be equal with Christ. Priests of the order of Melchizedec, appeasing the wrath and indignation of the Father of heaven, crucifying, or offering Christ to the same effect, that Christ in His own person did upon the cross, is a blasphemy intolerable to be heard of Christen ears. For Christ, as St. Paul saith, was but once offered, once gave up Himself for the redemption of our sins on Good-Friday upon the cross; nor never before, nor after was offered for us, but in a sacrament, and as a commemoration of the same. And so of the Maundy or Supper of the Lord, Christ himself saith, "Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in meam commemorationem facietis." Once He dyed for our sins, and once again He rose for our justification. He dyeth no more. And his sacrifice was so good, so ful, so pleasaunt, so precious to God, that ther neded no more oblations to appease God, not only for the sins past, but also for al the sins to the day of doom. There nede no more sacrifices, no more offerers, but as having a respect and a remembrance of that most holy, most perfect, and most entier Lamb, then and for ever offered up for us.

But these things aforesaid, I cannot deny, but they were spoken of me, and written. And as I do not now like them, so, at the example of St. Austin and other good doctors, I am not ashamed to retract them, and cal them again and condemn them. For when I followed mine own invention, not directed by Scripture, I began, as the nature of man is, to wander, and at the last went clean contrary to God's word. Wherfore I heartily exhort every man, as touching matters of faith, to found the same upon God's certain, true, and infallible word; lest by doing the contrary, they fal into superstition, idolatry, and other manifold errors, as myself, and many other have done.

Wherfore these my two books, the one "of the sacrifice of the mass," and the other, "of the traditions unwritten," in those poynts before rehersed, and al other, wherin they be not ful consonant to Scripture, I forsake and renounce as false, erroneous, and against the true word of God; requiring the good Christian reader, whosoever shal read them, to give no further credence to them, then I would myself: that is, not to take, as undoubted truth, all that is therin written, but as written of a man, that some time falleth; to be so far true as they be consonant to Scripture: wher they be not against Scripture, to be human persuasion, which may either be so, or not so, as the greater reason shal lead; where they be not consonant to Scripture, to be erroneous and false; and that I much lament and am sorry, that I wrote them in those poynts. And I desire every man, that hath any of the said books to beware of them, and to give no credence to them in al such things in them written, as be not consonant to the Scripture, as they wil avoyd occasion of error, and tender the truth of Gods word and His glory. To whom be laud, praise, and honor. Amen.

## No. XL.

## *Archbishop Cranmers Answers to the fifteen Articles of the Rebells Devon.** *Anno* 1549.†

When I first read your requests, O ignorant men of Devonshire and Cornwal, straitwayes came to my mind a request, which James and John made unto Christ: to whom Christ answered, "You ask you wot not what." Even so thought I of you assoon as ever I heard your articles, that you were deceived by some crafty Papists, which devised those articles for you, to make you ask you wist not what.

As for the devisors of your articles, if they understand them, I may not cal them ignorant persons, but, as they be indeed, most rank Papists, and wilful traitors and adversaries, both to God and our sovereign lord the king, and to the whole realm. But I cannot be persuaded so to think of you, that in your hearts willingly you be Papists and traitors: but that those that be such have craftily seduced you, being simple and unlearned people, to ask you wot not what.

Wherfore, my duty unto God, and the pity that I have of your ignorance, move me now at this time to open plainly and particularly your own articles unto you, that you may understand them, and no longer be deceived.

In your first article you require, that al the general councels and holy decrees of our forefathers, may be observed and kept, and whosoever shal againsay them to be holden as hereticks.

This you al ask, but what you ask I dare [boldly] say very few, or none of you understand. For how many of you, I pray you, do know certainly which be called the general councels, and holy decrees of the fathers, and what is in them contained. The holy decrees as they cal them, be nothing else but the laws and ordinances of the bishop of Rome. Wherof the most part be made for his own advancement, glory and lucre; and to make him and his clergy governors of the whole world; and to be exempted from al princes lawes, and to do what they list. And would you ask, if you knew what you asked, that we should put away the lawes of our own realm, and be governed by the bp. of Romes lawes? If you mean this, then be you traitors to the king, and enemies to your own realm. And if you mean it not, consider what persons they be, and how they have deceived you, that make you ask you wot not what.

And as for the general councels, you say you wil have them al kept: but you be not so destitute of al reason, that you would have spoken such words, if you had known what you had said. For a great number of the councels repugn one against another. How should they then be al kept, when one is contrary to another, and the keeping of one is the breaking of another. And among your own articles you say, you will have divers things observed, which be not only contrary to the general councels, but also contrary to the laws of this realm, and also to God's law, as it shal be plainly declared, when we come to the articles.

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* MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. cii, 337].

† [The text of this document is corrected from the Parker Society's edition of the Works of Archbishop Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 163–187.]

And al reason is contrary that you should have asked such things, if you had known what you had asked. I have this opinion of the greater number of you, that you would fain walk in the right way, if you could find it. And forasmuch as I perceive, that wicked and false guides, under pretence to bring you to the high way, have brought you clean out of it, my good wil shal be, seeing you so far wandring out of the way, and so blindfolded with il persuasions, that you cannot see where you go, to open your eyes that you may see, and to set you again into the right way. And when your eyes be so opened, that you may se, and the right way shewed unto you, wherin you should walk; then if you wil stil wink, and not see, and run headlong in error, and not come to the right way, [then] you may no longer be called simple and ignorant people, but perverse, froward and wicked Papists and traitors, enemies to God and your own realm.

But now I wil come to your articles, particularly opening every one of them by himself, that you may se the bowels therof, and what is contained in the same. That when you shal understand the whole, you may judge whether you knew before what you asked, or you were deceived by subtil and wily papistical traitors.

Your first Article is this,

> "WEE wil have al the general councels, and holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept and performed: and whosoever shal againsay them, we hold them as hereticks."

First, to begin with the manner of your phrase. Is this the fashion of subjects to speak unto their prince; *We wil have?* Was this maner of speech at any time used of the subjects to their prince, since the beginning of the world? Have not al true subjects ever used to their soveraign lord [and king] this form of speaking, Most humbly beseecheth your faithful and obedient subjects. Altho the Papists have abused your ignorance in propounding such articles, which you understand not, yet you should not have suffered your selves so much to be led by the nose, and bridled by them, that you should clearly forget your duty of allegiance unto your soveraign lord, saying unto him, This we wil have; and that saying with armour upon your backs and swords in your hands. Would any of you, that be householders, be contented, that your servants should come unto you with harness unto their backs, and swords in their hands, and say unto you, This we wil have? If then you would abhor and detest this in your servants towards your selves, how can you allow your fact? With what conscience can you, being but subjects, do to your king that thing, which you would condemne in your servants towards your selves? But answer me this, Be you subjects or no? If you be subjects, then I admonish you, as S. Paul taught Titus, saying, "Warn them to be subject to princes, and rulers, obeying them at a word." But tel me again, Pertaineth this to subjection and obedience to say, This we wil have? S. Peter saith, "Be subject unto kings, as chief heads, and to other rulers sent by them. For so is the wil of God." Gods wil is, that you should be ruled by your princes. But whether is this to be ruled by your king, or to rule your king, to say, Thus we wil have the realm governed? Your servants be by the Scripture commanded, as they fear God, to be obedient to their masters, whether their masters be good or evil. And can you think it meet or lawful for you to disobey your undoubted king; being a prince most innocent, most godly, and most careful for your surety and wealth? If any thing can declare disobedience, what can declare it more than subjects to come with force of armes to their natural king and prince, and say, This we wil have?

But now leaving your rude and unseemly maner of speech to your most soveraign lord, I wil come to the point, and joyn with you in the effect of your first article. You say, you wil have al the holy decrees observed and kept. But do you know what they bee? The holy decrees, as I told you before, be called the bishop of Rome's ordinances and lawes. Which how *holy* and godly soever they be called, they be indeed so wicked, so ungodly, so ful of tyranny and so partial, that since the beginning of the world, were never devised or invented the like. I shall reherse a certain of them, [whereby you may judge of the rest, to the intent] that your selves may see, how holy they be, and may say your minds, whether you would have them kept or no. And at the hearing of them, if you shal not think them meet to be kept here in this realm, then you may see how they deceived you, that moved you to ask this article. And if you like them and would have them kept, after you know what they be, then I say assuredly, that you be not only wicked Papists, but also heretics, and most hainous traitors to the king and this his realm. And yet how an absolute Papist varieth from an heretick or traitor, I know not: but that a Papist is also both a heretic and a traitor withal.

One decree saith, "That whosoever doth not acknowledg himself to be under the obedience of the bishop of Rome is an heretic." Now answer me to this question, Whether be you under the obedience of the bishop of Rome, or not? If you say, that you be under his obedience, then be you traytors by the laws of this realm. And if you deny it, then be you heretics by this decree. And shift is there none to save you from treason, but to renounce this decree, that commandeth you to be under the bishop of Rome: and so to confes contrary to your own first article, that al decrees are not to be kept.

Yet a great many other decrees be as ill, and worse than this. One saith, "That al princes lawes, which be against any decree of the bishop of Rome, be void, and of no strength." Another decree saith, "That al the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought for ever to be kept of al men, as Gods word." Another decree there is, "That whosoever receiveth not the law of the bishop of Rome, neither availeth him the

Catholick faith, nor the four evangelists. For his sins shal never be forgiven." Yet is there a worse, and more detestable decree, "That al kings and princes that suffer the bishop of Romes decrees to be broken in any point, are to be taken as infidels." Another is there also, "That the bishop of Rome is bound to no maner of decrees, but he may constrain al other persons, both spiritual and temporal, to receive al his decrees, and canons." Another is yet more devilish, then any before rehersed, "That altho the bishop of Rome neither regard his own salvation, nor no mans else, but put down with himself headlong innumerable people by heaps unto hell, yet may no mortal man presume to reprove him therefore." But what should I tarry, and make you weary in rehersing a number [of laws]? For a thousand other like canons and decrees there be, to the advancement of the bishop of Rome his usurped power and authority.

I cannot think of you, that you be so far from al godliness, from al wit and discretion, that you would have these decrees observed within this realm, which be so blasphemous to God, so injurious to al princes and realms, and so far from al equity and reason. But here you may easily perceive, what wily foxes you met withal, which persuaded you to arme your selves, to make sedition in your own country, to stand against your princes, and the laws of your realm, for such articles as you understood not, and to ask you wist not what. For I dare say for you, that the subtil Papists, when they moved you to stand in this article, that al the holy decrees should be observed, they shewed you nothing of these decrees, that they would have taken for *holy* decrees. For if they had, they knew right wel, that you would never have consented unto this article; but would have taken them for traitors, that first moved you thereto.

For now shal I shew you, what miserable case you should bring your selves unto, if the kings majesty would assent unto this [your] first article, that al the decrees should be kept and observed. For among other partial decrees made in favor of the clergy, this is one, "That none of the clergy shal be called, or sued before any temporal judge, for any maner of cause, either for debt, suit of lands, fellony, murther, or for any other cause or crime: nor shal have any other judge, but his bishop only." Another is, "That a spiritual man may sue a temporal man before a spiritual or temporal judge at his plesure; but a temporal man cannot sue a spiritual, but only before his ordinary." I cannot deny, but these be good and beneficial laws for the liberty of the clergy. But for your own parts, I suppose you do not think it an indifferent law, that a priest shal sue you where he list with the licence of his ordinary; and you shal sue him for no maner of cause, but only before his own ordinary. Or if a priest had slain one of your sons or brether, that you should have no remedy against him, but only before the bishops. What meant [then] those Papistical priests, that stirred you to ask, and wil, such decrees and lawes to be observed in this realm, but covertly and craftily to bring you under their subjection: and that you your selves ignorantly asking you wist not what, should put your own heads under their girdles?

For surely if you had known these decrees, when you consented to this article, you would have torn the article in pieces, and them that moved you therto also. For these decrees be not only partial, and against al equity and reason, made only for the favor of the clergy, and the suppression of the laity; but also they be, and ever have be, clearly contrary to the lawes and customes of this realm. And yet by this article you wil have the old antient laws and customes of this realm (which have ever been used in al kings times hitherto) to be void and to cease, and these decrees to come in their place, and be observed of al men, and againsaid of no man. For whosoever speaketh against them, you wil hold them for heretics. And in so saying, look what sentence you give of your selves, altho your article say it, yet I am sure you be not so much enemies to your own realm, that you would have the old antient laws and customs of this realm (for the defence whereof al the noble kings of this realm have so valiantly and so justly stand against the bishops of Rome) now to be taken away and give place unto Romish decrees. And then by your own article you hold and condemn yourselves to be heretics.

How be you bewitched by these false Papists? W do you suffer them thus to abuse you by their subtilty, to make you condemn yourselves of heresy? Why do you not send them unto the kings majesty, like errant traitors, as indeed they be, saying unto him, "Most mighty prince, and most drad soveraign lord, we present here unto you most heinous traitors against your majesty and realm, and greatest dissemblers and falsest deceivers of us, your simple and ignorant people, and yet in our hearts your true and faithful subjects. We have erred, we have grievously offended your majesty: but by ignorance, being so seduced, and provoked by the crafty persuasions of these most hainous traitors, that we wist not what we did. But pardon us, soveraign lord, have pity upon our simplicity and ignorance: and these abominable traitors punish, according to their deservings. Have mercy, most merciful prince, of us, your poor flock, which were ignorantly led out of the way, and strike with the swords those malicious guides, that purposely would have led us to our utter destruction."

If you did thus, then should you do the parts of true faithful and loving subjects, and should declare to the world, that al that you have hitherto done was done by error and ignorance. And I would nothing doubt of the kings majestie his clemency and mercy towards you.

But yet, to the intent that you may further know how unreasonable your first article is, I wil yet reherse another sort of the holy lawes and decrees. One is, "That no lay man may have a benefice to farm." Another is, "That none of the clergy may give any thing to the relief of the commonweal, and necessity of their own realm, without the consent of the bishop of Rome." Another is, "That no lay man may meddle with election, or any other thing, that pertaineth unto any of the clergy." Another is, "That none of the clergy ought to give any oath of fidelity to their princes, except they have temporal lands of them." Another is, "That princes ought to obey the bishops and the decrees of the Church, and to submit their heads unto their bishops, and not to be judges over the bishops." Another is, "Whosoever offendeth the liberties of the Church, or doth break any interdiction that cometh from Rome, or conspireth against the person or estate of the bishop or see of Rome, or by any maner offendeth, disobeyeth, or rebelleth against the same bishop or see, or that killeth a priest, or offendeth personally against a bishop or other prelate, or invadeth, spoileth, withholdeth, or wasteth lands belonging to the church of Rome, or to any other church, immediately subject unto Rome, or whosoever invadeth any pilgrims, that go to Rome, or any suitors to the court of Rome, or that let the devolution of causes unto that court, or that put any new charges or impositions, real or personal, upon any church, or ecclesiastical person;" and generally, "all other that offend in the cases contained in the bul," which is usually published by the bishops of Rome upon Maunday Thursday; al these can be assoiled by no priest, bishop, archbishop, nor by none other, but only by the bishop of Rome, or by his express licence. These with an infinite number of like sort, be the *godly* and *holy* decrees, which you long so sore for, and so much desire.

Now would I know, whether you think, that these decrees were made for the common wealth of al realmes, or only for the private weal of the bishop of Rome, and of his bishops and clergy? And whether you like and long for these laws; or now, at the hearing of them, your longing is done? If you like them, wel, for my part, I would you had them practised among you for a while, so that the rest of the realm were not troubled, neither with you, nor with your decrees, unless you repented your selves of your foolish demands. I think within a year you would kneel on your knees to the kings majestie, desiring him to take from your necks the yokes and halters, which you had made for your selves.

But to conclude the sum of your first article in few words. It is nothing else but a clear subversion of the whole state and lawes of this realm; and to make this realm to be whole governed by Romish lawes, and to crown the idol and antichrist of Rome, king of this realm, and to make our most undoubted and natural king his vile subject and slave. Oh! what was in your minds to ask such a thing, and so presumptuously to say, that you *wil* have it? I trust there be not in you so much malice and devilishness, as the article containeth: but that you were caftily subornate by subtil Papists to ask and demand you wist not what.

If you had asked, that the word of God might be duly observed and kept every where within this realm: and whosoever would gainsay Gods word, to be holden as a heretic; you had declared your selves to be godly men; [and] al that be godly would have commended and furthered your requests. But forasmuch as you ask Romish canons and decrees to be observed and kept here in England, and whosoever shal againsay them, to be holden as hereticks, there is neither godly, nor truly English man, that will allow you, or consent to your articles. But clean contrary to your articles, a great number of godly persons within this realm, for the very love that they have to God, that his name may be glorified above al things, be daily humble suitors to the kings majesty, that he, following the steps of his father, wil study, and travail to weed out of this his realm, al Popish decrees, lawes and canons, and whatsoever else is contrary to Gods word: and that the speakers against Gods word may be taken, as they be indeed, for heretics. And is any of you so far from reason, that he thinketh the kings majesty ought to hearken to you, that by force and stoutness say, you wil have Romish laws and decrees kept in this realm, and to turn his ears from them, that with al humility be suitors for Gods word?

But now wil I come to your other articles, wherein I wil be brief, forasmuch as in the first I have been long and tedious.

Your second Article is this,

> "WEE wil have the law of our soveraign lord K. Henry VIII. concerning the Six Articles, to be used again, as in his time they were."

Letting pas your rude stile, nothing becoming subjects, to say, "You wil have," First, I examine you of the cause of your wilful wil, wherefore you will have these Six Articles, which never were laws in no region, but this: nor in this realm also, until the 31st year of King Henry VIII. And [then] in some things so enforced by the evil counsil of certain Papists against the truth, and common judgment, both of divines and lawyers, that if the kings majesty himself had not come personally into the Parliament house, those lawes had never passed. And yet within a year or little more, the same most noble prince was faine to temper the said lawes, and moderate them in divers points. So that the statute of Six Articles continued in his force little above the space of one year. Is this then so great a matter to make these uproars, and to arise against the whole realm? Wil you take away the present laws of this realm, which be and ever have been, the laws of al other countreis also, and set up new lawes, which never were, but in this realm only, and were here in force not fully thirteen months? And how chanceth it, that you be so earnest in this article, which is directly contrary to your first article, but [that] you know not what neither of the articles meaneth; but be persuaded by Papists to ask you wot not what? But now hear the repugnance of your two articles: by your first you wil have al general councels and decrees observed and kept; and by your second article you wil have the Six Articles used again. Then let us compare the general councels and decrees with the Six Articles; and you shal see them aggree as wel together, as black and white.

First, it is contained in the canons of the apostles,* that a priest under no pretence of holines may put away his wife; and, if he do, he shal be excommunicate. And the Six Articles say, that if any priest put not away his wife, he shal be taken for a felon. If he keep her not stil, he must be excommunicate by the canon of the apostles. And if he keep her stil, he must suffer death by the Six Articles. You be cunning men, if you can set these together. Also, the Councel of Nice, which was the chief of al the general councels, and was celebrated more than twelve hundred years past, decreed clean contrary to the Six Articles. For where the Six Articles command al priests to be separate from their wives, Nicen Councel determined clean contrary, that they should not be separated, confessing such copulation to be *holy* and *godly*. And the Councel of Gangrense, which was about the same time, so much allowed the marriage of priests, that they accursed [all] them that would abstain from the administration of priests, because they were married.* These councels vary so far from the Six Articles, that either you must put the general councels out of your book, or else the Six Articles.

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* [Canon. Apostol. can. vi. ed. (Bruns.) Berol. 1839.]

Likewise, concerning private masses, the law of Six Articles far differeth from the canon of the apostles, and from the councels, Nicen and Antioch, as shal be declared in the next article.

Other things there be divers also in the Six Articles, which cannot stand with sundry old canons, decrees and councels. So that if you wil stand to the canons, decrees and councels, you must of force be constrained utterly to put out of your book your second article, which requireth the usage of the Six Articles. But now for shortnes of time I wil come to your third article: which is this,

### The third Article.

> "We wil have the Mass in Latine, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him."

Forasmuch as there is nothing with you, but "wil," let your wil be conferred with reason and Gods word; and then you shal se how far your wil differeth from them both: first as touching the Latine masses, whatsoever the priest saith in the old masses, whether he pray and ask any thing of God, or give thanks to God, or make the true profession of the faith, or whatsoever he doth beside, al he doth in your persons and in your names; and you answer unto that which he saith, sometimes "Amen," sometimes "Et cum spiritu tuo;" and sometimes other things, as the matter serveth. For al the whole that is done should be the action of the people, and pertain to the people, as wel as to the priest. And standeth it with reason, that the priest should speak for you, and in your name, and you answer him again in your own persons; and yet you understand never a word, neither what he saith, nor what you say your selves? The priest prayeth to God for you, and you answer "Amen" you wot not whereto. Is there any reason herein? Wil you not understand what the priest prayeth for you? What thanks he giveth for you, what he asketh for you? Wil you neither understand what he saith, nor let your hearts understand what your own tongues answer? Then must you needs confes your selves to be such people as Christ spake of, when he said, "These people honor me with their lips, but their hearts be far from me." Had you rather be like pyes or parrots, that be taught to speak, and yet understand not one word what they say, then be true Christen men, that pray unto God in heart and in faith? The priest is your proctor and atturney, to plead your cause, and to speak for you al; and had you rather not know, then know what he saith for you? I have heard sutors murmur at the bar, because their atturneyes have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended, that the priests, which plead your cause before God, should speak such language, as you may understand? If you were before the kings highnes, and should chuse one to speak for you al, I am sure you would not chuse one, that should speak Greek or Hebrew, French or Italian; no, nor one that should speak Latine neither. But you would be glad to provide such one, as should speak your own language, and speak so loud, that you might both hear him, and understand him: that you might allow or disallow that that he said in your names. Why do you then refuse to do the like unto God?

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* [Concil. Gangren. can. i. p. 107. Id.]

When the priest desireth of God any thing for you, or giveth thanks for you, how can you in your heart confirm his sayings, when you know not one word what he saith? For the heart is not moved with words, that be not understand.

But if reason wil not persuade you, I wil prove what Gods word will do unto you. S. Paul, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, saith, that whosoever shal speak to the people in the church to their edification, must speak such language as the people may understand: or else he willeth him to hold his peace, and speak softly to himself and to God. For he that speaketh in a strange language, which the people understand not, doth not edify them, as S. Paul saith. And he giveth an example of the trumpet in the field, which when it giveth such a sound, that the soldiers understand, [then] it availeth much. For every soldier therby knoweth what to do. But if such a blast be blowen, as no man understandeth, then the blast is utterly in vain. For no man knoweth therby, whether the horsemen shal make them ready, or leap upon horseback, or go to their standard. Or whether the footmen shall make them ready, or set themselves in array, or set upon the enemy, or retyre to the standard. Even so should the priests be Gods trump in his Church. So that if he blow such a certain blast, that the people may understand, they be much edified therby. But if he give such a sound, as is to the people unknown, it is clearly in vain, saith S. Paul. For he speaketh to the air, but no man is the better or edified therby; nor knoweth what he should do by that he heareth. Furthermore in the same place S. Paul saith, that if a man giveth thanks to God in a language to the people unknown, how can they say "Amen" to that they understand not? He doth wel in giving thanks to God; but that nothing availeth or edifieth the people, that know not what he saith. And S. Paul in one brief sentence concludeth his whole disputation of that matter: saying, "I had rather have five words spoken in the church to the instruction and edifying of the people, then ten thousand in a language unknown, that edifieth not." And for this purpose [St. Paul] alledgeth the prophet Esay. Who saith, that "God wil speak to his people in other tongues, and in other languages." Meaning therby that he would speak to every country in their own language. So have the Greeks the mass in the Greek tongue, the Syrians in the Syry tongue, the Armenians in their tongue, and the Indians in their own tongue. And be you so much addict to the Romish tongue, which is the Latine tongue, that you wil have your mas in none other language, but the Romish language? Christ himself used among the Jews the Jews language: and willed his apostles to do the like in every country, whersoever they came. And be you such enemies to your own country, that you wil not suffer us to laud God, to thank him, and to use his sacraments in our own tongue: but wil inforce things contrary, as wel to al reason, as to the word of God?

So many as [either] be godly, or have reason, wil be satisfied with this. But the mere Papists wil be satisfied with nothing. Wherfore I wil no longer tary to satisfy them, that never wil be satisfied, but wil procede to the second part of this article, wherin you say, that you wil have neither man nor woman communicate with the priest. Alas! good simple souls, how be you blinded with the Papists! How contrary be your articles one to another! You say in your first article, that you wil have al general councels and decrees observed, and now you go from them your selves. You say, you wil have no body to communicate with the priest. Hear then what divers canons, decrees and general councels say clean against you. There is one decree which saith thus, "When the consecration is done, let al the people receive the communion, except they wil be put out of the church."* And in the canons of the apostles, in the eighth chapter, is contained, "That whensoever there is any mas, or communion, if any bishop, priest, deacon, or any other of the clergy, being there present, do not communicate, (except he can shew some reasonable cause to the contrary) he shal be put out of the communion, as one that giveth occasion to the people to think evil of the ministers."† And in the ninth chapter of the same canons of the apostles,† and in the general council held at Antioch, is thus written, "That al Christen people, that come into the church, and hear the holy Scriptures read, and after wil not tarry to pray, and to receive the holy communion, with the rest of the people: but for some misordering of themselves, wil abstain therfrom, let them be put out of the church, until by humble knowledging of their fault, and by the fruits of penance, and prayers, they obtain pardon and forgivenes."‡ And the councel Nicene also sheweth the order, how men should sit in receiving the communion, and who should receive first.§ Al these decrees and general councels utterly condemn your third article, wherein you wil, that the priest shal receive the communion alone without any man or woman communicating with him. And the whole Church of Christ also, both Greeks and Latines, many hundred years after Christ, and His apostles, do al condemn this your article: which ever received the communion in flocks and numbers together, and not the priest alone.

And beside this, the very words of the mas, as it is called, shew plainly, that it is ordained not only for the priest, but for others also to communicate with the priest. For in the very canon, which they so much extol, and which is so holy, that no man may know what it is (and therfore is read so softly, that no man can hear it) in that same canon, I say, is a prayer concerning this; that "not only the priest, but also as many beside, as communicate with him, may be fulfilled with grace and heavenly benediction."* How aggreeth this prayer with your article, wherein you say, that neither man nor woman shal communicate with the priest? In another place also of the said canon, the priest prayeth for himself, and "for al that receive the communion with him, that it may be a preparation for them unto everlasting life." Which prayer were but a very fond prayer, and a very mocking with God, if no body should communicate with the priest. And the communion concludes with two prayers in the name of the priest, and them that communicate with him, wherin they pray thus: "O Lord, that thing which we have taken in our mouth, let us take it also with pure mind, that this communion may purge us from our sins, and make us partakers of heavenly remedy." And besides al this, there be an infinite sort of "postcommons" in the mas-books. Which al do evidently shew, that in the masses, the people did communicate with the priest.

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* [Corpus Juris Canonici, Decret. part iii. "de Consecrat." dist. ii. can. x. tom. i. col. 1150, ed. Lips. 1839.]

† [Canon. Apost. can. viii. and ix. p. 2, ed. (Bruns.).]

‡ [Concil. Antioch. i. can. ii. p. 81. Id.]

§ [Concil. Nicæn. can. xviii. p. 19. Id.]

And altho I would exhort every good Christen man often to receive the holy communion: yet I do not recite al these things to the intent, that I would in this corrupt world, (when men live so ungodly as they do) that the old canons should be restored again, which commanded every man present to receive the communion with the priest. Which canons, if they were now used, I fear that many would receive it unworthily. But I speak them to condemn your articles, which would have no body, neither man nor woman, to be communicated with the priest. Which your article condemneth the old decrees, canons and general councels, condemneth al the old primitive church, al the old, antient, holy doctors, and martyrs, and al the formes and maner of masses, that ever were made, both new and old. Therfore eat again this article, if you wil not be condemned of the whole world, and of your selves also by your first article: wherin you wil al decrees, and general councels to be observed. But forasmuch as I have been too tedious in this article, I wil endeavour myself to be shorter in the next.

Your fourth Article is this,

> "We wil have the Sacrament hang over the high altar, and there to be worshipped, as it was wont to be; and they which wil not therto consent, we wil have them dy like heretics against the holy Catholic faith."

What say you, O ignorant people in things pertaining to God? Is this the holy Catholic faith, that the sacrament should be hanged over the altar and worshipped? And be they heretics, that wil not consent therto? I pray you, who made this faith? Any other, but the bishops of Rome? And that after more then a thousand years after Christ's faith was ful and perfect. Innocent III. about 1215 years after Christ, did ordain, that the sacrament and chrism should be kept under lock and key.* But yet no mention he made of hanging the sacrament over the high altar, nor of the worshiping of it. After him came Honorius III. and he added further, commanding that the sacrament should be devoutly kept in a clean place, and sealed, and that the priests should often teach the people reverently to bow down to the host, when it is lifted up in the mass time, and when the priests should cary it to the sick folkes.† And altho this Honorius‡ added the worshipping of the sacrament, yet he made no mention of the hanging therof over the high altar, as your article purporteth. Nor how long after, or by what means, that came first up into this realm, I think no man can tel. And in Italy it is not yet used until this day. And in the beginning of the Church it was not only not used to be hanged up, but also it was utterly forbid to be kept.

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* [Canon. Missæ. See Roman Missal, p. 238, ed. Mechlin, 1840.]

And wil you have al them that wil not consent to your article, to dy like heretics, that hold against the Catholic faith? Were the apostles and evangelists heretics? Were the martyrs and confessors heretics? Were al the old doctors of the Church heretics? Were al Christen people heretics, until within three or four hundred years last past, that the bishops of Rome taught them what they should do and believe? All they before rehearsed neither hanged the sacrament over the altar, nor worshiped it, nor not one of them al spake any one word, either of the hanging up, or worshiping of the sacrament. Mary, they speak very much of the worshiping of Christ himself, setting in heaven at the right hand of his Father. And no man doth duely receive the sacrament, except he so, after that maner, do worship Christ, whom he spiritually receiveth, spiritually feedeth and nourisheth upon, and by whom spiritually he liveth, and continueth that life that is towards God. And this the sacrament teacheth us.

Now to knit up this article shortly. Here is the issue of this matter: that you must either condemn of heresy the apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors, and al the holy Church of Christ, until the time of Innocentius and Honorius, because they hanged not the sacrament over the altar to be worshiped; or else you must be condemned your selves by your own article, to dy like heretics against the holy Catholic faith. Now to your fifth article.

Your fifth Article is this,

> "We wil have the Sacrament of the Altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind."

Methinks you be like a man, that were brought up in a dark dungeon, that never saw light, nor knew nothing that is abroad in the world. And if a friend of his pitying his ignorance and state, would bring him out of his dungeon, that he might se the light and come to knowledg, he being from his youth used to darknes, could not abide the light, but would wilfully shut his eyes, and be offended both with the light, and with his friend also. A most godly prince of famous memory King Henry VIII. our late soveraign lord, pitying to se his subjects many years so brought up in darknes, and ignorance of God, by the erroneous doctrines and traditions of the bishop of Rome, with the counsil of al his nobles and learned men, studied by al means, and that to his no little danger and charges, to bring you out of your said ignorance and darknes unto the true light, and knowledg of Gods word. And our most dread soveraign lord, that now is, succeeding his father, as wel in this godly intent, as in his realmes and dominions, hath with no less care and diligence, studied to perform his fathers godly intent and purpose. And you like men, that wilfully shut their own eyes, refuse to receive the light, saying [that] you wil [still] remain in your darknes. Or rather you be like men, that be so far wandred out of the right way, that they can never come to it again without good and expert guides: and yet when the guides would tel you the truth, they would not be ordered by them, but would say unto them, Wee wil have, and follow our own wayes.

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* [Corpus Juris Canonici, Decretal. Gregor. IX. lib. iii. tit. 44, cap. i. tom. ii. col. 624.]

† [Id. ibid. lib. iii. tit. 41, cap. x. tom. ii. col. 617.]

‡ [In the MS. it is "this Innocentius," not "Honorius." Strype's version is retained in the text as being more correct.]

And that you may understand how far you be wandred from the right way in this one article, wherin you wil have the sacrament of the altar delivered to the lay-people but once in the year, and then but under one kind, be you assured, that there was never such law, nor such request made among Christen people, until this day. What injury do you to many godly persons, which would devoutly receive it many times, and you command the priest to deliver it them but at Easter. Al learned and godly men have exhorted Christian people, (altho they have not commanded them,) often to receive the communion. And in the apostles time, the people at Jerusalem received it every day, as it appeareth by the manifest words of the Scripture. And after, they received it in some places every day: in some places four times in the week: in some three times: some twice: and commonly every where at the least once in the week. In the beginning, when men were most godly and fervent in the Holy Spirit, then they received the communion daily. But when the spirit of God began to be more cold in mens hearts, and they waxed more worldly than godly, then their desire was not so hot to receive the communion, as it was before. And ever from time to time, as the world waxed more wicked, the more the people withdrew themselves from the holy communion. For it was so holy a thing; and the threatnings of God be so sore against them, that come therto unworthily, that an ungodly man abhorreth it, and not without cause dare in no wise approch therunto. But to them that live godly, it is the greatest comfort, that in this world can be imagined. And the more godly a man is, the more sweetnes and spiritual plesure and desire he shal have, often to receive it. And wil you be so ungodly, to command the priest, that he shal not deliver it to him, but at Easter: and then but only in one kind? When Christ ordained both the kinds, as wel for the lay-men, as for the priests: and that to be eaten and drunken at al times.

What enemies be you to al lay-men, and to your selves also, that refuse to drink of Christs cup, which he commanded al men to drink upon, saying, "Take and divide this among you;" and, "Drink you al of it?"

But need any more be brought for the reproving of this article, then your own first article, where you wil have kept al decrees and councels. Now in the Decrees de Consecrat. Di. 2. there is one decree that commandeth al men to receive the communion at the least thrice in the year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas.* Another commandeth every man to receive the same upon Shere-Thursday.† The Councel Agathense saith, that al lay-men which receive not the communion at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, shal not be taken for Catholics.‡ And the decree of Gelasius [saith], that the receiving under one kind is great sacrilege.§ Then by your first article you do not only condemn your fift article, but also you shew your selves not to be Catholics, except you receive the communion at the least three times in the year; and that under both kinds. Which is clean repugnant to this article. And yet I pray God, you receive it worthily once in your life; which you shal never do, except you wonderfully repent this your misbehaviour: and al your life time study to amend and redress that you have now offended. Now to your sixt article.

Your sixt Article is this,

> "WEE wil that our curates shal minister the Sacrament of Baptism at al times, as wel in the week day, as on the holy day."

Who letteth your ministers to baptize your child every day, if any case of necessity so do require? But commonly it is more convenient, that baptism should not be ministred, but upon the holy day, when the most number of people be together. As wel for that the whole church [of Christ] there present may rejoice together of the receiving of new members of Christ into the same church, as also, that al men, being present, may remember, and the better know what they promised themselves by their godfathers and godmothers in their own baptism; and be the more earnestly stirred in their hearts to perform the same: and also, may altogether pray for them, that be baptized, that they may have grace to perform their profession. S. Greg. Nazianz. as great a clerk as ever was in Christs church, and master to S. Hierome, counselled, that children should not be christened, until they came to three years of age, or thereabouts, except they were in danger of life.‖ And it was thought sufficient to our forefathers to be done two times in the year, at

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* [Corpus Juris Canonici, Decreti, pars iii. de Consecrat. dist. ii. can. xvi. tom. ii. col. 1152.]

† [Id. ibid. can. xvii.]

‡ [Id. ibid. can. xviii. (See also Canon. Apost. et Concil. (Bruns.) pt. ii. p. 151.)]

§ [Id. ibid. can. xii.]

‖ [Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. xl. in sanct. baptism. tom. i. p. 658.]

Easter and Whitsuntide, as it appeareth by divers of their councels and decrees,* which forbid baptism to be ministred at any other time than Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of necessity. And there remained lately divers signes and tokens thereof. For every Easter and Whitsun even, until this time, the fonts were hallowed in every church, and many collects and other prayers were read for them that were baptized. But all was in vain, and as it were a mocking with God. For none were baptized at those times, except it were by chance, but al were baptized before. For as vigils, otherwise called watchings, remain in the calendars upon certain saints evens, because in old times the people watched al those nights;† and Vigilantius, because he spake against these watchings, was condemned of heresy;‡ but now these many years those vigils remained in vain in the books, for no man did watch; even so until this day, the order and form of christening was read and kept every year at Easter and Whitsuntide, but none was then christened. Wherin it appeareth how far we be swerved from our forefathers.

And, to conclude this article shortly, if you wil needs have baptism ministred no more at one time than another, then must you needs renounce your first article; which willeth the councels and decrees of the forefathers to be observed and kept. And this briefly sufficeth for the sixt article.

Your seventh Article is this.

> "WEE wil have holy bread and holy water [made] every Sunday, palmes and ashes at the time accustomed; images to be set up again in every church; and al other antient, old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy Church."

Oh! superstition and idolatry, how they prevaile among you! The heavenly bread, the food of everlasting life, offered unto you in the sacrament of the holy communion, you refuse to eat, but only at Easter. And the cup of the most holy bloud, wherewith you were redeemed and washed from your sins, you refuse utterly to drink of at any time. And yet in the sted of these you wil eat often of the unsavoury and poisoned bread of the bishop of Rome, and drink of his stinking puddles, which he nameth holy bread and holy water. Consider, oh! ignorant people, the authors and intents of the makers of them both. The water of baptism, and the holy bread and wine of the holy communion, none other person did ordain, but Christ himself. The other that is called holy bread, holy water, holy ashes, holy palmes, and al [such] other like ceremonies, ordained the bishops of Rome; adversaries to Christ, and therefore rightly called antichrists. And Christ ordained His bread His wine and His water to our great comfort, to instruct us and teach us what things we have only by him. But antichrist on the other side hath set up his superstitions, under the name of holines, to none other intent, but as the devil seeketh al means to draw us from Christ, so doth antichrist avance his holy superstitions, to the intent that we should take him in the sted of Christ, and believe that we have by him such things, as we have only by Christ. That is to say, spiritual food, remission of our sins and salvation.

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* De Consecr. di. 4. Non ratione, Domino proprie. Siquis. De Catechumenis, Siqui, Venerabilis, Baptizand. [Corpus Juris Canonici, Decreti, pars iii. dist. iv. can. xi., xii., xiii., xiv., xv., xvi., xvii., xviii. tom. i. col. 1191—1193.]

† [See Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, book 13, cap. 9, § 4, vol. iv. pp. 357—363, ed. Lond. 1840.]

‡ [See Hieron. adv. Vigilant. Epist. lx. tom. ii. pp. 88, 89, ed. Francof. 1684; and Bayle's Dictionary, vol. ix. pp. 713—716.]

First, our Savior Christ ordained the water of baptism to signify unto us, that as the water washeth our bodies outwardly, so be we spiritually within washed by Christ from al our sins. And as that water is called water of regeneration, or new birth, so it declareth unto us, that through Christ we be born anew, and begin a new life towards God: and that Christ is the beginning of this new life. And as the body that is new born, altho it have life within it, yet can it not continue [without meat and drink; even so can we not continue] in the spiritual life towards God, except we be continually nourished with spiritual food. And that spiritual food is Christ also. For as he is the first beginning of our spiritual life, so is he the continuance and ending therof. And for this cause did Christ ordain in the holy communion, to be eaten bread, and drunken wine, that we should surely believe, that as our bodies be fed with bread and wine in these holy mysteries, so be we out of doubt that our souls be fed spiritually with the lively food of Christs body and blood; wherby we have remission of our sins and salvation. But the bishop of Rome invented new devises of his own making, and by them promised remission of sins and salvation, that he might be set up and honored for a savior equal to Christ. And so to be esteemed above al creatures, and to set in the temple of God, that is in the Church of Christ, as he were God.

And to bring this to pas he hath horribly abused holy Scriptures, altering them to his purpose in the sted of Christs most holy bloud, putting in his holy water. As it appeareth evidently in this sentence of S. Paul written in the ninth chap. to the Hebrewes:—"If the bloud of oxen and goats," saith S. Paul, "and the ashes of a yong cow purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh, how much more the bloud of Christ (which through the eternal Spirit offered himself, [being] without spot unto God) shal purge your consciences from dead works, for to serve the living God. And for this cause he is the Mediator of the new testament." Consider wel this sentence of Paul, and you shal find two purifyings, one of the body and another of the soul, or conscience. You shal find also two mediators: one was the priest of Moses law, and the other is Christ. The priests of the old law, with the bloud of oxen and goats, and other their sacrifices, purged only the bodies of them that were defiled, but the soul, or conscience, they could not help. But our Savior Christ by His own bloud purged both body and soul. And for that cause He, and none other, is the Mediator of the new testament. But the bishop of Rome, to make himself also a mediator with Christ, hath taken upon him to purify the soul and conscience with holy water, holy salt, and other his holy creatures of his own devising, to the intolerable injury of Christs blood, which only hath that effect. And to bring this to pass, hee hath most shamefully changed the words of the Scripture, and wrested them to his purpose: some words putting out, and only in the sted of Christs bloud, putting in his own holy water and salt. For wheras S. Paul, "if the blood of oxen and goats, and the ashes of a cow, purified the unclean, as touching the purifying of the flesh:" here the bishop of Rome leaveth out these words, "as touching the purifying of the flesh." And where S. Paul, extolling the effect of Christs bloud in comparison of the bloud of oxen and goats, saith, "How much more the bloud of Christ, which through the Eternal Spirit offered Himself, being without spot, unto God, shal purge your consciences." Here the bishop of Rome, extolling his water and salt putteth out Christs bloud, and in the place thereof putteth his holy water and salt; saying, "How much more water, which is sprinkled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers, shal sanctify and purify the people." Oh! intolerable blasphemy against the most precious bloud of Christ! Oh! shameles audacity and boldnes, so to corrupt and pervert Gods holy word? If he by his holy water presume to purify our souls, as Christ did by His bloud, what is that else, but to make himself equal, and another mediator with Christ? And what is it, to tread under [his] foot the Son of God, and to make the bloud of the N. testament (wherby we be sanctified) like other common things, and to dishonor the spirit of grace, if this be not? And yet not contented with this blaspheming [of] the bloud of Christ, he preferreth his holy creatures far above the bloud of Christ, promising by them many benefits, which by the bloud of Christ be not promised. For in the same place he promiseth by his holy ceremonies to take away from us dearth and scarcity of al worldly things, and to multiply and encrease us with the same. Also to defend us from the assaults of the devil, and al his deceits, and to give us health both of body and soul. But al men se him so shamefully to ly in these worldly things, that no man, that wise is, wil trust him in the rest. Nor no man, that is godly, wil desire such things to remain stil, which so much have deceived simple people, and dishonored God, and been contumelious to the bloud of Christ.

But now to your images, which, you say, you wil have set up again in every church. What moved you to require this article, but only ignorance? For if you had known the laws of God, and the use of godly religion, as wel before the incarnation of Christ as four or five hundred years next after, and by whom images were at first brought into Christs Church, and how much idolatry was every where committed by the means of the same, it could not have been, that ever you would have desired this article, except you had more affection to idolatry, then to true religion. For Almighty God, among the Ten Commandments rehearsed this for the second, as one of the chief, "Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image, nor the likenes of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow to them, nor worship them." This commandment was diligently kept in the old testament, so long as the people pleased God. For in their tabernacle was not one image, less nor more, that the people might se. Although upon the propitiatory were [set] two cherubims of gold by the commandment of God. And that was in such a place, as the people never came near, nor saw [them]. But when the people forgetting this commandment, began to make images, and to set them up in the place of adoration, by and by they provoked Gods indignation against them, and were grievously punished therfore.

The Church of Christ likewise in the N. testament, for the space of four or five hundred years after Christ's ascension, utterly refused to have images in the church, a place of adoration. As it may plainly appear* by al the old antient authors, that lived and wrot in that time, so much, that above four hundred years after Christ, when some superstitious, and ignorant people, in some places, began to bring painted images, not into the church, but to the church doores, the great clerk Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, finding such a painted image of Christ, or some other saint, hanging at the church door, in a town called Anablatha, he cutt it in pieces, saying, that "it was against the authority of Scripture, that in the church of Christ should hang the image of a man." And the same Epiphanius wrot unto the bishop of Jerusalem, that he should command the priests, that in no wise they should suffer such images to be hanged in the church of Christ, which were contrary to our religion.†

But peradventure you will mervail, and ask me the question, how it was brought to pas, that of late years al churches were so ful of images, and so much offering, and pilgrimages done unto them, if it were against the commandment of God, against the usage of all godly people in the O. testament, and also against the custom of Christs church in the N. testament, so long as it was pure and holy, and kept from idolatry? Who was able to bring this to effect, contrary both to Gods expres commandment, and the custom of al godly people from the beginning of the world, until four or five hundred years after Christ? No man surely could have wrought this thing so much contrary to God, but antichrist himself, that is to say, the bishop of Rome. To whom God hath given great power to work wonders, to bring into error those that wil not believe the truth. But by what means did he compas this matter? By such means as was most meet for himself, and as he hath commonly practiced in al other matters: that is to say, by sedition and murder, by confederacies and persecutions, by raising the sons against their fathers, the childre against their mother, and the subjects against their rulers; by deposing of emperors and princes, and murdering of learned men, saints and martyrs. For thus he wrought against the empire of the East parties from Gregory II. his time, until Gregory III.* who at length, after this contention had endured above five hundred years, in a councel held at Lions, by feigned promises, persuaded the emperor of the East to condescend to his purpose, as we to receive images into the churches, as to other his requests. But nevertheles the bishop of Rome failed of his purpose. For yet to this day the Christen men in the East do not allow images to stand in their churches; neither the Greeks; nor the Armenians, nor the Indians, nor none other Christen men. And that more is search the al the world through out, of what religion soever they be, whether they be Jews, Turks, Saracens, Tartaries, or Christen people: and you shal not find an image in none of their churches, but that was brought in by the bishop of Rome, and where the bishop of Rome is, or with in these forty years was, taken for the head of the Church, and Christ's vicar in earth.

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* ["The word 'appear' is put in the C.C.C.C. MSS. evidently by another hand." Parker Society's edition of Works of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 178, n. 4.]

† [Epiphan. Epist. ad Joan. Episcop. Hierosol. tom. ii. p. 317, ed. Colon. 1682. See also Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. ii. book 8, cap. viii. § 6, p. 504.]

And at the beginning the bishops of Rome, to cloak their idolatry, pretended to have images set up, only for a remembrance to lay men, and to be, as it were, lay mens books. But after, they defined plainly that they should be worshipped. And so it encreased at length, that images were kneeled unto, offered unto, prayed unto, sought unto; incensed, and pilgrimages done unto them, and al maner of superstition and idolatry that could be devised. Almighty God knoweth our corrupt nature better than we do our selves. He knoweth wel the inclination of man, how much he is given to worship creatures, and the work of his own hands: and especially fond women, which commonly follow superstition rather than true religion. And therfore he utterly forbad the people the use of graven images; especially in places dedicated to the honour of God, knowing assuredly that of the having would follow the worshipping them.

Now, thanks be to God, in this realm, we be clearly delivered from that kind of idolatry (which most highly offended God), and we do according to the councel Elebertine,† which ordained, that no images should be in churches. And this is so antient, that it was about the same year that Nicene Councel was. What should then move you to ask again your images in the church, being not only against Gods commandments, and the use of Gods church evermore, since the beginning of the world, when it was pure from idolatry; but also being chargeable to the realm, and great occasion of hainous idolatry; but that some Papistical and covetous priests have persuaded you hereto? Which care neither for God's [dis]honour, nor your damnation; so that they may have any commodity or profit therby.

I have been very long in this article, and yet the matter is so large that it requireth much more to be spoken therin, which for shortnes of time I am constrained to leave, until a more occasion; and so come to your eighth article.

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* [That is, from A.D. 715 to A.D. 741. See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. part 2, cap. iii. § 11, pp. 154, 155, 673, ed. London, 1845.]

† [Concil. Eliberit. A.D. 305, cap. 36. Can. Apost. et Concil. (Bruns.) part ii. p. 1.]

Your eighth Article is this,

> "We wil not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game: but we wil have our old service of Mattins, Mass, Even-song, and Procession in Latine, as it was before. And so we the Cornish men, wherof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English."

As concerning the having of the service in the Latine tongue, is sufficiently spoken of in the answer to the third article. But I would gladly know the reason, why you Cornish men refuse utterly the "New English," as you cal it, because certain of you understand it not: and yet you wil have the service in Latin, which almost none of you understand. If this be a sufficient cause for Cornwal to refuse the English service, because some of them understand none English, a much greater cause have they, both of Cornwal and Devonshire, to refuse utterly the Latin service; for as much as fewer of them know the Latine tongue, than them of Cornwal the English tongue. But where you say, that you wil have the old service, because the new is "like a Christmas game," you declare your selves what spirit you be led withal, or rather what spirit leadeth them, that persuaded [to] you, that the word of God is but like a Christmas game. It is more like a game and a fond play to be laughed at of al men, to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latine, and the people listen [to some] with their ears to hear; and some walking up and down in the church, some [in the church] saying other prayers in Latin, and none understandeth other. Neither the priest nor the parish wot what they say. And many times the thing that the priest saith in Latine is so fond of itself, that it is more like a play, then a godly prayer.

But in the English service appointed to be read, is there nothing else but the eternal word of God. The New and the Old Testament is read, [the word] that hath power to save your souls: which, as S. Paul saith, "is the power of God to the salvation of all that believe:" the clear light to our eyes, without the which we cannot see; and a lanthorn to our feet, without which we should tumble in darknes. It is in it self the wisdome of God, and yet to the Jews it is a stumbling block, and to the Gentiles it is but foolishnes. "But to such as be called of God, whether they be Jewes or Gentiles, it is the power of God and the wisdom of God." Then unto you if it be but foolishness and a "Christmas game," you may discern your selves what miserable state you be in, and how far you be from God. For S. Paul saith plainly, that the word of God is foolishnes only to them that perish: but to them that shal be saved it is Gods might and power. To some it is a lively savor unto life; and to some it is a deadly savor unto death. If it be to you but a Christmas game, it is then a savor of death unto death. And surely persuade your selves, that you be not led by the spirit of God, so long as the word of God savoureth no better to you, but seemeth to you a Christmas pastime, and foolishnes. And therfore the old service pleaseth you better. Which in many things is so foolish and so ungodly, that it seemeth rather to be old wives' tales and lies, then to sound to any godlines. The devil is a lyar, and the author of lyes: and they may think themselves governed rather of his spirit, then of God, when lyes delight more then Gods most true word.

But this I judge rather of your leaders then of your selves; who by ignorance be carried away by other, you wot not whether. For when the service was in the Latine tongue, which you understood not, they might read to you truths or fables, godly or ungodly things, as they pleased: for you could not judge that you understood not. And that was the cause why S. Paul would have such languages spoken in the church as the people might understand. That they might learn and be edified therby, and judge of that which should be spoken, whether it were according to Gods word, or not.

But forasmuch as you understood not the old Latine service, I shal rehearse some things in English, which were wont to be read in Latine, that when you understand them, you may judge them, whether they seem to be true tales, or fables: and whether they, or Gods word seem to be more like playes and Christmas games. "The devil entred into a certain person; in whose mouth S. Martin put his finger. And because the devil could not get out at his mouth, the man blew him, or cacked him out behind." This was one of the tales, that was wont to be read in the Latine service, that you wil needs have again. As tho the devil had a body, and that so crass, that he could not pas out by the smal pores of the flesh, but must needs have a wide hole to go out at. Is this a grave and godly matter to be read in the church, or rather a foolish Christmas tale, or an old wives fable, worthy to be laughed at and scorned of every man, that hath either wit or godly judgment? Yet more foolish, erroneous and superstitious things be read in the feasts of S. Blase, S. Valentine, S. Margaret, S. Peter, of the Visitation of our Lady, and the Conception, of the Transfiguration of Christ, and in the feast of Corpus Christi; and a great number mo. Wherof some be most vain fables, some very superstitious, some directly against Gods word, and the lawes of this realm: and altogether be ful of error and superstition. But as Christ commonly excused the simple people, because of their ignorance, and justly condemned the Scribes and Pharisees, which, by their crafty persuasions, led the people out of the right way: so I think not you so much to be blamed, as those Pharisees and Papistical priests, which, abusing your simplicity caused you to ask you wist not what, desiring rather to drink of the dregs of corrupt error, which you know not, then of the pure and sweet wine of Gods word, which you may and ought to understand. But now have I sufficiently bespoken of your eighth article: I wil go forward unto the ninth.

Your ninth Article is this,

> "We wil have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at his mass, pray especially by name for the souls in purgatory, as our forefathers did."

To reason with you by learning, which be unlearned, it were but folly; therfore I wil convince your article with very reason. First, tell me, I pray you, if you can, whether there be a purgatory or no: and where or what it is. And if you cannot tel, then I may tel you, that you ask you wot not what. The Scripture maketh mention of two places, where the dead be received after this life. Viz. of heaven, and of hel: but of purgatory is not one word spoken. Purgatory was wont to be called a fire, as hot as hel, but not so long during. But now the defenders of purgatory within this realm be ashamed so to say: nevertheles they say, it is a third place. Where or what it is, they confes themselves they can no tel. And of Gods word they have nothing to shew neither, where it is, nor what it is, nor that it is. But al is fained of their own brain without authority of Scripture.

I would ask of them then, wherfore it is, and to what use it serveth. For if it be to none use, then it is a thing frustrate and in vain. Mary, say they, it is a place of punishment, wherby they be purged from their sins, that depart out of this life, not fully purged before. I cannot tel, whether this saying be more foolishness, or more contumelious to Christ. For what can be more foolish, then to say, that paines can wash sins out of the soul. I do not deny but that correction and punishment in this life, is a calling of men to repentance and amendment; and so to be purged by the bloud of Christ. But correction without repentance can nothing avail: and they that be dead be past the time of repentance; and so no correction or torments in purgatory can avail them. And how great a contumely and injury is this to Christ, to affirm that al [they] have not ful and perfect purgation by his bloud, that dy in his faith? Is not al our trust in the bloud of Christ, that we be cleansed, purged, and washed therby? And wil you have us now to forsake our faith in Christ, and bring us to the Popes purgatory, to be washed therin: thinking that Christs bloud is an imperfect lee or sope, that washeth not clean? If he shal dy without mercy, that treads Christs bloud under his feet, what is treading of his bloud under our feet, if this be not? But if according to the Catholic faith, which the holy Scripture teacheth, and the prophets, apostles and martyrs confirmed with their bloud, al the faithful, that dy in the Lord, be pardoned of al their offences by Christ, and their sins be clearly spunged and washed away by his bloud, shal they after, be cast into another strong and grievous prison of purgatory, there to be punished again for that which was pardoned before? God hath promised by his word, that the souls of the just be in Gods hand, and no pain shal touch them: and again he saith, "Blessed be they that dy in the Lord. For the spirit of God saith, that from henceforth they shal rest from their pains." And Christ himself saith, "He that believeth in him, that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shal not come to judgment, but shal pas from death unto life." And is God no truer of his promise, but to punish that, which he promiseth to pardon? Consider the matter by your own cases. If the kings majesty should pardon your offences; and after, would cast you into prison, would you think that he had wel observed his promis? For what is to pardon your offences, but to pardon the punishment for the same? If the king would punish you, would you take that for a pardon? Would you not alledg your pardon, and say, that you ought not to be punished? Who can then, that hath but a crum of reason in his head, imagin of God, that he wil, after our death, punish those things that he pardoned in our life time?

Truth it is, that Scripture maketh mention of paradise and Abrahams bosome after this life; but those be places of joy and consolation, not of pain and torments. But yet I know what subtil sophisters use to mutter in mens ears to deceive them withal. David, they say, with many other, were pardoned of their offences, and yet were they sore punished after, for the same, of God. And some of them, so long as they lived. Wel, be it were so. Yet after their lives, they were not punished in purgatory therfore. But the end of their lives was the end of their punishment. And likewise it is of original sin after baptism, which altho it be pardoned, yet certain paines therof continue so long as we live. But this punishment in our life time is not to revenge our original sin, which is pardoned in baptism; but to make us humble, penitent, obedient to God, fearful to offend, to know our selves, and ever to stand in fear and aw; as if a father, that hath beaten a wilful child for his faults, should hang the rod continually at the childs girdle, it should be no smal pain and grief to the child, ever hanging by his side. And yet the father doth it not to beat the child for that which is past and forgiven; but to make him beware hereafter, that he offend not again, and to be gentle, tractable, obedient and loth to do any thing amiss. But after this life there is no such cause of punishment: where no rod or whip can force any man to go any faster or further, being already at the end of his journey. Likewise a master, that hath an unthrifty servant, which out of his masters sight doth nothing but riot and disorder himself, if he forgive his servant, and for the love he beareth to him, and the desire he hath to se him corrected and reformed, he wil command him never to be out of his sight: this commandment, altho indeed it be a great pain to the servant, yet the master doth it not to punish those faults, which before he had pardoned and forgiven, but to keep him in stay, that he fal no mo to like disorder. But these examples and cases of punishment here in this life, can in no wise be wrested and drawn to the life to come. And so in no wise can serve for purgatory.

And furthermore, seeing that the Scriptures so often and so diligently teach us, almost in every place, to relieve al them that be in necessity, to feed the hungry, to cloth the naked, to visit the sick and the prisoners, to comfort the sorrowful; and so to al other that have need of our help: and the same in no place maketh mention, either of such pains in purgatory, or what comfort we may do them; it is certain that the same is feigned for lucre, and not grounded upon Gods word. For else the Scripture in some place would have told us plainly what case they stood in that be in purgatory, and what relief and help we might do unto them. But forasmuch as Gods word speaketh not one word of neither of them both, my counsil shal be, that you keep not the bishop of Romes decrees, that you may come to purgatory, but keep Gods laws, that you may come to heaven. Or else I promise you assuredly, that you shal never escape hel. Now to your next article.

Your tenth Article is this,

> "We wil have the Bible, and al books of Scripture in English, to be called in again. For we be informed, that otherwise the clergy shal not of long time confound the heretics."

Alas! it grieveth me to hear your articles: and much I rue and lament your ignorance: praying God most earnestly once to lighten your eyes, that you may see His truth. What Christen heart would not be grieved to se you so ignorant, (for willingly and wilfully, I trust, you do it not) that you refuse Christ, and joyne your selves with antichrist. You refuse the holy Bible, and al holy Scriptures so much, that you wil have them called in again; and the bishop of Romes decrees you wil have advanced and observed. I may wel say to you as Christ said to Peter, "Turne back again, for you savor not godly things." As many of you as understand no Latine cannot know Gods word, but in English, except it be the Cornish men, which cannot understand likewise none, but their own speech. Then you must be content to have it in English, which you know, or else you must confes, that you refuse utterly the knowledg therof. And wherfore did the Holy Ghost come down [among the apostles] in fiery tongues, and gave them knowledge of al languages, but that al nations might hear, speak and learn Gods word in their mother tongue? And can you name me any Christian [nation] in al the world, but they have, and ever [have] had Gods word in their own tongue? And the Jews, to whom God gave his Scriptures in the Hebrew tongue, after their long captivity among the Chaldees, so that mo of them knew the Chaldee than the Hebrew tongue, they caused the Scripture to be turned into the Chaldee tongue, that they might understand it: which until this day is called Targum. And Ptolomy, king of Egypt, caused sixty [seventy] of the greatest clerks, that might be gotten, to translate the Scripture out of Hebrew into Greek. And until this day the Greeks have it in the Greek tongue; the Latines in the Latine tongue, and al other nations in their own tongue. And wil you have God further from us, then from al other countries: that he shal speak to every man in his own language, that he understandeth, and was born in, and to us shal speak a strange language, that we understand not? And wil you, that al other realmes shal laud God in their own speech, and we shal say to him we know not what?

Altho you savor so little of godlines, that you list not to read his word your selves, you ought not to be so malicious and envious, to let them that be more godly, and would gladly read it to their comfort and edification. And if there be an English heretic, how wil you have him confuted, but in English? And wherby else, but by Gods word? Then it followeth, that to confute English heretics, we must have Gods word in English, as al other nations have it in their own native language. St. Paul to the Ephesians teacheth al men, as wel lay-men, as priests, to arme themselves, and to fight against al adversaries with Gods word: without the which we cannot be able to prevail, neither against subtil heretics, puissant devils, this deceitful world; nor our own sinful flesh. And therfore until Gods word came to light, the bishop of Rome, under the prince of darknes, rained quietly in the world: and his heresies were received and allowed for the true Catholic faith. And it can none otherwise be, but that heresies must reign, where the light of Gods word driveth not away our darknes.

Your eleventh Article is this.

> "We have Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin, which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us; and to them we require the kings majesty to give some certain livings, to preach among us our Catholic faith."

If you be of Moremans and Crispins faith, I like you much the worse. For "like lettice, like lipps." And to declare you plainly the qualities of Crispin and Moreman, and how unmeet men they be to be your teachers, they be persons very ignorant in Gods word; and yet therto very wilful, crafty, and ful of dissimulation. For if they were profoundly learned, and of sincere judgments, as they be not, they might be godly teachers of you. Or if they were not *toto* wilful, and standing wholy in their own conceits, they might learn, and be taught of other. But they be so wilful, that they wil not learn, and so ignorant, that they cannot teach, and so ful of craft and hypocrisy, that they be able to deceive you al, and to lead you into error after themselves. So that if you ask them, you ask your own poyson. Now if a man were in such a sicknes, that he longed for poyson (as many diseases desire things most noyful unto them) yet it were not the part of a good physician to give it unto them. No more is it the office of a most godly prince, to give you such teachers, altho you long never so sore for them, as he knoweth would corrupt you; feeding you rather with sower and unwholsome leaven of Romish Pharisaical doctrin, then with the sweet, pure and wholsome bread of Gods heavenly word. Where you would have Gods word in English destroyed, and Crispin and Moreman delivered unto you, you do even as the people of the Jews did; who cryed out, that Christ might be crucified, and that Barabbas, the strong thief, might be delivered unto them.

Your twelfth Article is this,

> "We think it very meet, because the L. Cardinal Pole is of the kings bloud, [that he should]* not only have his pardon, but also be sent for to Rome, and promoted be of the kings Councel."

In this article I wil answer no more but this, if ever any cardinal or legate were beneficial unto this realm, we may have some hope of some other to follow his steps. But if al that ever were in this realm were pernitious and hurtful unto the same, I know not why we should be with child to long for any mo. For by the experience of them, that have been heretofore, we may conjecture of them, that be to come. And I fear me, that Cardinal Pole would follow rather the old race of the rest, than to begin a better of himself. Surely I have read a book of his making, which whosoever shal read, if he have a true heart to our late soveraign lord K. Henry VIII. or to this realm, he wil judge Cardinal Pole neither worthy to dwel in this realm, nor yet to live. For he doth extend al his wits and eloquence in that book to persuade the bishop of Rome, the emperor, the French king, and al other princes, to invade this realm by force. And sure I am, that if you have him, you must have the bishop of Rome also. For the cardinal cannot be a subject, but where the other is his head. This sufficeth briefly to this article.

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* [These words are not in the C.C.C.C. MSS.]

Your thirteenth Article is this,

> "We wil that no gentleman shal have any mo servants then one, to wait upon him, except he may dispend one hundred mark land. And for every hundred mark we think it reasonable he should have a man."

Yet have you not foreseen one thing, you wise disposers of the common wealth. For if a gentleman of an hundred pounds land, (who by your order must have but one servant, except he might spend two hundred marks) should send that one servant to London, you have not provided who shal wait upon him, until his servant come home again. Nor you have not provided, where every gentleman may have one servant, that can do al things necessary for him. I fear me the most part of you, that devised this article (whom I take to be loiterers and idle unthrifts) if they should serve a gentleman, he should be faine to do al things himself, for any thing that you could, or would do for him. For one thing methink very strange; for where much complaint is made of divers gentlemen, because they keep not houses, you provide by your order, that no gentleman shal keep house; but al shal sojourn with other men. For who can keep a household with one servant, or with two servants, after the rate of two hundred mark, or with three after the rate of three hundred, and so upward? For here it seemeth you be very desirous to make gentlemen rich. For after this proportion every gentleman may lay up clearly in his coffers at the least one half of his yearly revenues, and much more.

But it was not for good mind, that you bare to the gentlemen, that you devised this article; but it appeareth plainly, that you devised it to diminish their strength, and to take away their friends, that you might command gentlemen at your pleasures. But you be much deceived in your account. For altho by your appointment they lacked household servants, yet shal they not lack tenants and farmers. Which, if they do their duties, wil be as assured to their lords, as their own household servants. For of these lands, which they have or hold of their lords, they have their whole livings for themselves, their wives, children and servants. And for al these they attend their own busines, and wait not upon their lords, but when they be called therto. But the household servant, leaving al his own busines, waiteth daily and continually upon his masters service: and for the same hath no more but meat and drink and apparel for himself only. So that al tenants and farmers, which know their duties, and be kind to their lords, wil dy and live with them, no les then their own household servants. Therefore I would wish you to put this fantasie out of your heads, and this article out of your book, as wel for the unreasonablenes, as for the ungodlines thereof.

For was it ever seen in any country since the world began, that commons did appoint the nobles, and gentlemen, the number of their servants? Standeth it with any reason to turn upside down the good order of the whole world, that is every where, and ever hath been? That is to say, the commoners to be governed by the nobles, and the servants by their masters. Wil you have now the subjects to govern their king, the vilains to rule the gentlemen, and the servants their masters? If men would suffer this, God wil not; but wil take vengeance on al them, that wil break his order; as he did of Dathan and Abiram: altho for a time he be a God of much sufferance, and hideth his indignation under his mercy; that the evil of themselves may repent, and se their own folly.

Your fourteenth Article is this,

> "Wee wil that the half part of the abby lands, and chantry lands in every mans possession, howsoever he came by them, be given again to two places, where two of the chief abbies were within every county. Where such half part shal bee taken out; and there to be established a place for devout persons which shal pray for the king and the common wealth. And to the same we wil have al the almes of the church box given for these seven years."

At the beginning you pretended, that you meant nothing against the kings majesty, but now you open your selves plainly to the world, that you go about to pluck the crown from his head: and against al justice and equity, not only to take from him such lands as be annexed unto his crown, and be parcel of the same: but also against al right and reason, to take from al other men such lands, as they came to by most just title, by gift, by sale, by exchange, or otherwise. There is no respect, nor difference had among you, whether they come to them by right, or by wrong. Be you so blind, that you cannot see how justly you proceed, to take the sword in your hand against your prince, and to dispossesse just inheritors without any cause? Christ would not take upon him to judg the right and title of lands betwixt two brethren; and you arrogantly presume, not only to judg, but unjustly to take alway al mens right titles; yea, even from the king himself. And do you not tremble for fear, that the vengeance of God shal fal upon you, before you have grace to repent? And yet you, not contented with this your rebellion, would have your shameful act celebrated with a perpetual memory; as it were to boast and glory of your iniquity. For in memory of your fact, you would have established in every country two places to pray for the king, and the commonwealth: wherby your abominable behaviour at this present may never be forgotten, but be remembred unto the worlds end. That when the kings majesty was in wars with Scotland and France, you, under pretence of the common wealth, rebelled, and made so great sedition against him within his own realm, as never before was heard of. And therfore you must be prayed for for ever, in every county of this realm.

It were more meet for you to make humble supplication upon your knees to the kings majesty, desiring him not only to forgive you this fault, but also that the same may never be put in chronicle nor writing; and that neither shew nor mention may remain to your posterity, that ever subjects were so unkind to their prince, and so ungracious toward God; that contrary to Gods word they would so use themselves against their soveraign lord and king. And this I assure you of, that if al the whole world should pray for you until doomsday, their prayers should no more avail you, then they should avail the devils in hel, if they prayed for them; unles you be so penitent and sory for your disobedience, that you wil ever hereafter, so long as you live, study to redubbe and recompence the same with al true and faithful obedience: and not only your selves, but also procuring al other, so much as lyeth in you. And so much detesting such uproars and seditions, that if you se any man towards any such things, you wil to your power resist him, and open him unto such governors and rulers, as may straitways repres the same. As for your last article, thanks be to God, it needs not to be answered, which is this.

Your last Article is this,

> "For the particular griefes of our country, we wil have them so ordered, as Humfrey Arundel and Henry Bray, the kings maior of Bodman, shal inform the kings majesty, if they may have salve conduct in the kings great seal to pas and repas with an herald of armes."

Who ever heard such arrogancy in subjects, to require and wil of their princes, that their own particular causes may be ordered, neither according to reason, nor the lawes of the realm, but according to the information of two most hainous traitors? Was it ever heard before this time, that information should be a judgment, altho the informers were of never so great credit? And wil you have suffice the information of two villanous papistical traitors? You wil deprive the king of the lands, pertaining to his crown, and other men of their just possessions and inheritances, and judg your own causes, as you list your selves. And what can you be called then, but most wicked judges and most errant traitors: except only ignorance or force may excuse you; that either you were constrained by your capitains against your wills, or deceived by blind priests, and other crafty persuaders, to ask you wist not what. How much then ought you to detest and abhor such men hereafter, and to beware of al such like, as long as you live: and to give most humble and hearty thanks unto God, who hath made an end of this article, and brought Arundel and Bray to that they have deserved; that is, perpetual shame, confusion, and death? Yet I beseech God so to extend his grace unto them, that they may dy wel, which have lived il, *Amen.*

## No. XLI.

### *The Archbishops notes for an Homily against the Rebellion.**

Sentences of the Scripture against sedition.

1 Cor. 3. Cum sit inter vos zelus et contentio, nonne carnales estis, et sicut homines ambulatis? Et

1 Cor. 6. Quare non magis injuriam accipitis? Quare non magis fraudem patimini.

Jac. 3. Si zelum amarum habetis, et contentiones sint in cordibus vestris, &c. non est ista sapientia desursum, descendens a Patre luminum, sed terrena, animalis, diabolica. Ubi enim zelus et contentio, ibi inconstantia, et omne opus pravum, &c. [Quæ autem desursum est sapientia, primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, suadibilis, &c. Fructus autem justitiæ in pace seminatur facientibus pacem.]

Jac. 4. Unde bella et lites inter vos? Nonne ex concupiscentijs vestris, quæ militant in membris vestris?

How God hath plagued sedition in time past.

Num. 18. Dathan and Abiram, for ther sedition against Moses and Aaron, did miserably perish by Gods just judgment, the earth opening and swallowing them down quick.

2 Reg. 15. & 18. Absalom moving sedition against David, did miserably perish likewise.

2 Reg. 20. Seba for his sedition against David lost his head.

3 Reg. 1. & 2. Adonias also for his sedition against Solomon was slain.

Acts 8. Judas and Theudas for their sedition were justly slain.

Acts 21. An Egyptian likewise, which moved the people of Israel to sedition, received that he deserved.

Tumults in England. Jack Cade. Jack Straw.

In Germany for their sedition were slain almost in one month about two hundred thousand.

The sword by Gods word pertaineth not to subjects, but only to magistrates.

Tho the magistrates be evil, and very tyrants against the commonwealth, and enemies to Christs religion, yet the subjects must obey in all worldly things, as the Christians do under the Turk; and ought so to do as long as he commandeth them not to do against God.

How ungodly then it is for our subjects to take the sword, where there reigneth a most Christian prince, most desirous to reform al griefs?

Subjects ought to make humble suit to their prince for reformation of al injuries, and not to come with force.

The sword of the subjects at this present cometh not of God, nor for the commonwealth of the realm; but of the devil, and destroyeth the commonweale.

First, for that it is against the word of God.

Secondly, for that they rise so many lies, whereof the devil is ever the author. "Quia mendax est, et pater ejus."

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* Ex MSS. C.C.C.C. Miscellan. D. [No. cii. fol. 529—534].

Thirdly, for that they spoil and rob men, and command every man to come to them, and to send to them what they please.

Fourthly, for that they let the harvest: which is the chief sustentation of our life, and God of His goodness hath sent it abundantly; and they by their folly do cause it to be lost and abandoned.

Fiftly, for that they be led by rage and fury, without reason; have no respect neither of the kings minority, nor of the papists in the west country; nor of our affaires in France, nor Scotland; which by their sedition is so much hindred, that there could not be imagined so great a damage to the realm.

Sixtly, that they give commandment in the king's name, and in pain of death, having none authority so to do.

Ever against God the devil hath raised sedition. As appeareth by the sedition of Dathan and Abiram; and al the murmurations of the children of Israel against Moses and Aaron. Also, of the conspiracies against Zorobabel in the re-edifying of the temple. Also, against Christ and His apostles, in sundry parts of the world. Also, in Germany lately, and now among us. For the devil can abide no right reformation in religion.

Civil war is the greatest scourge that can be, and most certain argument of Gods indignation against us for our ingratitude: that we either wil not receive His true word, or that they, which receive the same, dishonor God in their living, when they pretend to honor Him with their mouths. Which ingratitude and contumely God can in no wise bear at our hands.

The remedies to avert Gods indignation from us is to receive His word, and to live according therunto, returning unto God with prayer and penance. Or else surely more grievous afflictions shal follow, if more grievous may be, than civil wars among ourselves.

The chief authors of al these tumults be idle and naughty people, which nothing have, nor nothing or little will labor to have; that wil riot in expending, but not labor in getting.

And these tumults first were excitated by the papists, and others, which came from the western camp, to the intent that by sowing division among ourselves, we should not be able to impeach them.

## No. XLII.

### *The Lady Mary to the Councel, justifying her self for using the Mass, in K. Edwards Minority.*[*]

It is no smal greyf to me to parceyve, that they, whom the kings majesty my father, (whose soule God pardon) made in thys worlde of nothing, in respecte of that they be come to now; and at hys last ende put in trust to se hys wyll perfourmed, wherunto they were al sworne upon a boke; it gryeveth me I say, for the love I beare to theym, to se bothe howe they break his wyll, and what usurped power they take upon theym, in making (as they cal it) lawes both cleane contrarye to hys procedynges and wyll, and also ageynst the coustome of al Crystendome, and (in my conscyence) ageynst the lawe of God and hys Chyrche. Which passeth al the reste. But thoughe you among you have forgotten the kyng my father, yet both Gods commandment and nature wyll not suffre me to do so. Wherfore, with Gods helpe, I wyll remayne an obedyent chylde to hys lawes, as he left theym, tylle suche tyme as the kynges majeste my brother, shal have parfayt yers of discrecyon to order the power that God hath sent hym, and to be a judge in theyse matters hymself. And I doubte not but he shal then accept my so doing better then theyrs, which have taken a pece of his power upon them in his mynoryte.

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[*] Sir W. H.[icke's] MSS.

I do not a little mervayle, that you can find fawte with me for observing of that lawe which was allowed by him that was a kyng, not only of power, but also of knowledge, how to order his power. To which lawes al you consented, and seemed at that tyme to the outward appearance very wel to lyke the same. And more immediately when the kyng reasons to have his proceedyngs observed. Wherfore I do wonder that you can fynde fawte with me, and non al thys whyle with some amongst your selves, for runnyng halfe a year before that, which you now call a lawe: ye, and before the byshopps cam together. Wherin me thynketh you do me very myche wronge, if I should not have as mych preemynence to contynew in kepyng a ful authorysed lawe made without parcyalyte, as they had, both to break the lawe, which at that tyme your selves must nedes confesse was of ful power and strengthe, and to use alteracyons of theyr own invencyon contrary both to that, ye, and to your new lawe, as you call it.

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## No. XLIII.

## *The Archbishops Letter to Martin Bucer, inviting him over into England.**

[Thomæ Cranmeri, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, ad Martinum Bucerum Epistola.]

Gratiam et pacem Dei in Christo. Legi tuas literas ad Johannem Halesium, in quibus tristissimos Germaniæ casus commemorans, te in tua urbe verbi ministerio vix diutius præesse posse scribis. Gemens igitur Prophetæ illud exclamavi, "Mirifica misericordias tuas, qui salvos facis sperantes in te a resistentibus dexteræ tuæ." Nec dubito, quin Deus hos et similes piorum gemitus exauditurus sit: et veram doctrinam, quæ hactenus in vestris ecclesijs sincere propagata est, et conservaturus et defensurus sit, adversus omnes diaboli et mundi furores. Interim sævientibus fluctuum procellis, in portus confugiendum est ijs, qui vela in altum tendere non possunt. Tibi igitur, mi Bucere, portus longe tutissimus erit nostrum regnum, in quo Dei beneficio, semina veræ doctrinæ feliciter spargi cœperunt. Veni igitur ad nos, et te nobis operarium præsta in messe Domini. Non minus proderis catholicæ Dei ecclesiæ cum apud nos fueris, quam si pristinas sedes retineres. Adde, quod adflictæ patriæ vulnera absens melius sanare poteris, quam nunc possis præsens. Omni igitur semota cunctatione, quamprimum ad nos venias. Ostendemus, nobis præsentia

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* Buceri Scripta Anglic. [pp. 190, 191].

Buceri nihil gratius aut jucundius esse posse. Sed cave, ne quid ex itinere incommodi accipias. Nosti quos habeas vitæ insectatores: eorum manibus ne te commiseris. Est istic mercator quidam Anglus Richardus Hils, vir pius et summa fidelitate præditus, cum quo de tota itineris ratione te conferre velim. Præterea, Deum æternum Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, toto pectore oro, ut in ira misericordiæ recordetur et afflictæ ecclesiæ calamitates respiciat, et lucem veræ doctrinæ apud nos magis magisque accendat: apud vos vero jam multos annos præclare lucentem, non extingui patiatur. Is te quoque, mi Bucere, regat, et servet et incolumem ad nos traducat. Bene et feliciter vale. Londini, 2 Octob. anno 1548.

Tui ad nos accessus cupientissimus,
THOMAS CRANMERUS, Archiep. Cantu.

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## No. XLIV.

### *A Catalogue of Books published by Paulus Fagius.*

### In Folio.

LEXICON Chaldaicum, authore Elija Levita; quo nullum hactenus a quoquam absolutius editum est. Omnibus Hebraicæ linguæ studiosis in primis et utile et necessarium. Cum præfatione triplici, una Hebraica ipsius authoris Eliæ, a Paulo Fagio Latine reddita. Reliquis duabus Latinis ab eodem præfixis; una ad lectorem. Altera ad D. Wolfg. Capitonem.

*Sæpher Tehillim:* hoc est, Psalterium, cum Commentario R. David Kimhi, Hebraice excusum Isnæ, anno minoris supputationis a creatione mundi.

Commentarium Hebraicum R. David Kimhi in 10 primos Psalmos Davidicos, cum versione Latina e regione: pro exercitamento omnibus Hebraicæ linguæ studiosis: quibus ad legenda Hebræorum commentaria animus est. Per Paulum Fagium.

*Thargum:* Hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in sacra Biblia, ex Chaldæo in Latinum versa: additis in singula fere capita succinctis annotationibus. Authore Palo Fagio. Pentateuchus, sive V. libri Moysis. Consilium et utilitatem editionis hujus Chaldaicæ ex præfatione ad lectorem intelligere poteris.

Collatio præcipuaram, quæ in usu sunt, Translationum V. Testamenti, in præcipuos S. Scripturæ locos: in quibus cum interpretum, tum commentatorum mira est varietas. Ex qua non tam ipsas variationis causas, quam quis interpretum, ac expositorum, cum veterum, tum recentiorum, vel a scopo veritatis, longius aberrarit, vel ad illum proprius accesserit; ex ipsa veritate Hebraica pulchre cognoscere licebit. Authore Paulo Fagio.

> Opus inabsolutum, partim propter illorum temporum difficultates; partim propter exilium, et obitum præmaturum optimi atque doctissimi viri paulo post subsequentem.

### In Quarto.

OPUSCULUM recens Hebraicum, a doctissimo Hebræo Elija Levit

Germano, grammatice elaboratum. Cui titulum fecit, Thisbites. In quo DCCXII. vocum, quæ sunt partim Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Arabicæ, Græcæ et Latinæ; quæque in dictionarijs non facile inveniuntur; et a rabbinis tamen Hebræorum in scriptis suis passim usurpantur, origo, etymon et verus usus docte ostenditur, atque explicatur, per Paul. Fagium, in gratiam studiosorum linguæ sanctæ, Latinitate donatum.

Sententiæ vere elegantes, piæ mireque cum ad linguam discendam, tum animum pietate excolendum utiles, veterum sapientum Hebræorum, quas Pirke Avoth, id est, capitula, aut, si mavis, apophthegmata, patrum nominant; in Latinum versæ, scholijsque illustratæ, per Paulum Fagium.

Exegesis, sive Expositio, Dictionum Hebraicarum literalis et simplex, in quatuor capita Geneseos, pro studiosis linguæ Hebraicæ. Cujusdam scriptum Judæi, ad Christianismum conversi ante annos CC. In quo obiter ostendit causas aliquot, propter quas multi Judæi, etiam si veritatem agnoscant, ad fidem tamen nostram accedere verentur.

Sententiæ Morales, ordine alphabeti, Ben Syræ, vetustissimi autoris Hebræi, qui a Judæis nepos Hieremiæ prophetæ fuisse creditur: cum succincto commentariolo, Hebraice et Latine.

*Tobias* Hebraice; ut is adhuc hodie apud Judæos invenitur. Omnia ex Hebræo in Latinum translata, in gratiam studiosorum linguæ sanctæ.

*Sæpher Æmuna,* id est, Liber Fidei, Hebraice impressus Isnæ, anno CCCII. minoris supputationis a creatione mundi.

Liber Fidei, pretiosus, bonus et jucundus, quem edidit vir quidam Israelites sapiens et prudens, ante multos annos, ad docendum et comprobandum in ea argumentis sufficientibus et evidentibus, quod fides Christianorum, quem habent in Deum Patrem, Filium et Sp. Sanctum, atque alia, perfecta, recta, et indubitata sit, collocata super fundamentum legis, prophetarum et hagiographorum. Ideo vocavit nomen ejus *Sæpher æmuna,* i.e. Liber Fidei, seu Veritatis; ad illuminandum in eo oculos cæcorum, et ad ducendum in viam rectam errantes. Translatus ex lingua Hebræa in linguam Latinam. Opera Pauli Fagij.

Precationes Hebraicæ, quibus in solennioribus festis Judæi cum mensæ accumbunt, adhuc hodie utuntur: et quo modo, ordine et ritu dicant. Ex quo videre licet vestigia quædam ritus veteris populi, quem et Christus Salvator in SS. cœna sua, uti eam Evangelistæ, præsertim Lucas, describunt, in quibusdam observavit.

Parvus Tractatulus ex libello Hebraico excerptus, cui nomen est *Sæpher æmuna,* id est, Liber Fidei, Judæi cujusdam ad Christianismum conversi ante annos CC. In quo obiter ostendit causas aliquot, propter quas multi Judæi, etiam si veritatem agnoscant, ad fidem nostram accedere verentur. Per P. Fagium translatus.

*Sæpher Midoth,* id est, Liber Virtutum Germanice compositus, Hebraicis tamen characteribus exaratus.

Grammatica Heliæ Levitæ Hebraice, excusa Isnæ.

Compendiaria Isagoge in linguam Hebræam, autore Paulo Fagio.

Prima quatuor capita Geneseos Hebraice, cum versione Germanica e regione, Hebraicis tamen characteribus exarata, eaque juxta usitatam Judæorum interpretationem, ad verbum translata, una cum succinctis in fine adjectis scholijs, et ratione legendi Hebræo-Germanica.

Tredecim fundamenta fidei Judæorum: quæ composuit R. Mosche, filius Majemon. Hebraice excusa, absque ulla vel loci vel temporis notatione præfixa, aut subscripta.

In Octavo.

NOMENCLATURA Hebraica, authore Helia Levita Germano grammatico. In gratiam omnium tyronum ac studiosorum linguæ sanctæ.

## [No. XLIV.]

*Dr. Cox, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, his Oration at the conclusion of Peter Martyrs Disputation.**

VIRI Oxonienses, peregimus quatuor dimidiatos dies in excutiendis duabus quæstionibus, de transubstantiatione scilicet, et reali præsentia corporis Christi in sacramento. Magno fuit nobis oblectamento hæc disputatio, atque utinam per tempus licuisset omnia, quæ hic dici possent, audivisse. Quod optabamus, id successit; ut quieta esset disputatio. Auditores ita etiam sedati, spero veritatis imbibendæ avidi. Qui fabulam peragebant, et utrinque disserebant, suo officio diligentissime perfuncti sunt, nec meritis laudibus fraudandi. Viri nostri, hoc est, Angli et Oxonienses, præterquam quod conscientiæ suæ negotium egerunt, etiam haud minimum decus huic academiæ attulerunt, quod in tanta causa non subterfugerint, quo minus palam testarentur, pro eruditionis suæ modulo, et dono a Dei benignitate sibi impartito, et quid animi in hisce controversijs haberent, et quibus rationibus et authoritatibus huc perpellerentur. Pulcherrime sane sibi datam provinciam obierunt. Cæteri vero docti et boni viri, qui in ijs tantis rebus tacuerunt, nescio quo pacto, suo silentio negationis notam sibi inusserunt. Petrus autem, et merito Petrus, propter constantiæ suæ firmitatem; Martyr et merito Martyr, propter innumera, quæ nunquam non profert, de veritate testimonia, multam apud nos, et apud pios omnes inire debet hoc tempore gratiam. Primum, quod immensos labores exantlarit, in substinendo disputationum onere. Nam si ne Hercules quidem contra duos, quid Petrus solus contra quoscunque. Deinde quod disputationem instituerit, vanos vanorum hominum sermones repressit, qui de eo invidiosa atque odiosa sparserant: nimirum aut nolle, aut non audere sua defendere. Postremo, quod summorum magistratuum, atque adeo regiæ majestatis, expectationi optime responderit, dum non solum Christi doctrinam, ex ipsis vivis fontibus Dei propinaverit academiæ, sed neque quenquam (quantum in ipso situm fuit), fontes aut turbare, aut obstruere permiserit.

Auscultavimus nos hanc Christianam velitationem, quæ veritatis indagandæ atque investigandæ causa, est suscepta. Qui quidem status, in omni disputatione, tanquam unicus scopus, ad quem omnes collinent, perpetuus esse debet. Hanc scrutari oportet omnes, quibus sincera religio cordi est. Quid enim aliud vult, "scrutamini scripturas," nisi e scripturis veritatem indagate? Cæterum de hisce controversijs sententiam ferre, et litem prorsus dirimere, modo non decrevimus. Tum autem decernetur, cum regiæ majestati, et ecclesiæ Anglicanæ proceribus visum fuerit.

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* P. Martyris Opera [Defens. doctr. vet. de Eucharist. Sacram. p. 723].

Quod si ego, quem vestrum cancellarium pro vestra humanitate adlegistis, aliam nunc personam non gererem (aliam enim regia authoritas jam mihi imposuit), optatissime vellem in his propositionibus fidei meæ rationem reddere. Non enim me pudet evangelij Christi, neque veritatis, quæ ex verbo ejus omnibus lucet: quod quidem alias, cum dabitur opportunitas, facere non detrectabo. Interea vero, vos, peregrinos et alienigenas, siqui sunt modo exhortor, ut domum vestram revertamini. Nolite perpetuo peregrinari in patribus et concilijs, tanquam in patria vestra. Nolite existimare illa esse vestra principia. Nolite hallucinari in probabilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis. Quænam principia habuerunt patres? Quæ concilia? Quam turpiter in multis lapsi sunt patres? Quam fæde errarunt concilia? Errorum hic nolo meminisse, nolo hanc movere camarinam. Et tamen patres atque concilia debent esse principia disputationum? Fuerunt antehac hæretici, qui negarunt, vel partem, vel totam scripturam. Sunt et hodie libertini, qui eadem insania laborant; ij nostra Christianorum principia negant, et conculcant. Qui verbum Dei in altissima specula constituunt, et in summa veneratione habent, hincque tantum vitam et salutem petunt, principia tenent firmissima, solidissima, atque sanctissima. Interim tamen ecclesiæ, et piorum patrum saluberrima testimonia non rejiciunt, imo amplectuntur, et venerantur, tanquam radios Spiritus Sancti, caliginem oculorum nostrorum aliquo pacto illustrantes.

Quare, obsecro, per vestram salutem, et per Dei misericordiam, tam juvenes, quam senes, ut duo præstare velitis. Prius, ut nunc demum ponatis illas controversias, quæ ecclesiam Christi multis sæculis inutili concertatione turbarunt, et dilacerarunt, de transubstantiatione, et nescio qua carnali præsentia. Nullus est rixandi finis. Hæ sunt diaboli pædicæ, quibus nos perpetuo involvit, et a vera pietate remoratur. Nos vero uti pios decet Christianos, illud imprimis imo in universum spectemus, quid Christus fecerit, quid nobis faciendum præceperit. Cogitemus sacrosancta et tremenda illa Christi mysteria esse, illa subinde ad salutem nostram usurpemus, ad illa cum timore et tremore accedamus; ne unquam indigne veniamus, et ad judicium et condemnationem nostri accipiamus. Alterum est, ut ad verbi Dei studium concedatis. Ad hunc scopum omnia vestra tela dirigatis; huc omnia studia referatis; sive philosophica, sive mathematica, sive rationes medicas, sive quæcunque alia, huic, tanquam reginæ, ancillentur. Hinc omnem fidem petite: hinc religio stabiliatur atque solidetur. "Cœlum et terra transibunt, verbum autem Domini manet in æternum." Hoc, tanquam Lydio lapide, omnes controversiæ examinentur, atque definiantur.

Porro, unum est, quod vos omnes admonere debemus, nimirum, ut vale dictis universis nugis papisticis, superstitionibus, et simulato Dei cultu, veritati disquirendæ diligentem operam detis, aut saltem, ne impedimento sitis, quo minus veritatis studiosi in negotio pietatis progrediantur. Scimus enim, et compertum habemus, nonnullos nimis esse inquietos, et turbidos, et præpostero zelo incitatos, ad remorandum veritatis progressum. Scimus aliquos patris sui exemplum perniciose sequi, dum discordiarum semina passim spargunt, mendacia fingunt. Scimus falsos et odiosos rumores circumferri. Scimus homines vanos maledictis agere, cum non possint veris promovere causam suam. Ita irritabilis est mala consuetudo contra veritatem.

Verum, ut finem faciam, si ullo veritatis amore afficimini, sedatis animis illam exquirite, ardentibus precibus a Deo Opt. Max. illam postulate; amica et candida collatione illam erruite; ferveat in vobis Christiana charitas. "Infirmum in fide, assumite. Debent enim," inquit Paulus, "firmiores imbecillitates infirmorum sustinere, et non sibi placere. Unusquisque proximo suo placeat in bonam ædificationem." Cavete Satanæ technas, qui vobis insidiatur, ne acquiescatis sermonibus Domini nostri Jesu Christi; ut "deliretis circa quæstiones et pugnas verborum; ex quibus oriuntur invidiæ, contentiones, blasphemiæ, suspiciones malæ, &c." Possumus ex authoritate vobis imperare, et pervicacibus meritum supplicium comminari, malumus tamen pro dilectione nostra erga vos, rogare et exhortari. Quare "si qua consolatio in Christo, si quod solatium dilectionis, si qua societas spiritus, si qua viscera miserationis, implete gaudium nostrum." Gaudium nostrum est, quod videmus multos in hac academia in bonis literis et pietate insigniter adolescore. Gaudium nostrum est, quod videmus vos adeo modestos et ad imperium paratos. Implete ergo gaudium nostrum, hoc est, veritatem multis jam seculis, veluti in specu Trophonij, dilitescentem, eruite. Veritatem adeptam, sincera fide, excipite. Exceptam autem probis moribus exornate. "Sic lucebit lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui est in cœlis." Cui omnis gloria in secula. Amen.—Dixi.

## No. XLV.

### *Dr. Treshams Epistle to his Relation of the disputation between himself and Peter Martyr, at Oxford.**

Præclarissimis viris et eisdem heroibus longe honoratissimis regiæ majestatis consiliarijs, Gulielmus Treshamus, theologiæ doctor, salutem et faustum rebus regendis successum.

Veritas ut cunctis rebus mira dignitatis eminentia præpollet, (prudentissimi ac multo excellentissimi viri,) utpote quæ suos cultores vere liberos efficit, summaque ac nunquam intermoritura donat ingenuitate: ita nos illam in omnibus et super omnia præferre, venerari, sequi, ac integram et illæsam omni tempore servare pro virili oportet. Quod cum ita sit, cumque perspexissem illam a temerario quodam, et plane deplotræ salutis homine indignissime tractatam, ac summis affectam injurijs, non solum ejusdem defendendam causam libenter, (ut par erat,) suscepi; sed et machinas adversarij, quas in ipsam expugnandam paraverat, evertere ac prorsus confringere sedulo molitus sum: et nisi vehementer fallor, quod in ea parte contendebam, præstiti. Verum enimvero, ne vestræ celsitudini admodum prolixus videar, ut quem ego hoc loco per veritatis hostem innuo, designem; senex quidam delirus est, subversus, impudens, errorum magister insignis, Petrus Martyr Vermilius. Is e patria sua primum fugam faciens ad Germanos, dum apud illos vigeret hæretica pravitas, se contulit, certe ut libidini licentius indulgeret, et suo potiretur adulterio. Cæterum restaurata illic per Carolum Cæsarem religione, ad nos statim transvolavit. Postremo Oxoniam veniens summa vitæ integritate ad tempus simulata, tandem occasionem, (ut putabat,) nactus opportunam, virulenta pestilentis doctrinæ seminaria proposuit. A quibus cum plurimi plurimum abhorrerent, Richardus Smythus, theologiæ apud Oxonienses professor, malum hunc seminatorem publice reprehendit, et ejusdem impia dogmata improbaturus audacem hunc athletam ad concertandum provocavit. Una in scholis convenerant, tempus dabatur idoneum: ingens auditorum turba confluxerat. Urgebat ad luctum Smythus. Non audet pseudomartyr congredi. Rem prorsus rejicere puduit, disputare vero piguit. Hinc ad cavilla itum astute est. Ac primum quæstiones non nisi suo modo proponi voluit; concessit Smythus. Tum vero Petrus decem dies sibi dari petit, quibus se contra Smythum ad certamen armare possit. Quæ enim prius ad decem menses palam docuerat, et argumentis confirmare in publicis prælectionibus conatus est, jam respondere volenti Smytho, et partem adversam etiam imparato defendere cupienti, eadem disputando tueri veritus denegavit, neque quicquam penitus agi volebat, nisi decem dies, quibus sese pararet concederentur. Dabantur tandem; sed Smytho, qui dolum tum olfecerat, rem ægre ferente. Deinde nominantur judices utriusque consensu. Dies disputationi præscriptus. Interim Petri, aut certe cujuspiam ejus asseclarum, (ut conjicere licet,) industria, apud magistratus suggestionibus minus sinceris actum est, ut ejusmodi disputationes non haberentur. Qua Petri arte totum eludebatur negotium.

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* Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxxii. 1—2].

Postea vero elapsis jam aliquot mensibus, ubi aberant prælectores, nec quisquam de disputationibus cogitabat, egregius iste pugil prorumpit subito, et ad certamen provocat. Quæstiones priores palam disputare vult, arbitratus tum neminem adesse, qui negotium contra eum susciperet. Quo tempore quia adversus illum stare volui, cum cæteri, me multo validiores, haud idem eo saltem tempore faciendum putarent, in me præ cæteris excandescit, in me durius invehitur, mordaxque caninos infigit dentes, ac, quantum potest, infamat, editoque libello proponit, quasi in multis ab eo inter disputandum superatum. Quæ cum conspicarer, maxime autem, cum causam Dei erroribus et mendacijs Petri scandalizari viderem; existimavi operæ pretium, et perquam necessarium facturum me, si ab hujusmodi contumelijs et Christi causam et meipsum pro viribus defenderem, ac scriptis declararem, quam sit hic in scribendo falsarius, quam male intellectis abutatur scripturis, quam patres invitos ad suum institutum trahat, quam suis facile percutiatur et confodiatur telis, quam debilibus dum sua roborare vult, innitatur principijs, quam absurda nonnunquam fateri non vereatur, quamque passim peccet omittendo quæ dicta, et quæ non erant dicta adjiciendo, quo videlicet lectores Christiani veritatem sine fucis percipientes ab hac peste caveant, nec quicquam adhibeant fidei, cernentes illum errorum spiritu impulsum, ut nos Deo permittente, velut triticum cribraret, utque qui probati sint manifesti fiant.

Quamobrem hic mearum partium esse judicavi, primum ut rem omnem quo ordine diebus illis, quibus cum eo agebam, gesta fuerit plane et simpliciter legentibus ob oculos ponerem, nec quippiam prorsus meis insererem, nisi quod exemplaribus notariorum, vel ipsius Petri libello expresse contineretur. Deinde, quoad illam partem disputationum, quæ inter illum et me ultro citroque habita est, annotationes quasdam elucubravi, quibus ea omnia quæ in illum jam dixi, vera esse contester. Quod siquis roget, quorsum ista? aut quid opus nova scribere? Cur non ista inter disceptandum potius deprompta sunt, et in adversarium congesta? Dicam cum Augustino, "neque sum angelus, neque propheta, ut qui omnia ex tempore proferre atque regere poteram." Præterea, in disputationibus ipsis non erant hujusmodi inversiones, non adjectiones novæ, non omissiones, non tot ab illo insertæ, ut nunc sunt, falsæ sententiæ. Sed nec ullæ prorsus tum erant calumniose annotationes in margine scriptæ. Quæ omnia detegere palamque facere pernecessarium duxi. Sed et ipse Petrus antagonistas suos, quos pro libidine vocat malevolos, ad scribendum provocat, ac pollicetur hoc si fecerint, quemadmodum tunc ausus fuit viva voce congredi; ita et nunc se comparare ad ea quæ scripserint, ut respondeat.

Has itaque lucubrationes vobis, (insignissimi heröes,) quos Christus præcipuos sub potentissimo rege nostro Edovardo reipub. judices constituit, exhibendas esse censui, nihil prorsus ambigens eam esse vestram in omnes veritatis studiosos benignitatem, eam æquitatem, eam veri judicij certitudinem, ut sine omni personarum acceptione justam causæ conditionem velitis semper attendere, et neque ad dextram neque ad sinistram ulla occasione ducti, quovismodo a veritate declinare: non ignorantes in illum finem vobis concessam esse potestatem, tum a summo judice Deo, tum ab ipsa regia majestate, apud quam pro vestra in [omnes humanitate, imo pro vestra in] Christum charitate agere dignemini, quo mihi indigenæ, ac genuino regis nostri subdito Christi causam, quoad possum, curanti tantum in evulgando hoc disputationum ac annotationum volumine efficere liceat, quantum Petro Martyri, extraneo, veritatis adversario, audere hactenus fuerit impune permissum. Rem sane justam, ni fallor, postulo. Neque profecto in scriptis his est, unde pius quispiam offendatur. In impios autem ut durius agamus exposcit veritatis ratio, quæ nequaquam charitati refragatur. Durius enim contra errones obstinatos egerunt patres, nec illis unquam pepercerunt, quin veluti Christi hostes verbis factisque contemnerent, atque acerbissimis reprehensionibus persequerentur. Johannes Baptista Pharisæos incredulos viperarum vocavit progenies. Christus ipse malos illos Judæos mendaces appellavit, et diaboli filios. Sed et Petrum ipsum a morte obeunda dehortantem, minusque in hoc sapientem quæ Dei sunt, Satanam taxando nuncupavit. Unde certo edocemur nos posse, citra charitatis præjudicium,

adversarios in causis religionis severis ac mordacibus verbis impetere atque perstringere.

Denique, haud temere hoc quicquid est opusculi evulgo, sed summæ vestræ prudentiæ et eximio candori, qui illi, regum omnium pulcherrimo flori jam sese auspicatissime diffundenti, a consilijs estis, humilis supplexque ipsum offero, obnixe vos exoratos habens, ut cum privilegio ad Christi honorem ac multorum utilitatem divulgetur. Id quod vestræ dominationes ab illa lucis aurora, nimirum serenissimo rege nostro Edouardo, jam a paterno somno orbem illustri virtutum omnium lumine spargente, facile spero obtinebunt, et cum gratia consequentur. Hanc auroram splendidissimam felicissime procedere atque in perfectum diem crescere, optimaque optimi patris vestigia imitari, faciat Deus Optimus Maximus, qui et illum unicum nostrum decus et præsidium, vosque sub ipso moderatores reipublicæ primarios, aliosque illius studiosos universos diuturnissime incolumes servet.

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## No. XLVI.

*The sentencious sayinges of Master Martin Bucer upon the Lordes Supper.*

1. So playnely, so faythfully, and also so warely, as can be possyble, we ought to speake of the mysteryes of the holy supper, even as we ought to do of all other Christes mysteryes; to thende, that the children of God may most clearely perseyve what Christ doth meane, and the adversaryes to have as small occasion as can be, eyther to pervert or els to darke and make dymme the truth of Christ.

2. These thinges we cannot better attaine, then by the godly and right expoundyng of the wordes of the Holy Ghost, not allowing any false sygnyfications of them, both certaynly affirmyng the thinges whiche be agreeable unto this mystery, and also denying the thinges whiche be contrarye ther unto.

3. We must certaynely acknowledge that the Holy Ghost most clearly, most faythfully and most warely, hath dyscrybed all the sacraments of our salvation.

4. But the Holy Ghost by Christes own mouth, by the mouth of the apostles, and by the Scripture, delyvereth unto us the sacrament of the Lordes supper, even as he doth all other sacramentes, by the words and fourme of delyveryng, gevying and receyving.

5. And three thinges acknowledgeth hearein to be geven and taken, bread and wyne, beyng the signes of the body and bloud of the Lord, and assurance of the new testament and remyssion of our synnes.

6. For when He had taken bread and wyne, and geven thanckes, He gave them to Hys dyscyples to be eaten and drunken, and said moreover, that by these sygnes He gave therin His body that was offered for us, and lykewise His bloud, which was shed for us, saying also, that by this

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* Foxii MSS.

bloude the new testament of grace was assured, and the forgeuenes of synnes purchased.

7. And He defyneth or describeth the right use and receyving of this sacrament to be that partaking of the body and bloud of Christ, wherby we beyng many, are one bread and one body (as many of us as be partakers of one bread and one cup of the Lord.) This body doubtles is that body wherof Christ is the head, and into the which we are baptised. For by the regeneration we are made members of His body, fleshe of His flesh, bone of His bones, and so we be one flesh with him, 1 Cor. 12, Ephes. 5.

8. That fellowship which we have with the Father and the Sonne, and with all the sayntes, wherof S. John speaketh, 1 John, 1 chap. of his epistle, is geven and taken in the Lords supper rightly admynistred and receyved. That unity also which we have with the Father, and the Sonne, and with all the saints, for the which the Lord prayed, John 17, by the which Christ is in us, as the Father is in him, and we in theym, (I meane in the Father and the Sonne,) is geven and receyved in the same supper rightly administred, wherof the Lord also speaketh: "He that eateth my flesh, and drincketh my bloud dwelleth in me, and I in him." John 6.

9. This is the partaking and the unity of an heavenlye regeneration, of a new creature, of the high mystery of God, which cannot be understand and knowen, but by fayth, even as fayth is perceyved and felt by his effectes, as by judgement, wyll, and by the new heavenly and godly workes.

10. All sensyble and worldly imagynations, all fansying of joyned or contynuall places, are to be put away from this partycipation and unytie, which in the word of God is knowen to be mervelous, and with reverence to be pondered and dyscussed by the new mans lyvyng, as by his effectes.

11. The Holy Ghost thought it not inough to declare unto us, how that we be endued wyth the spirit of Christ by his merites, but he doth publish also that we do lyve by his intercession and working. He furthermore assureth us that we have him with us, that he dwelleth in our hartes, and that we receyve him in the holy supper. These be the thinges which we ought to tell openly and to fortefye.

12. These are metaphors and borowed speeches, lyke as other wherby we expounde the matters of regeneration. For unto such matters as the naturall man perceyveth not, can no proper names by geven, but suche translation of wordes as the Holy Ghost doth use, and ther cannot be devysed more proper, more mete for the purpose, nor more famouse wordes then they are.

13. It is not mete therfore that we should attempt to expound these metaphors with our own proper wordes, wherof we be all together destytute in matters of regeneration, neyther is it convenyent that we should deface theyr perfection wyth more slender metaphors, and wyth such geare as be of kinred to our natural reason.

14. We must beware that with no superstitious, stately eloquence,

we do make darke the brightnes of the Lordes commandement, unto such as have their eyes lightened on every syde by fayth. We must in lyke maner take heede we demynysh not the force and majesty of Christes sacraments set furth by the Holy Ghost, rather of us to be beleved, then by our naturall reason to be out-searched, as by the exposition rather proceding of our owne imagynations, then of the very word of God, and of the nature of his sacraments.

15. The Word is made flesh, that their myght be both God and man in one substaunce, and such as was a very earthely man, which dyed, rose againe from the dead, ascended into heaven, remayneth in the heavens, and sytteth on the right hand of the Father, which governeth and fulfylleth all things, and in the syght of all the world he shall come agayne in the clowdes to judge the quycke and the dead. And they all must nedes receyve their owne bodies againe. All these things truly do so farre passe the reache of mans wyt, that of necessitye we must lay hold of them by fayth.

16. Fayth, bycause she is practysed and fortyfyed in the dayly use of these things, causeth them clearely and manyfestly to appeare, even as she doth make all the other misteries of Chryst, to such as doth perfectly beleve. Which thinges should be made darke unto us, if we would suffer our selves to make inquirye of them according to the trade of our own reason, following her natural princyples.

17. Christ our Lord is for ever both God and man, he is the head of all the sayntes, and the first begotten among the children of God. Wherfore we must so marke with our myndes, and expres in wordes the propertyes of the natures, that by no maner of imagynations we separate the unity of substaunce.

18. There is nothing better agreeth with it selfe, then doth the word of God, so that what so ever the Scripture speaketh of Christes beyng among us, of the receyvyng of Him, of His abyding, and dwelling in us, and eatyng of Him, agreeth all together, and is consonant with these evydent Scriptures, openly declaring that He hath forsaken the world, that He is in heaven, yea and that He hath a very body, and therfore lymited and bounden in one place.

19. When we therfore entreate of the mistery, eyther of the supper of the Lord, or of Christes plaine presence with us, (for why should we not say that He is present, which dwelleth in us, and is in the mydst of us,) it is to no purpose to lay agaynst the presence of Him such places of Scripture, as declare Christ to have departed from this world, to be in heaven, and to be very man, havyng a very body, and therfore such a body as is bounded in a place, which may not be placed in all or many places at one tyme.

20. For Christes presence, whether it be offered or declared, eyther in the word onely or els in the sacramentes, is no presence of place, neyther of sensies nor of reason, nor yet no yearthly presence, but it is a spiritual presence, a presence of faith, and an heavenly presence. For as much as we are conveyde into heaven by faith, beyng placed in Christ. So that we lay hold upon Him and embrace Him in His

heavenly majestye, all be it he be here offered and declared after a sorte unto us in the glasse, and darke speaking of sensyble wordes and sacramentes.

21. The antichristes make the simple people to beleve by these wordes, that we receyve and have Christ here present after some worldly fashion, that is to say, eyther inclosed with the bread and wine, or els that He is present under their accydences, so that ther He ought to be honoured and worshipped.

22. Let them therfore that be apt to learne, be taught that ther is no presence of Christ in the supper, but onely in the lawful use therof, and such as is obtayned and gotten by fayth onely. As for the other sort, byd them adew as the blynde guydes of the blynde, and that plantyng which our heavenly Father hath not planted. For such as heare not Gods word, are not borne of God.

23. We must tourne away from their disceytes and craftes, from which we ought verely to withdraw our selves, howbeit they cannot be avoyded other wayes then by the true expounding of Gods word, yea and that but only of them, whom the Lord himself hath taught by the ministration He hath committed to us.

24. The good men moreover hearing, that Christ in the sacramente is presently geven, receyved and had, do imagyne a certaine presence of place, and many tymes they fantsye also, that God himself is bounded in a place, havyng a body, even as he were a man.

25. They must therfore be contynually taught that these heavenly misteries do passe all mens capasityes, and that they must be perceyved and knowen in the only word of God, so that all worldly fasions must be far from our mindes, because the word of God declareth Christ to be a very man, havyng the bodye of a man, in the which body he departed this world, and was caried into heaven, he may not therfore by no worldly maner be sought for in this world, but after such sort as he offereth himselfe, beyng in heaven, to be received of us. Which things are not knowen by sense and reason, but by faith.

26. As for these heavens, because they be above all the heavens, I dare not by the predicamente of our reason discusse what they be, but by the wordes of the Scripture. But the Scripture discribeth them not by the distaunce of places. but by the majestye of God and his blessednes, openly declaring, that such heavenly blys hath not come into the hart of man.

27. I do not perceyve what further knowledge the holy fathers would geve, writing of the proper place of Christes body in heaven, but that we should observe the propertye of both the natures in Christ. So that as it is the propertye of the godly nature *to be in every place, and to fulfyll all things, even by his substance ;* so it is the propertye of the nature of man, to be lymited in place and state, not to be spread abroade in many or in all places at once. These things agree with the Scripture, albeit we place not Christes body in heaven after the maner of the fourth booke of Aristotle's Naturalls. Yea, let us hardly kepe

our selves in such things that the Scripture do speake of the heavens, and of Christes sytting in heaven.

28. I have a conscience in so high misteries, to allow such kinde of speaking as is not taught in the Scripture, though such be much used, yea and that by the authority of the holy fathers, for to what point, through such speakyng, the devyll and antychrist hath brought us, we all lamentably complayne.

29. Wherfore with reverence, and in a true meanyng, I wyll understand the sayinges of the holy fathers as touching the mutation of the sygnes. I wyll never graunt their sayings so to be taken, as to mutch straunge from Gods worde, and after such sort as men myght now a daies be overthrowen with antichristes doctrine into the idolatrye, which of all other is most detestable.

30. So likewyse if any thing may be found, that the holy fathers have wrytten of Christ placed in heaven, more then the Scripture doth certaynely teach, I wyll not without reverence refuse it, nor yet wyth any man contend therin, for I have nothing to say that such writyng is contrary to any place of Scripture. I do but only desyre that no necessary doctrine be made therof, and that I may be suffered to abyde in the playnes of Gods written word.

31. But they will say, that a man well expert in faith, when he heareth that Christ is present in the holy supper, and is geven, receyved, and had with the bread, cannot refraine but imagine such a presence of Christ in the bread as is there placed, or els like to such a thing as hath a place.

32. I cannot se how the wordes of the Holy Ghost ought to be refourmed, because of the weakenes of our understanding, either that we should allow such utteraunce of wordes, wherby it might appeare that the Holy Ghost had not uttered the matter circumspectly and strongly inough, yea and that most aptly and effectually, as well to the edefying of faith, as to the putting away of all errours.

33. These now be the wordes of Christ: "Where two or three be gathered in my name, ther am I in the mydst of them." In the name of Christ we assemble together at the Lords supper rightly ministred. In the world we be, yea and somewhere placed, and whersoever we be, Christ is among us, which notwithstanding is not in the world, and also dwelleth in our hartes. But we cannot perseive nor attaine it, neyther by our sense nor by reason, but by faith. For how can the head be away from his body? Wherfore I defyne or determine Christes presence, howsoever we perceive it, either by the sacraments or by the word of the Gospell, to be onely the attainyng and perceyving of the commodities we have by Christ both God and man, which is our head raignyng in heaven, dwelling and lyving in us. Which presence we have by no worldly meanes, but we have it by faith and take the fruit therof when it is offered us in the word, and in the sacraments. But the force therof we feele in all our parties and powers, what tyme by the spirit of Christ they be sanctifyed and renewed unto obedience and godly lyfe.

34. He is called present by some knowledge of perceyvyng, Him even as one may be called present with an other, and so we do say, that they be here present, whom we know by hearing or by syght to be present, but now the thing which we know by faith, is much more certaine then any thing we can know by sence or reason. Why may not we then say that Christ our head is present with his members, when we know by faith that he both liveth and dwelleth in us?

35. They say, that the holy fathers expound the Scriptures recording the Lords presence, that Christ by his Godhead, by his majesty, and by his providence, is present with us, yet lyving in this world. Truth it is, but the Lord saith: "I am with you unto the worldes end;" and Paule affirmeth, that "Christ lyveth and dwelleth in our hartes." Yea and the holy fathers themselves declare, that we have Christ present in the sacrament of baptisme, and in the meate and drink of the aulter, which call that presence carnall that is knowen by our senses, and is set over against the presence which we have by faith.

36. Faith truly embraceth Christ both God and man, and kepeth him present: which by his Godhead is not onely present in the congregation of his saintes and in his members, but is also present in every place. But some cannot be contented, unles we graunt that we have his body and bloud really, carnally and substantially present in the supper.

37. Wyse and good men will eschew all uncertaine wordes in every talk and speaking, how much more are they to be avoyded in Christes sacramentes? Moreover, in the treatyse of Christes sacraments we may justly refuse such straunge wordes as be not used in the Scripture, unles they may be perfectly applied for the declaration of Christes truth. For such uncertaine wordes doth more darken the true doctrine, and therfore we must not medle with them, except ther be some consideration of the using of them.

38. I would wysh these wordes *realiter* and *substantialiter* to be altogether refused, neither to be allowed in reasonyng to or fro, because we shall seme to graunt their contraries, and to say that Christ is receyved counterfeytlye and accydently, if we deny him to be received in the supper really and substantiallye.

39. If the matter so require that these words be brought into reasonyng, I would, for the maintenance of Christes truth against the adversaries, among the children of God, defyne these wordes *realiter* and *substantialiter*, as if one would understand by the presence of the Lord really and substantially, that he is received *verely in dede by faith*, and his substaunce is geven in the sacrament; but if he would enterlace any worldly presence with these words, I will deny it, because the Lord is departed this world.

40. I can never admyt or allow these words *carnally* and *naturally*, because they bring in a meanyng that he is receyved with our sences.

41. Hereby I thinke it evydent, agreeable to the holy Scripture, and according to the reverence we owe to God and his Scripture, and toward the auncient church, that we should frame our selves to the

words of the Lord, of his apostles, and of the auncient church, and to say that ther is geven and receyved the body and bloud of the Lord, that is to say, very Christ himselfe both God and man, but He is geven with the word and the signes, but received with true faith, and that He is geven and received to the end that we may move and lyve more parfectly in Him, and He in us.

42. And I thinke it an easy thing to make answer, when they say that the thing which is already, cannot be received, and that he which cometh to the Lords supper, and hath not Christ in himselfe, receiveth not Christ there, but he receiveth death. Truly Christ must be geven and received of us, tyll nothing of ours be left in us, but He all thing in us, and we wholly in Him, and no part in our selfe. And we say that the partaking of Christ, which we have in baptisme, is strengthened and augmented in the Lordes supper. But ye will say the same is done, what time the Gospell being read, or heard, is received by faith. So it is indede, neither hath the Lords supper, or geveth, any other thing els, but that he hath left therin things visible, for the visible words of Christ be applied therin. And they are are not without force and effect to the saintes, because they be applied by the Lords ordinaunce, all whose words and ordinaunce, have lyfe and spirite.

43. Wherfore I trust, that hereby men may perceive what I beleve as conserning the gevyng, ministring, receyving, and partaking of the Lords body and bloud in the supper, which doth agree right well with the Scripture and with the doctrine of the auncient Church. So that after this manner I acknowledge Christ, that is to say the partaking of his salvation to be geven and taken in the holy supper.

44. If I be enquired, who geveth and ministreth the Lords body, I mean the lyvely participation of these things and of Christ wholly, I say, that Christ which is in the midst of His, whose words these be, *Take* and *Eate*, is the chiefe and principal gever of his own selfe, and the minister doth lyke service.to Him herein when he geveth himselfe, even as he doth when he geveth Himselfe in the preaching of the Gospell, and in baptisme. And for this ministration sake, Paule justly doth write, how he by the Gospell had begotten the Corinthes unto the Lord, and had written Christ in their harts, and that he had traveled in birth of the Galathians.

45. As touching the use of bread and wyne herein, if I be demaunded, I will answer that they be *signes exhibityve*, that is to say, such signes as do geve the things signifyed, by the which sygnes the Lord doth geve himselfe, being the celestial bread of everlasting life, after the same maner as He gave his disciples the Holy Ghost by the signe of breathing of his mouthe, and likewise as by the laying on of his hands, he gave both bodelye health and ghostly health. Lyke as He gave syght by the clay made of his spittle, and as he did give circumcision of the flesh, and in such sort as He geveth regeneration by baptisme.

46. We have an everlasting lyfe through the faith we have in the love that God the Father hath toward us. This faith hereunto leaneth, is preserved and encreased. For as much as Christ, Gods sonne, giveth

himselfe with all his merites unto us, lyveth in us, delyvering us from our synnes, shall raise us from the dead, and bring us to a parfyt heavenly and blessed lyfe. For this cause, that is to say, for the nourishment of thys faith, it was the Lords pleasure to use herein the signes of meate and drincke, and geve his fleshe spiritually to be eaten by the signe of bread, to be eaten bodely; and his bloud spiritually to be dronke, by the signe of wine to be dronken bodely, and so (as it is before said) He geveth in the supper the same partaking of himselfe by the signes, and by his words, which in the sixt of John by words onley He hath set out.

47. If I be demaunded, what maner of joynyng may be betwyxt the glorified body of Christ and ther determinately placed, and the corruptible bread here in earth, conteined in a sensyble place; I answer, even such as is betwyxt the regeneration and the dipping in the water, and as is betwyxt the Holy Ghost, and the breath of Christes mouth, which I do call the *joyning in the covenant.* For so mutch as they that with a true and lyvely faith be partakers of these signes bodely, spiritually receive in dede an assuraunce, with an encrease of the partaking of the Lords body and bloud. So they be members of Christ, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, and therby they grow more and more into the perfection of the same.

48. Whosoever therfore maketh these signes of Christes presence beside the use that the Lord hath appointed them unto, (which is to be eaten and dronken in this sacrament,) bringeth men into abhominable rage and madnes to set up idolatry. Neither receiveth he any thing at all of that food which the Lord geveth to his, that taketh in hand to eate and drincke these sacraments without a lyvely fayth in Christ, but receyveth death and dampnation to himselfe.

49. Such as be altogether ungodly, say I, that in the holy supper they receive nothing of Christ: such as have faith, and yet make no difference of this meate (as certain of the Corinthes, which were blamed of the apostle, dyd,) as I cannot deny them to receive Christ in the supper through the faith which they have, even so I will not say that they have eaten Christ. If so be that they do not rightly practyse their faith by the religious dyfference-making of so high misteries, which is the special eatyng of this meate. For such are lyke unto them which taking meate in their mouthes, eyther chew it not, or els, let it not downe, or when it is letten down, digest it not, so that in a little while, or soone after, they vomit it up againe.

50. If I be enquired as concerning the Lords words ("This is my body") what thing is demonstrate or shewed here, I say, that to the sences it is bread, but to the mynde or understanding, it is the Lords body, even as in all speeches wherin insensible things are exhibited or geven by sensible signes. So that the meanyng is, the thing which by this signe I geve unto you, is my body which is delyvered for you. As the Holy Ghost speaketh of the circumcision, saying, "This is my covenaunt,"* that is to say, the thing that by this signe I ordeine unto

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* Gen. xvii.

you, is my covenaunt to be observed betwixt me and you, &c. After such sort are we wont to speake of the signes which do signifye or betoken a thing, albeit they do not exhibit the thing they betoken, as when we do say of the emperours image, This is themperour that subdued Fraunce, that is to say he is represented by this image.

51. I object or say against transubstantiation: "This cup is the new testament;" "This," that is to say, circumcision, "is my covenaunt," and, "the Word is made flesh," we may not conclude and determyne either the *cup* or the *circumcision* to be chaunged into a covenaunt, and the *word* to be chaunged into flesh. We may not therfore determyne and conclude by these wordes of the Lord, which in gevying of bread did say, "Take, this is my body," that there is a chaunge of the bread into the Lords body. For there is no maner of such speaking, no not in all the Scripture, that do shewe such an alteration called a "transubstantiation," as the *Papistes* do imagine. For wythout sure auctoritie of the Scripture, no article of the faith may be ordeyned.

52. And so I thinke it evident, that three thinges are geven and received in the Lords supper of them that rightly communicate at the Lords table. First bread and wine, nothing in themselfe chaunged, but that they are, by the wordes and the ordinaunce of the Lord, made all onely the sygnes. Secondly, the selfe body and bloud of the Lord, that by these we maye the more parfectly communicate in the participation of the regeneration, or rather, to have the more parfyt partaking of these, or else, that they may be of more perfection in us. Thirdly, the establishing of the new testament of the forgevenes of synnes, or of us by election to be made the sonnes of God.

53. I call the signs, after the mind of Ireneus, an *earthly thing*. The partaking of the Lord to be as the effect therof, I call the establishing of the new testament the *heavenly thing*, and therefore to be laid hold upon only by faith, and not to be wrapped in with any worldly imaginations.

54. And forasmuch as in the supper, we be not all only admonished of one Christ, and of the partaking of Him, but also we do receive Him, I had leaver yet say, according to the Lords words: "Take and eate," &c. that in the bread and the wyne, the body and bloud is geven, and that they signify the Lord. So that the bread here, is as well a sign of the Lords body exhibitive, I mean, which geveth the thing signifyed, as to be but a bare signe. Wherfore certain of the fathers have well used herein the word of *representing*. For truly I think we must most chiefly expres the thing that is here most principal. For this word *accipite*, is all together a word of gevyng or delyvering.

The Lord geve us grace that we may all speake one thing to the edyfying of the faith among us. Amen.

Subscribed. MARTIN BUCERUS,
D. Professor Theologiæ Cantabrigiæ.

## No. XLVII.

### *Bishop Hoper to the Clergy of his Diocess of Glocester.**

To the glory of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Forasmuch as of all charges and vocations, the charge of such as be appointed to the ministry and function of the Church is the greatest; it is to be provided and foreseen, that such as be called and appointed to such vocation and office, be such as can satisfy the said office. Which may be done as S. Paul saith, two manner of wayes. The one if they be of sound doctrine, apt to teach, and to exhort after knowledg, and able to withstand, and confute the evil sayers. The other, if their life and maners be unculpable, and cannot justly be blamed: which consisteth in this; if the minister be sober, modest, keeping hospitality, honest, religious, chast; not dissolute, angry, nor given to much wine, no fighter, no covetous man, such as governeth wel his own house, and giveth an example of vertue and honesty unto others. For as the godly life and conversation of the parson, or doctor, doth no less avayle in the reformation of others, then the doctrin it self; so likewise they, who have no respect nor regard what evil, mischievous and devilish example of life outwardly appeareth to be in them, cannot have in them any just authority to reform or correct the faults of others. For by what just means canst thou reprehend and blame any other in that fault, wherin thou thy self art to be blamed? Or by what occasion canst thou preach chastity, or desire to have the same in another man, when as thou thy self, despising both God and holy matrimony, dost other nourish or keep a whore, or concubine at home in thy house, or else must defile other mens beds? Nother is he any thing les to be ashamed, that wil persuade others to live in sobriety, he himself being drunk. Wherfore what authority shal he obtain or get unto himself and his ministery, which is daily seen and marked of men, to be a common haunter of alehouses and tavernes, of whores, cards, dice and such like.

Hereby shal you perceive and know, how that the old priests and pastors of Christs church did by their truth and gravity, subjugate and bring under the hardnecked and stif, stubborn Ethnicks, and caused them to have the same in fear. In so much that the wicked Emperor Julian caused the priests of the pagans to order their lives according to the lives of the others. But look what authority and reverence the old severity and gravenes of the pastors and priests did bring unto them at that time, even as much shame and contempt (or else a great deal more, as I fear) doth the letchery, covetousnes, ambition, simony, and such other corrupt maners, bring unto most priests, pastors and ministers, that be now in our dayes, of al men. Wherfore I being not forgetful of my office, and duty towards God, my prince, and you, do desire and beseech al you, for Christs sake, who commanded that your light should so shine before men, that they seing and perceiving the same, might glorify the Father, which is in heaven.

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* E MSto privato.

Give your diligence, welbeloved brethren, together with me, so that the dignity and majesty of the order of priests, being fallen in decay, may not only be restored again, but that first and principally the true and pure worshipping of God may be restored; and that so many souls being committed to my faith and yours, may, by our wholsome doctrin and cleannes of conversation, be moved unto the true study of perfect charity, and called back from al error and ignorance; and finally, to be reduced and brought unto the high bishop and pastor of souls, Jesus Christ, and to the intent yee may the more easily perform the same, I have, according to the talent and gift given me of the Lord, collected and gathered out of Gods holy word, a few articles: which I trust shal much profit and do yee good. And if that any thing shal be now wanting or lacking, I trust by the help of your prayers and good counsil, they shal be shortly hereafter performed. Let every one of you therfore take good heed to approve your selves faithful and wise ministers of Christ. So that when I shal come to visit the parishioners committed to my cure, and come from God and the king's majesty, yee be able not only to make answer unto me in that behalf, but also unto our Lord Jesus Christ, judge both of the quick and the dead, and a very streit revenger of his church. Thus fare you wel unto the day of my coming unto you.

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## No. XLVIII.

*Hooper, Bishop of Glocester, to Sr. William Cecyll, Secretary of State.**

The grace of God be with you, Amen. Syns my commyng down, I have byn at Worcestre, gentle Mr. Secreatori, and thought not to have departid thense, til I had set thinges in a good order, as nere as I could. But the negligence and ungodly behaviour of the ministers in Gloucestershire compellyd me to retourne, except I shuld leave them behynd as far out of order, as I should fynd the other, to whom I am going unto. I have spoken with the greatest part of the ministers, and I trust within these six dayes to end for this time with them al. For the love of God cause the articles, that the kings majesty spake of, when we toke our othes, to be set forth by his autorite. I dout not but they shal do mouch good. For I wil cause every minister to confesse them openly before there parisheners. For subscribing privatly in the paper, I perceave, little avaylyeth. For notwithstanding that, they speak as ivel of godd faith, as ever they did before they subscribyd. I left not the ministers of Gloucestershire so farre foreward, when I went to London, but I found the greatist part of them as farre backward at my commyng home. I have a great hope of the people. God send good justices, and faythful ministers in the Church, and al wil be wel.

For lack of hede corne so passith from hens by water, that I fere mouch we shal have great scarsite this yere. Doubtles men that be put in trust, do not there dewties.

The Statute of Regrators is so usid, that in many quarters of these partes it wil do little good: and in some parts, where as licence by the justices wil not be grauntyd, the people are mouche offendid, that they shuld not, as wel as other, bagge as they were wount to do.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

God be praisid yet al things be quiet, and I trust so wil contynew. Thus desiring God to contynew you long in health to his pleasure, fare ye wel: and for Gods sake do one yere, as ye may be hable to do another. Your health is not the surest: favour it as ye may; and charge it not to farre. Ye be wyse and comfortable for others; be so for your self also. I pray you let God be the end, where unto ye mark in al your doyngs. And if they for lack of knowledge then happen otherwyse then ye would, the thing ye soughte shal partly excuse your ignorancie, that may happ to mysse men in weighty afferes. If ye se the meanes godd, and yet ivel follow of them, content your self with patience. For the second cause, when God wil, be it never so like to bring forth the effect, mysseth her purpose: as ye know by wise mens counsells, that rulyd in commune wealthes before you. God geve his grace to loke alwayes upon hym, and then with mercy let hym do his holy wil. Glouc. 6 Julij, 1552.

Yours with my dayly prayer JOHN HOPER,
Busshop of Worcestre.

To the Rt. Honorable my singular frynd
Sr. William Cecill Kt. one of the Kings
Majesties chiefest Secretories.

### *Another of the same Bishop to the same Person.**

THE grace of God be with you for ever, Amen. I have wroten herewith long letters to the Councel; yet not so long as the matter conteynyd in them doothe requyre. I trust it wil be your chaunce to read them, that the mater may be the better understand. Ye know I am but an ivel secretarie, do the best ye can they may be wel taken. It is truth that I write, and Goddes cause. Let God do as his blessid pleasure is with it. I have send the maters, that these two canons, Johnsonne, and Joyliffe dislyke, in writing. Where by ye may understand what is said of both partes. The disputation Mr. Harley can make trew relation of, and how unreverently and proudely Joylyffe usyd both hym and me.

For as mouch as my jurisdiction cessith until the letters patent be past for both churches, these shal be to praye you to optayne the kings majesties letters for my warrant in the mean tyme. For in case I do not at this tyme take accompt of the clergy in Worcestre and Glocestreshire, how they have profityd syns my last examining of them, it wil not be wel. Also souch as I have made superintendents in Gloucestreshire, if I commend not my self, presently, there wel doings, and se what is ivel donne, I shal not see the goodd I loke for. Ah! Mr. Secretarye, that there were goodd men in the cathedral churches! God then shuld have mouche more honour than he hath, the kings majesty more obedience, and the poore people better knowledg. But the realme wantith light in souche churches, where as of right it owght most to be. I suppose ye had hard, that there shuld be a great spoyle made of this church hyre. For what can be so wel donne, that men of light conscience cannot make, by suggestion, to appere ivel? Doutles the things donne be no more then the express words of the kings majesties injunctions, commandyd to be donn. And I darre saye, there is not for a churche to preach Goddes word in, and to mynyster his holy sacraments, more godly within this realm. But, Mr. Secretarie, I see mouche myschefe in mens hartes by many tokens, and souch as speak very fere meanith crauftely, and nothing less then they speake. I have to good experience of it.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Thus God geve us wysdome and strength, wyselye and stronglye to serve in our vocations. There is none that eatith there bread in the swet of there face, but souch as serve in public vocation. Yours is wounderful, but myne passith. Now I perceave private labours be but playes, nor private trobles but ease and quietnys. God be our help, Amen. I pray you send me my jurisdiction assone as may be. Worcestre, 25 Octobris, 1552.

Yours, and so wil be whylles I live,
with my prayer JOHN HOPER,
bushope of Worcestre.

*Postscript.* When that I perceavyd my request for jurisdiction made before unto you, upon further deliberation I thought it good to unrequest that againe; praying you to make no mention of it: and therupon wrote the letters to the Councel anew. The cause is, I send for a president, to se the jurisdiction, how it is gyven in the like state as I am. Which pleasith me not. Therefore, goodd Mr. Secretarye, let it pass til I write unto you again.

## No. XLIX.

### *A Popish Rhime fastned upon a Pulpit in K. Edwards reigne.**

THIS pulpit was not here set,
For knaves to prate in and rayl.
But if no man may them let,
Mischef wil come of them, no fail.

If God do permit them for a tyme
To brabble and ly at their wyl,
Yet I trust or that be prime,
At their fal to laughe my fill.

Two of the knaves already we had,
The third is comyng as I understand,
In al the yerth ther is none so bad,
I pray God soon ryd them out of this land.

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* Foxij MSS.

Prowder knaves was ther never none,
So false they are, that no man may them trust.
But if God do not send help sone,
They wil lay al in the dust.

Al Christen men at us now laugh and scorne
To se how they be taking of hie and lowe,
But the child that is yet unborn
Shal them curse al on a rowe.

Now God sped thee wel,
And I wil no more mell.

### *The Answer to the Enemy.*

A rope is a fytt reward for such rysshe repers,
As have strowed this church ageinst the kings prechers.

The pulpits are now replenished with them that prech the truthe,
And popish traitors banished, which seemed to you great ruthe.
But yf you and the freers were clean owt of this land,
This realme to the last years, ful firme and sure should stand.

When such as with you trust shal al ly in the dust,
And ryse thereout agayne unto perpetual payne,
With them that laugh and scorne eyther at hye or lowe,
Had better not been borne such evil seeds to sowe.

Yee pray God spede them wel, and ye wil no more mell;
Forsothe ye have said wel; but if ye may be knowen,
Ye are like for to be taken, and quartered like a baken,
And of your frends forsaken, for these sedis ye have sowen.

Like as the last yere traitors were knowen,
By standing in the felds with weapon and swordes,
So this year their treason is sowen,
In traiterous bills and railing words.

Some of their carcases standith on the gates,
And their heads most fyttely on London bridge.
Therefore, ye traytors, beware your pates,
For yf ye be founde, the same way must ye tridge.

God save the kings majestie long for to reigne,
To suppresse al rebells, and truthe to maynteyne.

### *An old Song of John Nobody.*[*]

I.

In December, when the dayes draw to be short,
After November, when the nights wax noysome and long;
As I past by a place privily at a port,
I saw one sit by himself making a song.

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[*] Privati MS.

His last talk of trifles, who told with his tongue,
That few were fast i'th' faith, I feyned that freake,
Whether he wanted wit, or some had done him wrong.
He said, he was little John Nobody, that durst not speak.

II.

John Nobody, quoth I, what news? thou soon note and tell,
What maner men thou mean, that are so mad.
He said, These gay gallants, that wil construe the Gospel,
As Solomon the sage with semblance ful sad,
To discus divinity they nought adread.
More meet it were for them to milk kye at a fleyke.
Thou lyest, quoth I, thou losel, like a leud lad.
He said, he was little John Nobody, that durst not speak.

III.

Its meet for every man on this matter to talk,
And the glorious Gospel ghostly to have in mind,
It is sothe said that sect, but much unseemly scalk,
As boyes babble in books, that in Scripture are blind:
Yet to their fancy soon a cause wil find.
As to live in lust, in lechery to leyke.
Such caitives count to be come of Cains kind,
But that I little John Nobody durst not speak.

IV.

For our reverend father hath set forth an order,
Our service to be said in our seignours tongue:
As Solomon the sage set forth the Scripture,
Our suffrages, and service with many a sweet song,
With homilies and godly books us among.
That no stiff, stubborn stomacks we should freyke.
But wretches nere worse to do poor men wrong.
But that I little John Nobody dare not speak.

V.

For bribery was never so great, since born was our Lord,
And whoredom was never les hated, sith Christ harrowed hel:
And poor men are so sore punished commonly through the world.
Thus would it grieve any one, that good is, to hear tel.
For al the homilies and good books, yet their hearts be so quel,
That if a man do amiss with mischefe they wil him wreake.
The fashion of these new fellows, it is so vile and fell,
But that I little John Nobody dare not speake.

VI.

Thus to live after their lust, that life would they have,
And in letchery to lyke al their long life;
For al the preaching of Paul, yet many a proud knave
Wil move mischiefe in their mind both to maid and wife;

To bring them in advoutry, or else they wil strife,
And in brawling about baudery, Gods commandments break.
But of these frantic il fellowes few of them do thrife,
Though I little John Nobody dare not speak.

VII.

If thou company with them they wil currishly carp, and not care,
According to their foolish fantacy, but fast wil they naught.
Prayer with them is but prating ; therefore they it forbear.
Both almes deeds, and holiness, they hate it in their thought.
Therefore pray we to that prince, that with his bloud us bought :
That he wil mend that is amiss. For many a man ful freyke
Is sorry for these sects, though they say little or nought,
And that I little John Nobody dare not once speake.

VIII.

Thus in no place this Nobody in no time I met,
Where no man then nought was, nor nothing did appear ;
Though the sound of a synagogue for sorrow I swett,
That Hercules through the eccho did cause me to hear.
Then I drew me down into a dale, wheras the dumb deer,
Did shiver for a shower, but I shunted from a freyke.
For I would no wight in this world wist who I were,
But little John Nobody, that dare not once speake.

## No. L.

*John a Lasco's Letter from Emden, signifying the dangerous Condition they were in, and the Persecutions they expected.**

Clarissimo viro Domino Sicilio, a consilijs et libellis supplicibus illustrissimi Domini Protectoris : Domino et fratri meo observandissimo.

S. Cum mihi ad alios scribendum istuc esset, facere non potui quin ad te quoque scriberem, vir clarissime, memor videlicet illius, quod te mihi istic delegerim, cui mea omnia nota præ alijs esse velim. Volui itaque tibi de meo huc reditu significare : nempe me felicissimo itinere, gratia Domino, usum : et me ex Anglia in Frisiam Orientalem, intra triduum, trajecisse. Navis præfectum a domino protectore nobis additum habebamus, virum optimum et fidelissimum : qui dominum comitem Bremam usque est sequutus, ut certi aliquid, opinor, ab illo vobis adferat. Ego quæ scio ad dominum Cantuariensem omnia perscripsi, ut illustrissimo domino protectori exponat : quæ tibi quoque incognita non fore puto. Scripturus alioqui eadem ad te omnia, si non id parum necessarium, adeoque et supervacaneum esse judicarem. Nos hic crucem certissimam expectamus, et ad eam perferendam mutuo nos in Domino cohortamur, cum invocatione nominis sancti sui : ut per patientiam et fidem, ferendo, superemus omnia, quæcunque in nos permittere ille volet, ad nominis sui gloriam, et nostri probationem : certi

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 30].

illum curam nostri habere, et ita potentem esse, ut omnes omnium hostium phalanges, quicunque sint tandem illi, unico oris sui verbo sternat momento uno: et rursum ita bonum, ut ne pilum quidem temere e nostro capite detrahi patiatur, etiamsi nos totus mundus impetere conetur. Tamque nobis male velle non possit unquam, quam mater infanti suo, quam denique oculi quisque sui pupillæ male velle non potest: imo vero, quam non potest non esse perpetuo Deus, laudandus in omnibus quæcunque in nos permittit: cum nihil in nos alioqui nisi nostro ipsorum bono, inque nostram adeo salutem, permittat. Huic igitur nos totos committimus, et cum omni tolerantia expectamus quicquid in nos permittere ille velit. Si nos hinc pelli contingat, scis quinam sit animus meus. Quod si quid tu interea de mea istic vocatione intellexisti, quemadmodum ad te ex Jermouth scripseram, aut siquid te adhuc intelligere posse putas, quæso te, vir integerrime, ut mihi per amicum hunc et fratrem meum, Robertum Legatum, gentilem vestrum, civem nostrum, significare velis. Germania fere tota, præter Saxonicas (quas vocant) et maritimas civitates, ac principes aliquot, *interimizat.* Helvetij legatos Cæsaris, qui ad repetendum ducatum Subaudiæ venerant, finibus suis non auditos, ut dicitur, excedere jusserunt. De me plura hic Robertus noster. Vale. Uxorem tuam, dominum Czechum nostrum, dominum Morosinum diligenter salvere jubeo: meque vobis omnibus totum ex animo commendo. Raptim. Æmdæ, nona Aprilis, anno 1549.

Tui studiosissimus,
JOANNES A LASCO,
manu propria.

Cuperem scire num fructus aliquid attulerit, mea illa nondum absoluta ad herum tuum admonitio, quam tibi a domino Florentio nomine meo traditum esse non diffido: et num putes illam mihi porro absolvendam esse. Doctori Turnero multam ex me salutem dicito, quæso.

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## No. LI.

*A Lasco's request, that those of his church might have a Warrant from the Kings Councel, that they might not be disturbed for not coming to their parish churches.**

Clarissimo viro Domino Guilhelmo Cecilio, secretario regio dignissimo ad manus.

RURSUM perturbantur quidam e nostra ecclesia tam in majore, quam in minore Sudwerk, vir clarissime, et carceres illis intentantur, nisi ad suas parœcias veniant. Faciunt autem id non pastores ipsi, sed ædiles; qui præfecti ecclesiarum vocantur. Qua de re cum domino reverendissimo cancellario heri egi. Et ille jussit, ut cum tua humanitate agerem, ut ipso præsente in senatu hodie a prandio res per tuam humanitatem proponeretur: pollicitusque est, se nobis adjumento esse futurum in senatu, ut mandatum in scripto ad omnes parœcos et ecclesiarum

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 94].

siarum præfectos in Sudwerk et sancta Catharina obtineamus, ne nostri ab illis deinceps, hac in parte, molestentur. Sed ejusmodi mandatum obtineri oporteret, quod per nos illis offerri, qui nostros molestant, et demum per nos etiam adservari possit: ne deinceps novis rursum mandatis impetrandis (si forte ita incidat) molesti semper et senatui ipsi regio, et tuæ humanitati esse cogamur. Venturus eram ipse ad tuam humanitatem, sed per gravissimum capitis dolorem profecto non licuit. Mitto tamen ad tuam humanitatem hunc fratrem nostrum, qui est unus e senioribus nostræ ecclesiæ. Oroque ut illum benigne audiat et absolvat. Commendo me diligentissime humanitati tuæ.

Tuæ præstantiæ addictissimus,
JOANNES A LASCO,
manu propria.

[Novemb. 1552.]

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## No. LII.

*Michael Angelo, Preacher to the Italian Congregation, his complaint against some of his flock, with a List of their Names.**

Clarissimo Domino Sycilio, serenissimi regis Angliæ, &c. a secretis; Michael Angelus Florius Florentinus, Italorum concionator. S. D.

CUM diebus elapsis meam tibi enarrarem inopiam et necessitatem, ac meorum Italorum impietatem, mihi imposuisti, ut eorum Italorum nomina, quos opus erat ut convenires, tibi significarem, et idcirco in calce harum mearum reperies, et cum absque interturbatione seriorum negotiorum tuorum hos omnes, una vel separatim, convenire poteris, mihi non exiguum præstabis favorem, ut te facturum spero. Hi omnes polliciti sunt reverendissimo Cantuariensi, mihi omnia necessaria providere, et ab eis de mense Januarij accepi tantum, quinque libras. At postquam viderunt et audierunt me tam aperto Marte adversus papæ dogmata, hypocrisim et tyrannidem concionantem, ac eorum incredulitatem et duritiam cordis arguentem, me omnino desernerunt. Sed hoc fere nihil est. Non enim ipsi impudentes erubescunt ore vipereo mihi et Evangelio Christi (quod sincere annuntio) detrahere; et, quo ausu nescio, (cum omnes habeant privilegia libertatis, quemadmodum veri et naturales Angli, et juraverint eamet servare mandata, quæ servare tenentur Angli omnes,) quotidie audiunt missas; quas si audirent Angli, pœnas luerent. Et cur isti, ut merentur, non corriguntur? Et si ipsi quotidie nova privilegia, et novas immunitates a serenissimo rege petere non verentur, et nonnunquam obtinent, cur illis non præcipitur, ut faveant Evangelio, et abrenuntient papæ, et dogmatibus ejus? In Scriptura divina jubentur rebelles Deo, legibus, et judicibus sanctis, interfici sine misericordia: ut patet Deut. 13. & 17. Eliseus ille tam Deo gratus propheta, jubente ipso Deo, inunxit Jehu in regem ad hoc, ut et domum Achabi prorsus extirparet, ac sacerdotes omnes Baal interficeret. Jure igitur optimo possunt et debent hii omnes, cum adversentur et Evangelio, et hujus tam sancti regis sanctionibus, nempe pijs. Tuæ prudentiæ et pietati hoc meum negotium committendum jure existimavi, cum sis vere unus ex his, quibus ait Dominus et Servator noster Christus, "Elegi vos de mundo, ut eatis, et fructum afferatis, et fructus vester maneat." Certus igitur sum, quod nihil eorum omittes, quæ ad Dei gloriam, Evangelij laudem, et meam salutem pertinere agnosces. Vale.

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* Sir W. H[icke's MSS.].

Italorum Nomina,

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|---|---|
| D. Carolus Rinuccinus. | Florentini omnes. |
| D. Guido Cavalcanti. | |
| D. Batista Cavalcanti. | |
| D. Bartholomeus Fortini. | |
| D. Azalinus Selvagus. | Januens. |
| D. Benedictus Spinola. | |
| D. Antonius Bruschetto. | |
| D. Christoforus Mediolanensis. | |
| D. Batista Burrone, Mediolanensis. | |
| D. Marcus Antonius Erizo. | Veneti. |
| D. Evangelista Fonte. | |
| D. Petrus Ciampante. Lucensis. | |
| D. Nicolaus de Nale. | Ragusienses. |
| D. Andreas de Resti. | |

## No. LIII.

*Michael Angelo endeavours to appease the Secretary, greatly offended with him for a gross miscarriage.**

Clarissimo viro, ordinis equestris, Domino Gulielmo Sycilio, serenissimi regis Angliæ, &c. a secretis, Michael Angelus Florius, S. P. D.

Subodoratus hisce diebus elapsis miram illam tuam charitatem, qua me pie complecti solebas, magnitudine labis, qua nunc me commaculari contingit, victam fuisse; teque adversus me ita excanduisse, ut me scelerosis omnibus indignitate excellere judicares. Quæ cum animo mecum volutare cepissem, arbitrabar consultum fore, si ad te scriberem, remque omnem, ut se habet, non ut quorunque impudentium lutulenta ora evomere ausa sunt, panderem. Sed pendebat animus, et in diversa trahebatur. Nam verebar ne vehementius in me sevires, audito meo nomine, quod tam pæminosum apud te factum est. Verum cum rem altius mecum perpenderim, prorsus mutavi sententiam, tum quia misantropos non es, tum etiam quia ea opinio, quam de tua pietate, prudentia, doctrina et mansuetudine concepi hactenus, falsa non me lactavit spe. Iccirco his meis ad te litteris provolare audeo, faterique te non injuria me scelerosum vocitasse, quia exsurgentibus quibusdam nebulis de limosa concupiscentia carnis meæ, et obnubilantibus cor meum, per abrupta cupiditatum cecidi, ac præceps cecidi in cœnum, voraginem et gurgitem libidinis et immunditiæ carnis, relicto Deo, cujus ira invaluit super me. Sed ut memineris, obsecro, amplissime domine, me ex eodem Adamo genitum, ex quo David, ac plerique electi Dei, qui ejusdem criminibus obnoxij fuere. Ex humo, non ex suamet substantia, ut quidam falso opinati sunt, Deus hominem condidit, non ex durissimo lapide aut chalybe. Quod quidem si perspectabis illum procliviorem aptioremque ad malum reddidit. Si enim naturam nostram humanam sic Deus condidisset (quod impossibile est) ut nunquam peccasset, melior ipso Deo fuisset, (quod absit :) quia natura quæ potest peccare, sicut et non peccare, si semper vinceret, illi naturæ præponenda esset, quæ ideo non peccat, quia impassibilis est. Age dic, ex terræ limo conditus quis non peccat? Et si bonos omnes suos esse velit Deus, non tamen illis potestatem peccandi adimit. Et quisquis naturam nostram quam diligentissime inspexerit, cum Christo Filio Dei fatebitur "Neminem præter unum Deum bonum." In me igitur in hujus criminis fæcem prolapso naturam, amplissime domine, attende, in te vero, et in alijs ab hac peccati sorde mundis, gratiam Dei, non naturæ virtutem, laudato. Qui peccantes omnes odisse quærit, neque profecto seipsum diligit. Et si quoscunque reos mortis damnari contendit, neminem vivere patietur. Quis unquam electorum Dei tam mundus ab omni labecula criminis fuit, cui non opus fuerit quotidie rogare Patrem, ut illi sua remittat debita? Nonne omnes habent, quod plangant, et reprehensione conscientiæ, et mobilitate peccatricis naturæ? Et sicut unicuique propter sua peccata Dei misericordia est necessaria, ita uniuscujusque proprium est errantium omnium misereri.

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* Sir W. H. MSS.

Hæc perspicua comperies in unigeniti Filij Dei illo recto sanctoque judicio, ab eo a Phariseis petito adversus mulierem in adulterio deprehensam; qui et legem adulteram damnantem comprobavit, et judices cæterosque omnes terrendo ad misericordiam revocavit. Quærit Deus Opt. Max., ut regna subvertantur erroris, non errantes ipsi, et eos ubique jubet spiritu mansuetudinis instaurendos esse, non odio et persecutione perdendos. Qui igitur vehementi errantes prosequitur odio, eos perdere, non sanare conatur. Sed video hic te corrugare frontem audioque dicere, Num frustra instituta sunt potestas regis, vis gladij cognitoris, ungulæ carnificis, arma militis, disciplina dominantis, et severitas boni patris? Non utique, sed habent ista omnia modos suos, causas, rationes et utilitates. Non enim ordinationibus hisce humanarum rerum adversatur remissio, nec contrariatur indulgentia. Quod si fieri contingeret, nobis non attulisset Christus suæ dulcedinem gratiæ, nec tam pijs elogijs mansuetudinem commendasset, sed Veteris Testamenti severiorem legis vindictam comprobasset. Sed quid audeo docere Minervam, et noctuas ferre Athenas? Nonne hæc omnia in sacris didicisti litteris? Nonne fides, nonne pietas, non hæc tandem ipse te Deus edocuit, cum te viti, quæ est vita nostra, Christo Jesu Servatori nostro inseruit? Moses, cui legitur facie ad faciem Dominus esse locutus, missus ad gentes, et ad fratres suos, ire nolebat, et ad aquas contradictionis quam graviter Deum offenderit, Dei ipsius testimonio, novimus omnes. Aaron, Dei Altissimi sacerdos idololatriæ Israelitarum consentiens, ex auro et monilibus fæminarum eorum vitulum fabricavit; illi aram extruxit, ac holocausta immolavit: cui sane facinori simile nec oculus mortalium vidit, nec auris audivit. Jonas propheta præceptum sibi, ut Ninivitis prædicaret, irrupit, ut ad alium locum pergeret, quo missus non fuerat. David rex et propheta, vir utique secundum cor Dei, plus æquo Veneri indulgens, uxorem rapuit alienam, et virum illius interfici curavit. Simon Petrus, cui Dominus pollicitus erat claves regni cœlorum, cum juramento ipsum Dominum suum negavit. Nec tamen ille pijssimus Deus terræ chasmata aperiri jussit, ut vivi absorberentur hi qui legem suam violaverunt: ut suo exemplo doceret omnes, rigorem judicij pietate et clementia frangere.

Defervescat igitur minax tua illa indignatio et formidabilis ira adversus me, demitte furorem. Vir integerrime, misericorditer me prolapsum corripe, et cum dilectione saluti meæ consule, et prospice. Cujus auxilio, consilio, et favore nitar, si tu, qui omnium sacra anchora es, (et numinis loco te habent omnes,) me prorsus tuo destituas auxilio? Quo fugiam extra regnum istud, ut vitare possim, quia aut carne mea et sanguine meo satientur hostium evangelij dentes et ora, aut veritatem illius ipse negare cogar? Non veluti primi parentis Adami est hoc peccatum meum, ut non vetustate, prudentia et pietate sanctorum Dei deleri possit. Cave, obsecro, ne Satanas, per imaginem quasi justæ severitatis, crudelem hanc tibi adversus me suadeat sævitiam. Clamabis fortassis, me indignum esse hoc tuo favore et auxilio. Fateor, sed recorderis, rogo, Deum indignos justificare et servare. Pietas igitur commoveat te, ut velis mihi famulo tuo pereunti opitulari, cujus salus tibi in manu est. Vale, et bene fortunet Christus Opt. Max. quod in manibus est, X Kal. Februarij.

## No. LIV.

*That the Secretary would procure the Kings letters Patents for a French Protestant, to set up a French printing press.*[*]

Clarissimo viro Domino Guilhelmo Cecilio, regiæ majestatis secretario dignissimo, domino et fautori observantissimo.

TAMETSI ejusmodi nunc sit valetudo mea in eo luctu meo, in quo me Dominus, adempta mihi altera mei parte, uxore inquam mea, constituit, ut neque mihi liceat, neque etiam magnopere libeat multa ad multos scribere, vir clarissime; tamen fratribus et amicis id a me postulantibus negare non potui, ut in fratris hujus gratiam, qui has perfert, paucis te, pro tua in me benevolentia, meaque in te observantia, interpellarem. Est vir pius et veræ religionis studiosus totius Ecclesiæ nostræ Gallicæ testimonio; cuperetque instituere typographicam Gallicam, in usum earum insularum, quæ subsunt majestati regiæ. Ut Anglica, quæ ad religionem pertinent, omnia, Gallice versa, pro insulis illis excudat. Hac itaque in parte tuo patrocinio juvari postulat; et a me petijt, ut se tuæ humanitati commendarem, ut tuis auspicijs diploma regium in eum usum obtinere possit. Te igitur oro, vir præstantissime, ut illi hac in parte tua autoritate adesse velis; cum mea, tum vero multo magis promovendæ religionis causa. Plura non permittit valetudo. Commendo me tuæ humanitati officiosissime. Londini, 24 Augusti, 1552.

Tuæ humanitati addictissimus,
JOANNES A LASCO.

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[*] Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

## No. LV.

### *Valerandus Pollanus Superintendent of the Strangers church at Glastenbury, concerning the state of the strangers Weavers, fixed there.**

Vere nobili viro ac D. D. Gulielmo Cecilio, equiti aurato, regij consilij secretario, D. ac patrono suo colendissimo.

S. P. CUM his Petrus Wolfus, vir honestus ad vos proficisceretur, putavi non ægre laturam D. T. si de rebus nostris pauca significarem. Alteras literas, quæ ad Cornishium et reliquos procuratores pertinebant, hodie propter absentiam Cornishij tradidi regio ministro M. Poais cum Fermario Hijeto, præfecto hujus oppidi, et aliis officiarijs, præsente D. Clerc, generoso, qui est unus ex ijs, qui præsunt (ut dicunt) *justices of paix.* Atque hic generosus, cum Latine et Gallice nosset, pro sua humanitate interpretem egit, tum mei libelli supplicis exhibiti DD. consiliarijs; tum nostri pacti cum D. duce Somerseti. Viderunt itaque consentire per omnia; et id DD. consiliarijs significant per literas; atque illud etiam, quantas commoditates ex his hominibus sperent. Has literas ipse mecum feram, cum literis eorum qui præsunt rationibus hujus oppidi, quos expectamus ad proximum diem Jovis. Interea id te scire volui, ut pro tua pietate memor sis horum hominum, quibus non video qua ratione impresentiarum possit prospici, quod pascua attinet, nisi Damarium nobis concedatur utendum fruendum, cum hortorum parte aliqua, tantisper dum alia pascua tradantur. Atque ita decreverat D. dux, imo etiam fecisset jam nisi Cornishius ille nobis præripuisset turpissima fraude, cum sciret D. ducem aliter decrevisse ante mortem D. Spelt.

Rogamus igitur T. D. per Christum, ut hujus memor, si quisquam agat apud DD. consiliarios de pascuis aut de hoc Damario, imprimis horum hominum rationem haberi cures. Quod si feceris, dignum tua pietate facies, et nos tibi æternum devinxeris. Præterea id T. D. scire cupio, quam turpiter Cornishius nostris insidiatus sit statim post meum hinc discessum, cujus tamen hortatu ego istuc profectus eram. Venit, atque affirmans se habere literas a DD. consiliarijs, primum blandis verbis, deinde minis nostros cogebat, ut sibi pannos, quos haberent confectos, darent. Ipse vero ex me audierat oppigneratos omnes. Et ut non fuissent mihi quod hic moliebatur. Rogamus itaque ne huic quidquam posthac committatur nostrarum rerum: cum neque nos, nec quod justum est, aut æquum, amare possit. Hæc vera esse ex hoc homine, et ipso M. Poais melius possit T. D. cognoscere.

Hic Petrus Wolfus, Brabantus, multa passus est, et est homo dignus, cui boni faveant. Puto eum T. D. quoque notum. Rogo illum adjuvares. Condonabit T. D. quod tam familiariter agam, tamque inornate. Sed ornare res ipsa negat, nec fert festinus nuncij abitus. Ego T.D. me et meæ ecclesiæ causam commendo. Dominus Jesus T.D. servet, ac augeat. Glasconij, 3 Novemb. 1551.

T. D. observantissimus
VALERANDUS POLLANUS
Superintendens peregrinorum Ecclesiæ Glascon.

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 54].

## No. LVI.

*The Superintendent earnestly desires, that one Cornish might not bee set over the Strangers there, who had already dealt so illy with them.*[*]

Vere nobili viro ac Domino D. Gulielmo Cecillo, equiti aurato meritissimo, supremi consilij regij secretario, domino, ac patrono colendissimo. In aula.

S. P. Etsi mihi non dubium est. T. D. probe memorem esse sermonis nostri postremi de Cornishio, ac deinceps ejusdem per literas commonefecerim: de eadem re tamen iterum et tertio appellare nec pudet, nec piget, quoniam ita res exigit. Obsecro, per Christum, nec id moleste feras, neque rem istam parve estimes.

Cum enim, qui præesse debent alijs, ipsos integros ac justos imprimis esse oporteat; tum qui hominibus istis optimis, ac propter Christum tantum extorribus præfuturi sunt, eos ipsos sane quam integerrimos ac justissimos esse oportet: ni perire honestissimos viros velitis, atque alio avertere maxima commoda, quæ ab ipsis ad rempub. perventura erant. In Cornishio porro, nunquam hi nostri homines, textores, inquam, illi peregrini, vel hilum integritatis et justitiæ, vel candoris deprehenderunt, aut experti sunt. Quapropter illorum precibus solicitatus, T. D. supplex oro, velis ita causam ipsorum DD. consiliarijs exponere ac commendare, ne Cornishius, quod jam ab ipsis contendit, assequatur, ut hominibus istis præficiatur. Mirari satis non possumus, quanam fronte id jam audeat, posteaquam adeo nuper turpissimam suam perfidiam ac malevolentiam prodiderit: nec ignorent, quam ægre illum feramus omnes, qui etiam idem quod nunc petimus, a D. duce postulaturi eramus. Causas autem, et cætera, quæ ad hanc rem pertinebunt, ne diutius T. D. meis literis obtundam, ex hoc tabellario, M. Stephano Le Prevost, qui est diaconus meus in ministerio ecclesiæ, plenius cognosces. Obsecro per Christum ut id velis, atque illi fidem habeas.

Omnes nostri, qui T. D. pietatem ac fidem sæpius laudari audierunt, se totos ac sua omnia tibi commendant. Nec dubito fore commendatissimos, quos Christus ipse commendat. Itaque desino. Dominus Jesus T. D. suo spiritu semper magis magisque augeat, ac bonis omnibus exornat. Glasconij, Somerset. 9 Novemb. anno 1551.

T. D. observantissimus Clientulus,  
Valerandus Pollanus,  
Superintendens Ecclesiæ peregr. Glascon.

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## No. LVII.

*Some Account of the present Settlement of their Affaires.*[†]

Ornatissimo viro, ac D. D. Gulielmo Cicello, equiti aurato, senatus regij secretioris secretario, domino et patrono colendissimo.

S. P. Quid in negotio bonorum virorum decreverint rationum præsides, etsi ab ipsis non dubito te intellecturum; nolui tamen committere, ut hac in parte dignam tua benevolentia observantiam in me desiderares. Res porro sic habet. Optimus hic vir ac vere generosus D. Dyer, ut est veræ pietatis amantissimus, ita sane nostram causam, quantum potuit, juvit et promovit. Nihil tamen impetratum est, præterquam quod nostris facta est potestas in Damarium ducendi vaccas, donec de pascuis satis sit factum D. ducis pacto. Triginta etiam domos jusserunt quamprimum instaurari; ac pecuniam numerarunt, qua æs alienum dissolveremus, contractum hoc toto tempore, quo tam parce a D. ducis ministris numeratum fuit. Sed in tempus futurum parum liberaliter prospectum est. Vix enim ad bimestre tantum constituerunt, quantum satis sit ad quinque hebdomadas. Omitto quod cum jam lanæ desint, nec quidquam numerarunt hac causa, in brevi nostris hominibus ne cessandum sit, non parum metuendum sit. Crowchius obtulit suas: sed pretio iniquiore, quam possimus sustinere. Nam multo æquiore possumus a nostris vicinis emere, puta 24s. quod ille 32s. æstimat. Ita nos affligit, et hactenus afflixit penuria pecuniæ. Unica spes reliqua est in D. Dyer, quem longe æquiorem expectamus, modo ad nostrorum usum lanæ ipsius sint accommodæ. Nam præter pretij moderationem; illud etiam addit, quod longum solutionis tempus nullo fœnore compensari velit. Dominus illi rependat. Utinam huic bono et pio viro DD. consiliarij pios homines potius commendassent. Nimis enim metuo, ne cupiditas Cornishij insatiabilis nostris fraudi sit. Nam quod Damarij partem retinet, ac usum communem cum nostris, id nullo jure ac nulla causa, vel in speciem honesta, facit: cum sciat vix satis esse ad alenda 30 paria vaccarum. Et cum sibi peteret a D. duce, non ignoraverit antea D. ducem nostris decrevisse, id quod tamen (parum religiose) negavit. Sed testati sunt, Crowchius, Robertus Hyet, et Richardus Pouais ita habere. Proinde non possumus in eo acquiescere, nisi totum Damarium nostris hominibus liberum sit, tandiu fruendum, donec singulis tradantur quinque acræ prati, vel quantum satis erit ad alendum duas vaccas per integrum annum, sicuti pacto D. ducis constat.

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[*] Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 68].

[†] Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 69].

Sed de hoc et alijs plura et certiora, cum venero. Tantum hoc oro T. D. ne sinas offendi DD. consiliarios magnitudine sumptuum in domuum instaurationem. Nam ea res nihil hactenus ad me pertinebat. Certe magnæ erant hic ruinæ. Sed mirari satis non possum tantos sumptus esse, cum tam parum sit præstitum, id quod ipsi D. præsides suis oculis viderunt. Nostri hinc multum damni acceperunt. Nam cum angustissime habitarent, non poterant Anglas ad nendum, Anglos ad alia sua artificia, commode ad se recipere. Ipsimet non poterant tantum operæ præstare, quantum alioqui fecissent. Hincque adeo cum vivendum interea esset, contraxerunt æs alienum ducis, super quam sperassent, majus. In quo sane opus erit V. æquitate, ne istis hominibus tam multa debita imputentur, quandoquidem non ipsorum culpa factum est, sed negligentia ministrorum D. ducis. Boni enim viri nihil magis metuunt quam æs alienum. Quod si semel, cum domibus et pratis promissis, numeraretur quantum opus est ad hanc susceptionem totam, extra omnem metum esset, quin facile possent omni ære alieno ducis, sese liberare.

De me etiam nihil est constitutum, qui 15 mensibus sumptus incredibiles, et labores imcomparabiles pertuli, nec obolum accepi. Est enim mihi familia ampla, quæ vix etiam satisfacit negotijs istorum hominum; quorum causa multæ ac variæ profectiones hoc anno suscipiendæ fuerunt. Si possem impetrare quinquaginta libras stipendij, ego pro omnibus sumptibus, et laboribus præteritis, contentus essem. Nam ne parum esset negotij, jam etiam imposuerunt inspectionem operarum in domuum instaurationem. Sed spero T. D. hac in parte favorem suum non denegaturam apud DD. consiliarios. Quod si sentiam, nihil vereor quin totum hoc institutum nobis sit futurum laudi, propter maximas commodidates, quas huic regno sentient evenisse intra triennium, Domino Jesu bene secundante, uti hactenus cœpit. Is T. D. omni felicitate sua beet. Glasconij 27. Novemb. 1551.

T. D. addictissimus Clientulus,
VELERANDUS POLLANUS.

Condonet mihi T. D. quod tam incondite scribam. Non vacat aliter, per tam multas occupationes; uti testis erit hic generosus Dom. meæ diligentiæ et sedulitatis, tum in ecclesiasticis, tum in œconomicis nostrorum rebus procurandis.

## No. LVIII.

### *Mr. Calvins Advise for the Rectifying some Abuses in our Church, and University, relating to the Alienation and Misuse of their Revenues.**

A Monseigneur, Monseigneur le Duc de Sommerset.

MONSEIGNEUR, Je ne vous scaurois assez remercier du receueil tant humain, que mon homme a trouve envers vous: non seulement a ce qu'il vous a pleu prendre la poine d'offrir mes livres au roy; mais de tout le reste, en quoy vous pouviez declairer une singuliere affection d'amitie, que de vostre grace vous aviez desia assez monstree cy devant. Quant a l'enfant que vous avez receu a vostre service, je n'eusse poynt prins la hardiesse de vous en escrire; si non que j'eusse pense, qu'il avoit adresse de plus grand bien comme aussi on s'y attendoit. Mais d'aultant plus en suis je obligé a vous, quant je voy que ma faveur a valu quelque chose en cest endroict. Mais pource que tout ce, que j'eu scaurois escrire seroit bien maigre au pris de ce que est en mon cœur, et aussi que vos bienfaictz meritent j'ayme mieulx me depporter de vous en faire plus long propos. Seulement je vous prie, monseigneur, de me tenir tellement du tout vostre, que si j'avois moien de vous faire de bons services, il ne tiendroit pas a m'y employer, que vous n'eussiez approbation d'un meilleur vouloir, que je ne le puis exprimer. Je vous eusse faict ces excuses plus tost, ou bien remerciemens, s'il vous plaist les tenir pour telz: n'eust esté le desir que ce gentilhomme avoit de vous presenter mes letteres. En quoy aussi j'appercois l'amitie que vous plaist monstrer envers moy, quant ceux qui meritent bien d'avoir acces envers vous, esperent estre tres bien venus par le moien de mes lettrez.

Cependant, monseigneur, je ne cesseray de vous recommander ce qui

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

vous est de soy assez cher et precieux : cest que vous procuriez tous jours, et mettiez poine, que Dieu soit droictement honore et servy. Sur tout qu'il se dresse meilleur ordre en l'eglise, qu'il ny est pas encore. Car a ce qu'on dit, il a grande faulte de doctrine pour le simple peuple. Combien qu'il ne soit pas ayse de recouvrer gens propres et idoines pour faire ceste office ; toutefois a ce que j'entens, il y a deux grandz empeschemens, ausquelz il seroit necessaire de proveoir. L'un est, que les revenus des universitez, qui ont esté fondez pour nourrir les escholiers, sont mal distribuez en partie. Car plusieurs sont nourris de bourses, qui font profession manifeste de resister a l'evangile. Tant s'en fault, quilz donnent esperance de maintenir ce qui aura esté la edifie a grande poine et travail.

Le second mal est, que le revenu des cures est distraict, et dissipe : en sorte qu'il n'y a point pour nourris gens de bien, qui seroient propres a faire l'office de vrays pasteurs. Et par ce moien on y mest prestres ignorans, qui emporte une grande confusion. Car la qualitié des personnes engendre un grand mespris de la parole de Dieu. Et puis quant ilz auroient toute l'authorite du monde, il ne leur chault guere de s'acquiter. Je vous prie doncque, monseigneur, pour faire tousiours advancer en mieulx la reformation, et luy donner fermité permanente a ce qu'elle tienne : qu'il vous plaise employer toutes vos forces a la correction de cest abus. Je croy bien, qu'il n'a pas tenu a vous, que les choses n'ayent esté mieux reglees de prime face. Mais puis qu'il est bien difficile d'avoir du primier coup, un estat si bien dresse qu'il seroit a desirer, il reste de tousiours insister pour parfaire avec le temps ce que est bien commencé.

Il ne doit pas faire mal a ceux qui tirent aujourdhuy profit du bien des eglises, que les pasteurs ayent nourriture suffisante : veu que chascun se doit efforcer de les nourrir du sien propre, quant ilz n'auroient point de quoy du publicq. Mesme ce sera leur profit de s'en acquiter. Car ilz ne peuvent pas prosperer en fraudant le peuple de Dieu de la pasture spirituelle, en ce qu'ilz privent les eglises de bons pasteurs. Et de vostre part, monseigneur, je ne doubte pas, quant vous aurez fidelement travaille a reduire ces choses en ordre, que Dieu ne multiplie d'aultant plus ses benedictions en vous. Mais pour ce que je me tiens asseure, que vous estes si bien affectionné de vous mesme, qu'il nest pas besoing en faire plus longue exhortation, je feray fin : apres avoir supplie nostre bon Dieu, qu'il luy plaise vous conduire tousiours par son esprit, vous augmenter en tout bien, et faire que son nom soit de plus en plus glorifie par vous.

Ainsi, monseigneur, je me recommande bien humblement a vostre bonne grace. De Genesve, ce 25 de Juillet, 1551.

Vostre tres humble Serviteur,
JEHAN CALVIN.

## No. LIX.

*Sir John Cheke to Dr. Parker, upon the Death of Martin Bucer.*[*]

I HAVE delivered the universities letters to the kings majesty, and spoken with the lords of the Councel, and with my L. of Cant. for Mrs. Bucer. I doubt not but she shal be wel and worthily considered. The university hath not done so great honor to Mr. Bucer, as credit and worship to themselves. The which if they would continue in, as they cease not to complain, they might be a great deal better provided for, then they think they be. But now complaining outright of al other men, and mending little in themselves, make their friends rather for duty towards learning, then for a desert of the students, show their good wils to the university. Howbeit they if would have sought either to recover, or to increase the good opinion of men, they could not have devised wherin by more duty they might worthily be commended, then in following so noble a man with such testimonie of honor, as the child ought to his father, and the lower to his superior. And altho I doubt not, but the kings majesty wil provide some grave learned man to maintain Gods true learning in his university, yet I think not of al learned men, in al points, yee shal receive Mr. Bucers like; whether we consider his deepnes of knowledg, his earnestnes in religion, his fatherliness in life, his authority in knowledg. But what do I commend you to Mr. Bucer, who knew him better, and can praise, whom ye knew, trulier?

I would wish, that that is wanting now by Mr. Bucers death, they would by diligence and wisdome fulfil in themselves: and that they herein praised in others labour to obtain themselves. Wherof I think ye be a good stay to some unbrideled young men, who have more knowledg in the tongues, then experience what is comely, or fit for their life to come.

I pray you, let Mr. Bucers books and scroles unwritten be sent up and saved for the kings majesty: that he choosing such as shal like him best, may return the other without delay: except Mrs. Bucer think some other better thing to be done with them, or she should think she should have loss by them, if they should not be in her ordering.

I do not, Mr. Parker, forget your friendship shewed to me aforetime; and am sorry no occasion serveth me to shew my good wil. But assure your selfe, that as it lyeth long and taketh deep root in me, so shal the time come, I trust, wherin ye shal understand the fruit therof the better to endure and surelier to take place. Which may as wel shortly be, as be deferred. But good occasion is al. The Lord keep you, and grant the vniversity so much encrease of godlines and learning, as these causes may compel unwilling men to be ashamed not to do for them. From Westmester 1551. Mar. 9.

Your assured, JOAN. CHEKE.

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[*] MSS. C.C.C.C. Vol. intit. "Epist. Viror. Illustr." [No. cxix. fol. 79].

## No. LX.

*Peter Martyr to Bucer, concerning the Oxford Act, anno* 1550.*

Quibus artibus instituerint disputationem theologicam in comitiis Oxoniensibus.

S. D.

Ad tuas prolixas literas, mihique eo nomine suavissimas, brevi hac mea epistola rescribo: partim, quod tabellarius citius reditum aggressus est, quam ego speraveram; partim, quod res, de qua me vis cogitare, non est præcipitanda, sed potius quam diligentissimo examine opus habet. Curabo itaque ut quam primum, si certus homo, cui recte possim literas dare, se offerret, quid ea de re sentio, rescribam. Gaudeo itaque vehementer disputationes istas hunc habuisse successum, quem sua providentia Deus illas habere voluit. Vix enim mihi polliceor, cum non adessent visitatores, aut ulli graves judices potuisse magnum fructum, ex illis, vel ad scholam, vel ad ecclesiam redire. Non quasi de viribus, donisque tibi divinitus collatis, quicquam dubitem, aut bonitati causæ diffidem, sed quod istorum consilium videam. Satis est illis pugnasse. Qui postea mendacia spargunt. Nunquam desunt. Et diabolus omnia curat efferri, et per sua membra honorificentissime amplificari. Quære non miror, si Christus ab initio disputationes apostolicas miraculis confirmavit. Utinam quandoque dignet istos obfirmatos, suaque cordis duritie Gehennæ addictos, eadem potentia coercere, qua per Paulum Elymam magum repressit: quando non possunt alia ratione adduci, ut veritatem, instar magorum Pharaonis, non oppugnent, et suis præstigijs offuscare nitantur.

Quid mihi acciderit, in nostris comitijs, paucis accipe. Sunt creati baccalaurei theologiæ, quos ego de more præsentavi: cumque illis, ut fit, disputandum esset publice, respondentem papistam constituerunt. Opponentes item papistas, quæstionemque disputandam, maximo silentio suppresserunt: cum soli eam inter se communicassent. Totamque id fiebat, ne illam ego possim cognoscere. Cumque ad eam publicandam exstimularentur, dicebant, ad me non pertinere: satis esse, ut eam disputaturi inter se nossent. Denique pridie ejus diei, quo disputandum erat post meridiem secunda hora, ut arbitror, questionem publicarunt, et ad valvas templi affixerunt. Volebant autem defendere suam beatam transubstantiationem, atque corporis Christi impanationem. Utque me arbitrum recluderent, alium, ut loquuntur, patrem sibi deligunt doctorem Chedzeum. Ibi opponentes omnia mea produxissent argumenta. Respondens, ut visum esset, diluisset. Opponentes se dixissent esse contentos allata solutione. Pater loco meo suppositus omnia vehementer approbasset. Mihi vero ea die aut nullus locus dicendi datus esset: (nam postremæ omnium ad noctem istæ disputationes habendæ erant, postquam jurisperiti suas partes egissent: nam illi doctorem ea die inaugurabant:) aut siquid mihi dicere licuisset, in ipsa ferme nocte dicendum erat, omnibus jam auditoribus, et fessis et abeuntibus. Comitia soluta fuissent, et undique victoriam conclamassent, quasi suam causam Oxonii pulcherrime defendissent. Fuitque tanta hominum turba in his comitijs, ut vix credi possit. Quotquot enim poterant, undique literis acciverant. Aderant inter alios capellanus, ut vocant, Wintoniensis, doctor Seton, et capellanus episcopi Dunelmensis.

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* Ex Bibliothec. C.C.C.C. [No. cii. fol. 91].

Istæ sunt adversariorum technæ. His fraudibus pugnare volunt. Sed nescio quo modo, ex insperato noster vicecancellarius, sive quod timuerit aliquam turbam sive aliqua alia de causa, quæ me latet, interdixit, ne illa die theologi disputarent. Ego aderam paratus in arena consilium capere, fretus Domini auxilio, quod in eo articulo maximæ necessitatis, et os et linguam esset daturus.

Hæc ideo scripsi, ut nostrorum antagonistarum artes intelligas, et nequid ab ijs simplici animo fieri credas.

Fuit eo tempore hic mecum vester vicecancellarius* afflicta valetudine : visus tamen est nonnihil recreari. De te multum locuti sumus : et ille inter alia sibi pollicebatur, quod si per valetudinem ei licuisset Cantabrigiæ esse, cum illa inter te et Yungum acciderunt, potuisset illum hominem facile ad modestius agendum adducere. Cupio illum restitutum, cum tibi, ut video, optime velit, et religionem candide amplectatur. Uxor mea, Deo gratia, convaluit, quod mihi et commodum est et jucundissimum ; et quod ita tibi sit gratum, ut scribis, ingentes ago gratias. Agnetem tuam, Nicolaumque salutes, et tuum illum socium, qui nobiscum fuit, meo, uxoris, et Julij nomine, qui omnes, una cum domino subdecano, et domino Carowo, te cumprimis magna salute impertiunt. 20 Septembr. 1550. Oxonij.

Tuus in Christo, Petrus Martyr.

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## No. LXI.

*Peter Martyr to Bucer, concerning their review of the book of Common Prayer.*†

Censura libri Communium Precum.

S. D. Hoc tempore nil mihi potuit, aut optatius aut jucundius, evenire, quam ut censuram tuam viderem librorum sacrorum. Quare, quod eam ad me dignatus sis mittere, gratias immortales ago. Jam rogatus fueram, ut ipse quoque annotarem, quodnam mihi de eo videretur. Et cum, propter ignotam mihi linguam, fuisset data versio D. Cheeki legenda, ut potui de ea colligere, annotavi quæ digna correctione visa erant. Sed quia in versione mihi tradita, complura deerant, ideo multa præterij, de quibus in meis annotationibus nihil dixi. Hæc deinde cum de tuo scripto deprehendissem, in ejusmodi libro contineri, mihi doluit : quod jam ante duos aut tres dies meam censuram reverendissimo, qui me pro ea urgebat, attulissem. Cæterum hoc demum remedium adhibui : quæ de tuo scripto cognovi defuisse in meo libro, summatim collegi : et cum eadem, quæ tu reprehendisti, mihi quoque non ferenda viderentur, ea in breves articulos redegi : exposuique reverendissimo, qui jam sciebat hæc ad D. episcopum Eliensem te scripsisse, me in his omnibus capitibus, quæ illi offerebam, in articulis notata, consentire tecum, ut mutarentur.

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* G. Haddon.

† Ex Bibliothec. C.C.C.C. [No. cxix. fol. 106].

In prioribus autem adnotationibus omnia ferme, quæ te offenderunt, a me fuerunt adnotata. Exemplum quidem ad te nunc mitterem: sed non habeo ita descriptum, ut illud possis legere. Tantum sum miratus, quomodo prætererieris de communione ægrotorum id reprehendere, quod statutum est, si eo die fiat, quo in Dominico habetur cœna Domini, tum minister partem ciborum secum deferat. Atque ita communionem in domo ægrotantis administret. Qua in re id me offendit, quod ibi non repetunt, quæ præcipue ad cœnam Domini pertinent: cumque, ut tu quoque sentis, arbitror, verba cœnæ magis ad homines, quam aut ad panem, aut ad vinum pertinere. Monui omnino mihi videri, ut coram ægroto, et simul cum eo communicantibus, omnia, quæ ad cœnam Domini necessario requiruntur, et dicantur, et agantur. Et sane mirandum est, quomodo ea, conspectu ægroti, verba dicere graventur, cui maxime utilia sunt, cum inutiliter eadem repetere velint, quando inter communicandum in templo vinum in poculo deficere contigerit, cum homines qui adsunt, et sacramenta sumunt, illa jam audiverint. Hæc sunt, quæ putavi alicujus momenti, et cur omiseris, non satis intelligo. In omnibus autem, quæ censuisti emendanda, tuæ sententiæ scripsi. Et gratias Deo ago, qui occasionem suppeditavit, ut de his omnibus episcopi per nos admonerentur. Conclusum jam est in hoc eorum colloquio, quemadmodum mihi retulit reverendissimus, ut multa immutentur. Sed quænam illa sint, quæ consenserint emendanda, neque ipse mihi exposuit, neque ego de illo quærere ausus sum. Verum hoc non me parum recreat, quod mihi, D. Checus indicavit; si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere, ut quæ mutanda sint mutentur, rex per seipsum id faciet; et cum ad parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suæ majestatis authoritatem interponet.

De Wintoniensi jam actio quarta in judicio habita est; neque dum respondet, alio spectat, quam ut se a contumacia purget. Verba ejus a papisticis hominibus, ut docta et acuta prædicantur: a veris autem et sanis judicibus, vafra, subdola, aliena a causa, et, ut uno verbo dicam, sophistica. Quod mihi etiam fit verisimile, cum illum in rebus theologicis non aliter agere animadverterim. Verum quicquid sit, causa omnino existimatur casurus.

Quæ de Hoppero ad me scribis, non potuerunt non videri mira. Certe illis auditis obstupui. Sed bene habet, quod episcopi meas literas viderunt, unde invidia ego quidem sum liberatus. Et illius causa sic jacet, ut melioribus et pijs nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, inquam, mihi gravissime talia inter Evangelij professores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi sit interdicta concio, non videtur posse quiescere; suæ fidei confessionem edidit qua rursus multorum animos exacerbavit. Deinde queritur de consiliarijs, et fortasse, quod mihi non refertur, de nobis. Deus felicem catastrophen non lætis actibus imponat.

Doctor Smithus, quondam Oxonij professor, qui me de votis monasticis præterita jam æstate lacessivit, nunc librum, Anglice scriptum, contra dominum Cantuariensem edidit de re sacramentaria. De quo, cum lingua mihi sit ignota, nequeo judicare. Sed tamen sensum ejus, et ineptias, brevi cognoscam. Nam scribit se etiam sub prelo habere, quæ contra me de eadem re composuit. Quanquam hæc ego vel parum vel nihil moror, cum a Satanæ atque papæ mancipijs nihil nisi mendacia expectem. Peccata nostra me terrent, atque pertenuis Evangelij fructus: necnon ex altera parte Cæsaris successus, quem severissimam Dei virgam esse video. Et inter hæc mala nostris peregrinorum ecclesijs vacat nugari.

Est enim inter illas de templo a rege concesso exorta magna contentio: adeoque sunt animi eorum implacabiles, et eo exarserunt, ut eorum dissidium per concilium regium sit dirimendum. Precor Deum, ut res non male juxta merita cadat.

Multo antea voluissem discedere: sed hodie tandem abeundi facultatem impetravi. Scriptum tuum Petro Alexandro tradam, ut id tibi, cum ipsum perlegerit, remittat. Tibi vero interim, et omnibus tuis, cuncta salutaria et felicia precor, una cum Julis, qui vos plurimum salvere jubet. 10 Jan. 1551. Ad Lambeth.

Tuus in Christo,
PETRUS MARTYR.

Clarissimo et eruditissimo D. D. Martino
Bucero, theologiæ professori regio, mihi
plurimum observando, Cantabrigiæ.

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## No. LXII.

*The Archbishops Letter to procure Wolf, the Printer, a licence to publish his Book.*[*]

AFTER my veray hertie commendations. Thies be to signify unto you, that Rayner Wolf, at my desire, hath fully fynyshed the printing of my book, for answer to the late bishop of Winchesters, written against myn of the Doctrine of the Sacrament. And forasmuche as both printing and selling of any matiers in thenglishe tounge is prohibited by a proclamation set furthe, onles the same matier be first allowed by the kings majestie, or vi. of his majesties privey counsail, as you shal more plainly perceyve by the proclamation, which herewith I send unto you: therfor I hertily pray you to be a sutor to the kings majestie, or to the privye counsail, that Mr. Rayner may have licence for the printing and selling of my said book accordingly. And the same so obtained to send me with convenient spede. For in the begynning of the terme I thinck it wer veray necessary to be set furthe, for the contentation of many, which have had long expectation of the same. Assone as I shal receyve advertisement, whan the kings majestie wil be at Hampton Courte, I wil come thither to see his grace, and do my duty towards the same. Thus fare ye hertily wel. From my mannour at Croydon, the xxix. of September, 1551.

Your lovynge Frende,
T. CANT.

To my veray lovynge freendes, Mr. Cecill,
one of the kings majesties two principal secretaries. Or to Mr. Cheeke.

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[*] Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

## No. LXIII.

*Articles, wherunto Wylliam Phelps, Pastor and Curate of Cirencester, upon good advisement and deliberation, after better knowledg geven by God's grace and goodnes unto him, hath subscribed, consented and aggreed, willingly without force, compulsion, and all maner of impulsion, and is willing and desirous to set forth the same to his parishioners, for the better edifying of them, and declaration of his new aggreement to God's verite and holy word.**

FIRST, that the holy word of God doth acknowledg, confess, maintaine, avouch, hold and defend, that in the holy sacrament and communion of Christs precious body and bloud, the very substance, matter, nature and condition of bread and wine, do remain after the words, (as they be commonly called), of consecration, as verily and truly as they were in substance and matter bread and wine before: although that the use of the bread and wine in the sacrament be changed. For whereas before it was common bread and common wine, now by the virtue of Gods word it is made the sacrament of the precious body and bloud of Christ, and a seal, confirmation, and augmentation of Gods mercy and gracious promise to al men, that receive it in the faith of Christ Jesu, with hatred of sin, and intent, purpose and mind, to live always a vertuous life. And that is the very transubstantiation and change, that God delighteth in, in the use of the sacraments, most, that we should earnestly and from the bottome of our hearts, be converted into Christ, and Christ's holy commandments, to live a Christen life, and to dy from sin, as he gave us example, both by His life and doctrin; and meaneth not, that the bread and wine should in substance be turned or converted into the substance of His body and bloud, or that the substance of the bread should be taken away, and in the place therof to be the substance, matter, and corporal presence of Christs corporal, holy, humane and natural body.

*Item*, That the same holy word of God doth confess, hold, defend, acknowledg and maintain, that the very natural, substantial, real and corporal body of Christ, concerning His humanity, is only and solely in heaven, and not in the sacrament and communion of His precious body and bloud. But whosoever worthily, with true repentance, and lively faith in the promise of God, receiveth that holy sacrament, receiveth sacramentally by faith al the mercies, riches, merits and deservings, that Christ hath deserved and paid for, in His holy bloud and passion. And that is to eat Christ and to drink Christ in the holy sacrament, to confirm and seal sacramentally, in our souls, Gods promises of eternal salvation: that Christ deserved for us, not in, nor by, His body eaten, but by, and for, His body slain and killed upon the cross for our sinns: as S. Paul saith Col. i. Eph. i. 3. Heb. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10.

As for eating of His flesh, and drinking of His bloud, really, corporally, materially and substantially, it is but a carnal and gross opinion of man, besides and contrary to the word of God, and the articles of our faith, and Christen religion: that affirmeth His corporal departure from the earth, placeth it in heaven above at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty, and keepeth, retaineth, holdeth and preserveth the same corporal body of Christ there, til the general day of judgment, as the word declareth : "From thence He shal come to judge the quick and the dead."

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* Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxxv. 71.]

And that heretofore I have been in the contrary opinion, and believed my self, and also have taught other to believe the same, that there remained no substance of bread and wine in the sacrament, but the very self same body and bloud of Christ Jesu, that was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, I am with al my heart sorry for mine error, and false opinion, detesting and forsaking the same from the bottome of my heart, and desire God most heartily in, and for, the merits of His dear Son's passion, to forgive me, and al them that have erred in the same false opinion by and through my means, praying them in the tender compassion and great mercies of God, now to follow me in truth, verite and singleness of Gods most true word, as they were contented to follow me in error, superstition and blindness, and be no more ashamed to return to the truth, then they were ready to be corrupted by falshood. If the holy apostle S. Paul, and the great clerk, St. Augustine, with many more noble and vertuous members of Christ's church, were not ashamed to returne, acknowledge and confess, their error and evil opinions ; what am I, miserable creature of the world, inferior unto them both in knowledg, holines and learning, that should be ashamed to do the same ? Nay, I do in this part thank God, and rejoyce from the bottome of my heart, that God hath revealed unto me the truth of His word, and geven me leave to live so long to acknowledg my fault, and error : and do here before you protest, that from henceforth I will, with al diligence and labor, study to set forth this mine amended knowledg, and reconciled truth, as long as I live, by the help of God in the Holy Ghost, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate. To whom be al honor for ever and ever, Amen.

Subscribed and confirmed 29 of April 1551,
in the presence of John, bishop of Gloucester, and divers other there present.

## No. LXIV.

### *The Archbishop to the Lords of the Councel concerning the Book of Articles of Religion.**

After my veray humble recommendations unto your good lordeships : I have sent unto the same the boke of Articles, which yesterday I receyved from your lordeshipps. I have sent also a cedule inclosed, declarynge briefly my minde upon the said boke : besechynge your lordeshipps to be means unto the kyngs majestie, that al the bushops may have authority from hym, to cause all their prechers, archdecons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with al their clergie, to subscribe to the said articles. And than I trust, that such a concorde and quyetness in religion shal shortely follow therof, as ells is not to be loked for many years. God shal therby be glorified, his truth shal be avaunced, and your lordeships shal be rewarded of Hym, as the setters forward of his true word and Gospel. Unto whom is my dayly prayer, without ceasynge, to preserve the kynges majestie, with al your honorable lordeships. From my house at Forde the 24 of this present month of November. Your lordeshipps ever to commaunde,

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

T. Cant.

To my veray good lordes of the kinges majestie
his most honorable Councel.

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## No. LXV.

*The Archbishop nominates certain persons for an Irish Archbishoprick.**

To my veray lovinge friende Sir William Cecyl Knight, one of the kinges majesties principal secretaries.

Though in England there be many meete men for the archbushopricks of Ireland, yet I knowe veraye fewe, that wil gladlie be perswaded to go thither. Nevertheless I have sent unto you the names of iiij. *Viz.* Mr. Whiteheade of Hadley, Mr. Tourner of Caunturbury, Sir Thomas Rosse, and Sir Robert Wisdome. Which being ordinarily called, I thincke for conscience sake, wil not refuse to bestowe the talent committed unto theim, wheresoever it shal please the kinges majestie to appoincte theim. Among whom I take Mr. Whiteheade for his good knowledge, special honestie, fervent zeale, and politick wisdome, to be most meete. And next him Mr. Tourner, who, besides that hee is merry and witty withal, *nihil appetit, nihil ardet, nihil somniat, nisi Jesum Christum;* and in the lively preaching of him and his wourde declareth such diligence, faithfulness and wisdom, as for the same deservithe much commendation. There is also one Mr. Whitacre a man both wise and wel learned, chaplain to the bushopp of Winchester, veray meet for that office, if he might be perswaded to take it upon him.

I pray you commend me unto Mr. Cheke, and declare unto him, that myn ague, whither it were a quotidian, or a double tertian (wherof my physitions doubted) hath left me these two dayes, and so I trust I am quite thereof: notwithstanding my water keapithe stil an high colour. Now the most daunger is, that if it come againe this night, it is like to tourne to a quartane. However the matter chaunce, the most grief to me is, that I cannot proceade in such matters as I have in hande, according to my wil and desire. This *terrenum domicilium* is such an obstacle to all good purposes. Forasmuche as I perceave that the kings majesties progress is altered, I pray you send me the gests of the latter end of his progress, from this time unto the end, that I may from time to time know where his majestie shal bee; whom I beseeche Almighty God to preserve and prosper in al his affairs, with his most honorable councel, and al his courte. From my mannor of Croydon, the xxvth. of August 1552. Your own assured,

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

T. Cant.

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## No. LXVI.

*That Mr. Turner, intended for the Archbishopric of Armagh, was come up to court.**

To my lovynge frende Sir William Cecyl Knight, one of the kyngs majestie his principal secretary.

After my veray harty recommendations, Now at the last agaynst his wil, Turner is come up unto the courte. He preched twise in the campe, that was by Canterbury: for the which the rebells wolde have hanged hym; and he seemed than more glad to go to hangynge, than he doth now to go to Armachane, he alleged so many excuses, but the chiefe is this, that he shal prech to the walls and stalls, for the peple understande no English. I beare him in hande Yes; and yet I dowte whether they speak English in the dioces of Armachane. But if they do not, then I say, that if he wil take the paine to lerne the Irish tonge (which with diligence he may do in a yeare or two) than both his personne and doctrine shal be more acceptable not only unto his dioces, but also thorowe out al Ireland. I commytt hym to your cure praying you to help hym to have as redy a dispach as may be, for he hath but a little money.

I have sent the boke of Articles for religion unto Mr. Cheke, set in a bettre order, than it was, and the titles upon every matier, addynge therto that which lacked. I pray you considre wel the articles with Mr. Cheke, and whether you thynke best to move the kyngs majestie therin bifore my commynge; I referre that unto your two wisdomes.

I pray you let me have your advise unto whom I myght best write concernynge Rayner Wolfe; for I wot not to whom I myght write, but to my lorde of Northumberlande. The everlyvynge God ever preserve you in this life, and in the life to come. From Croydon the xixth. of September. [Anno 1552.] Your assured frende,

T. Cant.

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## No. LXVII.

*Wherein the Archbishop justifies himself and the rest of the Bishops against the charge of Covetousnes.*†

To my lovyng frende Sir William Cycil, one of the kyngs majesties principal secretaries.

After my most harty commendations and thanks, as wel for your gentyl letters, as for the copy of the "Pacification," and for your good remembrance of the two matters, which I desiered you not to forget, the one concernynge the B. of Colens lettres, and the other, Mr. Mowse: for whom eftsonnes I gyve you my most harty thanks.

As for your "Admonition," I take it most thankfully, as I have ever been most glad to bee admonished by my frendes, accomptynge no man so folish as he that wil not heare frendely admonishments. But as for the sayinge of S. Paul, "Qui volunt ditescere, incidunt in tentationem," I feare it not halfe so moche, as I do starke beggery. For I toke not halfe so moche care for my lyvynge, whan I was a scholer of Cambrige, as I do at this present. For altho I have now moch more revenewe, yet I have moch more to do withal; and have more care to lyve now as an archbuschope, than I had at that time to lyve like a scholer. I have not so moch as I had within tenne yeares passed by CL*l.* of certen rent, beside casualties. I pay duble for every thynge that I bye. If a good auditor have this accoumpt, he shal fynde no grete surplusage to waxe riche upon.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

† Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

And if I knew any B. that were covetous, I wolde surely admonyshe hym, but I knowe none, but al beggers, except it be one, and yet I dare wel say, hee is not veray rich. If you know any, I besech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise hym bettre than you. To be shorte, I am not so doted, to set my mynde upon thynges here, which neither I can cary away with me, nor tary longe with them. If tyme wolde have served, I wolde have written of other thynges unto you, but your servant makynge hast, compelleth me heare to cut of the threde; besechynge Almyghty God to preserve the kynges majestie with al his councel and familie, and send him wel to returne from his progresse. From my manor of Croydon the xxj. of July.

Your own ever, T. CANT.

## No. LXVIII.

*Purchases made by the Archbishop. Extracted out of K. Edwards Book of Sales.*

Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Sexti primo.

| *The name of the Purchaser.* | *The some of Money for the Purchase.* | *The Lands.* | *The Yerely Value of the Landes.* | *The Rent Reserved.* | *The Tyme of the Issues.* | *The Teste of the Patent.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuar. | In consider. promis. Dom. R. H. VIII. et perform. Test. sui, ac in escamb. Maner. et Parc. de Mayfeld in Com. Sussex. ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in Com. Midd. Hertf. Kant. Buck. et Ebor. ac pro summa. | Rect. de Whalley, Blackborne et Rachdale in Com. Lanc. nuper Monastio sive Abbie de Whalley in eodem Com. Lancastr. modo dissolut. dudum spectan. et pertinent. ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in Com. Lanc. Kant. Surr. London, Bangor, &c. | CCCClxxix$^{l}$. 2$^{d}$. *ob.* | lv$^{l}$. xiiij$^{s}$. vj$^{d}$. *q.* | A festo S. Michael. Arch. A$^{o}$. xxxvij$^{o}$. H. viij$^{ui}$. | Test. xxxj$^{o}$. die Augusti. |
| Thomas Cranmer Archiepiscopus Cantuar. | v$^{c}$. iiij$^{l}$. viij$^{s}$. iiij$^{d}$. | Maner. de Sleford in Com. Lincoln, et maner. de Middleton Cheny in Com. Northam. ac divers. al. terr. et ten. in Com. Northam. et Lincoln. | x$^{l}$. vj$^{s}$. iiij$^{d}$.<br>xv$^{l}$.<br>iiij$^{l}$. xv$^{s}$. viij$^{d}$. | Nichil. | A festo Annunc. B. Marie Virgin. ultimo prædicto. | |
| Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuar. | iiij$^{c}$. xxix$^{l}$. xiiij$^{s}$. ij$^{d}$. Et in complement. Testi Dom. Regis H. VIII. et in consider. Servicij. | Scit. nuper Prioratus de Arthington in Com. Ebor. ac diversa alia Maneria terr. et ten. in Com. Ebor. Not. et Kant. | v$^{l}$. viij$^{s}$. iiij$^{d}$.<br>lj$^{l}$. xvij$^{s}$. iiij$^{d}$.<br>xv$^{l}$.<br>vij$^{l}$. x$^{s}$.<br>x$^{l}$. xvj$^{s}$. j$^{d}$. *ob.* | xij$^{s}$.<br>vj$^{l}$. j$^{d}$.<br>xxxiij$^{s}$. iiij$^{d}$<br>xvj$^{s}$. viij$^{d}$. | A festo S. Michaelis Arch. ultimo præterito. | Test. vj$^{to}$. die Junij. |

## [No. LXVIII.]

### *An Instrument of the Councel, swearing and subscribing to the Succession, as limited by the King.*[*]

EDWARD.

Wee whose names be underwritten, having heretofore manitimes heard the kings majesty, our most gracious sovereign lords earnest desire and express commandment, touching the limitation of the succession in the imperial crown of this realm, and others his majesties realmes and dominions; and having seen his majesties own devise touching the said succession, first wholly written with his most gracious hand, and after copied out in his majesties presence, by his most high commandment, and confirmed with the subscription of his majesties own hand: and by his highnes delivered to certain judges, and other learned men to be written in ful order: do, by his majesties special and absolute commandment, eftsoons given us, aggree, and by these presents signed with our hands, and sealed with our seales, promise by our oaths and honors to observe, fully perform and keep al and every article, branch and matter contained in the said writing, delivered to the judges and others, and subscribed with his majesties hand in six several places; and al such other matters, as his majesty by his last wil shal appoint, declare, or command, touching, or concerning the limitation of the succession of his said imperial crown. And wee do further promise, by his majesties said commandment, never to vary or swarve, during our lives, from his said limitation of his succession: but the same shal to the uttermost of our powers defend and maintaine. And if any of us, or any other, shal at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this aggrement or any part therof, we and every of us, do assent to take, use and repute him for a breaker of the common concord, peace and unity of this realm, and to do our utmost to se him or them, so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp punishment, according to their deserts.

T. Cant. T. Ely. Wynchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. J. Suffolk. W. Northampt. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntyngdon. PEMBROKE. E. Clynton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. T. Cheyne. R. Ryche.

John Gate. William Petres. Joan Cheek. W. Cecyll. Edward Mountagu. John Bakere. Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas. John Gosnald.

These are the names, with which this instrument is signed: but there be no seals.

### *The Kings own Writing, directing the Succession.*[†]

My devise for the succession.

For lack of issue for my body, to the L. Fraunceses heir masles, if she have any such issue before my death. To the Lady Jane, and her heir masles. To the Lady Katerins heir masles. To the Lady Maryes heir masles. To the heires masles of the daughters, which she shal have hereafter. Then to the Lady Margarets heires masles. For lack of such issue to the heire masles of the Lady Janes daughters. To the heir masles of the Lady Katerins daughters, and so forth til you come to the Lady Margarets daughters heires masles.

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[*] MSS. D. Wil. Petyt.

[†] MSS. D. Wil. Petyt.

If after my death, their masle be entred into eighteen years old, then he to have the whole rule and governance therof.

But if he be under 18, then his mother to be governess, til he enter 18 years old.

But to do nothing without the advice and aggrement of six, parcel of a councel to be pointed by my last wil, to the number of twenty.

If their mother dy before their entry into eighteen, the realm to be governed by the Councel. Provided, that after he be 14 years, al great matters of importance be opened to him.

## No. LXIX.

### *A Letter of Q. Jane's Councel to the Lord Rich, L. Lieutenant of the County of Essex.*[*]

After our right hartie commendations to your Lp. Although the matter conteined in your letters of therle of Oxfords departing to the Ladi Mari, be grevous unto us for divers respects, yet we must neades give your Lp. our hartie thankes for your redi advertisement therof. Requiring your Lp. nevertheless like a noble man to remain in that promise and steedfastnes to our sovereign Lady Queen Janes service, as ye shal find us redi and firm with al our force to the same. Which neither with honor, nor with saftie, nor yet with duty we mai now forsaake. From the Toure of London, the xixth. of Julie, 1553.

Your L. assured loving freends,

T. Cant.

T. Ely, Canc.
J. Suffolk.
Pembroke.
William Paget.
Winchester.
Arundel.
T. Darcy.
T. Cheyne.

W. Petre S.
Jo. Bakere.
J. Bedford.
F. Shrewsbury.
Rychard Cotton.
Jo. Cheek.
Robert Bowes.

## No. LXX.

### *Queen Jane to Sir John Bridges, and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, to raise forces against a rising in Bucks.*[†]

JANE the Queen,

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you wel. Because we doubt not, but this our most lawful possession of the crown, with the free consent of the nobility of our realm, and other the states of the same, is both plainly known and accepted of you, as our most loving subjects: therfore we do not reiterate the same, but now most earnestly wil and require, and by authority hereof warrant you, to assemble, muster and levy al the power that you can possible make, either of your servants, tenants, officers or freends, as wel horsemen as footmen, reserving to our [right] trusty and right wel beloved cousins, the erles of Arundel and Penbroke, their tenants, servants, and officers: and with the same to repair with al possible speed towards Buckinghamshire, for the repression and subduing of certain tumults and rebellions moved there against us and our crown, by certain seditious men. For the repression wherof we have given ordre to divers others our good subjects, and gentlemen of such degree as you are, to repair in like maner to the same parties. So as we nothing doubt but upon the access of such our loving subjects as be appointed for that purpose, to the place where this seditious people yet remaine, the same shal eyther lack harts to abyde in their malicious purpose, or ells receive such punishment and execution, as they deserve, seking the destruction of their native country, and the subversion of al men in their degrees by rebellion of the base multitude. Whose rage being stirred, as of late years hath been seen, must needs be the confusion of thole common weale. Wherfore our special trust is, in your courage, wisdome and fidelities in this matter to advaunce your self both with power and speed to this enterprise in such sort, as by our nobility and Councel shalbe also prescribed unto you. And for the sustentation of your charges in this behalf, our said Councel by our commandment do furthwith give order, to your satisfaction: as by their letters also shal appear unto you. And besides that, we do assure you of our special consideration of this your service to us, our crowne, and expresly to the preservation of this our realm and commonweale. Yeven under our signet at our Toure of London, the xviij. day of July, the first year of our reigne.

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[*] Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

[†] Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxvi. fol. 30].

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## No. LXXI.

### *The Councellors of Q. Jane, their Letter to the Lady Mary, acknowledging her Queen.**

Our bownden duties most humbly remembred to your most excellent majesty. It may like the same to understand, that we, your most humble, faythful and obedient subjects, having alwayes (God we take to witnes) remayned your highnes true and humble subjects in our harts, ever sythens the death of our late soveraign lord and master, your highnes brother, whom God pardon; and seeing hitherto no possibilite to utter our determination herein, without great destruction and bludshed, both of our selves and others, tyl this time; have this day proclaimed, in your city of London, your majesty to be our true natural soveraign liege lady, and queen, most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon and remit our former infirmities, and most graciously taccept our meanings; which have byn ever to serve your highnes truly: and so shal remain in al our powers and forces to theffusion of our bludds: as thies bearers, our very good lords, therle of Arundel, and L. Paget can, and be redy more particularly to declare. To whom it may please your excellent majesty to give firme credence. And thus we do, and shal daily pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your most royal person long to reign over us. From your majesties city of London this day of July, the first year of your most prosperous reygne.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Thus endorsed by the hand of Sir William Cecil.

Copy of the letter to the quene from Baynards
Castle, 20 July 1553.

## No. LXXII.

[*The Archbishop to Mrs. Wilkinson, persuading her to fly.*[*]

THE true comforter in all distress is only God, through His son Jesus Christ. And whosoever hath Him, hath company enough, although he were in a wildernes al alone: and He that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In Him is al comfort, and without Him is none. Wherefore I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, whereas you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwel in Him, and have Him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion? If you be loth to depart from your kin and friends, remember, that Christ calleth them His "mother, sisters and brothers,"[†] that do His fathers wil. Where we find, therefore, God truly honored according to His wil, there we can lack neither friend, nor kin.

If you be loth to depart for slandering [of] God's word, remember, that Christ, when His houre was not yet come, departed out of His countrey into Samaria, to avoyd the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees;[‡] and commanded His apostles, that if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another.[§] And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas?[||] And what wisdome and policy He used from time to time to escape the malice of His enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles, albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they shewed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdome, to do more good, and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity offer themselves to death; which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ: then they shewed, how little they passed of death; how much they feared God more then men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life.

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[*] Foxes Acts [and Monuments, vol. viii. p. 100].

[†] Mat. 12. [‡] Joh. 4. [§] Mat. 10. [||] 2 Cor. 11.

Wherefore I exhort you, as wel by Christ's commandment, as by the example of Him and His apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of yours and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you wil do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fal into the persecutor's hands. And the Lord send His Holy Spirit to lead and guide you whersoever you go; and al that be godly wil say, Amen.

## No. LXXIII.

*The Wordes and Sayings of John Duke of Northumberland, spoken bye hym unto the People at the Towrehyll of London, on Tewysday in the forenoon, being the 22d daye of Auguste ymmediatlye before his deathe; as hereafter followethe.**

Good people, I am come hether for to dye this daye; for the which all yow are come hether to se. And that although this is most horrible and detestable, yet justly have I deserved the same; for that I have been most grievous synner unto Almyghty God, and to al the hole world, and to the quenes grace: in asmoche as I dyd presume, as of my self, in the plain field to beare armour agaynste her grace. Wherfore I doe acknowledge that I have offended hyr lawes; and that justlye she myght have put me to deathe, withowt anye lawe, had she so pleasyd. But of hyr most clemencye hath wayed my death by a law, which justely hath condempned me. But the more, I trust, for my salvacyon, and the more better for me; to consyder the greatnes of my sins. And therfore the better for my salvacyon.

And forasmoche as I am permytted to speake my conscyence, this I do protest before God, the world, and al yow, that this my death hath not been altogether of mine own procuryng, but hath been incensyd by others; whom I praye God to pardon, for I wil not name, nor accuse anye man here.

And now I shal shew you how I have been of a long time led by false teachers and preachers somewhat before the death of K. Henry and ever sence: which is a great part of this my death. Wherfore, good people, beware, and take hede, that yow be not ledde and deceavyd by these seditious and lewde preachers, that have opened the book, and knowe not how to shutt it. But retorne home agayne to your true religion, and Catholyke faith, which hath been taught you of old. For since the time, that this new teachyng hathe come amongest us, God hathe given us over unto our selves, and hathe plagued us sundry and many wayes, with warres, commocions, tumults, rebellyon, pestelence and famyne: besydes many more great and grevouse plagues; to the greate decaye of our common welthe. Wherffor, good people, be obedyent unto the quene, her lawes, and be content to receive again the true Catholic fathe; from the which of long time yow have been led from. Examples we have of Jermany: which in like manner being led and seduced, how ar they now browght to ruyn, as wel yt ys known to thole world. And also we are taught by our Creed, in the latter part of the same: where it is said, "We believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholick faythe, the communion of saints." Thus yow may see the articles of our belief dothe teach us the true fayth Catholyke. This is my verye faythe and belefe. And theis were in my harte, as my lord bishop [Hethe of Worcester] can testefye. Neyther was I comandid thus to speake, but even of myne owne free wyll.

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* [Cotton Lib.] Titus B. 2, fol. 162.

And then he went to his prayers, &c. and dyed.

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## No. LXXIV.

*Archbishop Cranmers Letter to the Queen, sueing for his pardon in the Lady Janes business.**

Most lamentably mourning and moaning himself unto your highnes, Thomas Cranmer, although unworthy either to write or speak unto your highnes, yet having no person that I know, to be mediator for me, and knowing your pitiful ears ready to hear al pitiful complaints, and seeing so many [before] to have felt your aboundant clemency in like case, am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowful heart, to ask mercy and pardon for my heinous folly and offence, in consenting and following the testament and last will of our late soveraign lord King Edward VI. your grace's brother; which [will, God knoweth,] God He knoweth, I never liked; nor any thing grieved me so much that your grace's brother did; and if by any means it had been in me to have a-letted the making of that wil, I would have done it; and what I said therin, as wel to the council as to himself, divers of your majesties council can report, but none so wel as the marquess of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, then lord chamberlain to the kings majesty, which two were present at the communication between the kings majesty and me. I desired to talk with the kings majesty alone, but I could not be suffered, and so I failed of my purpose: for if I might have communed with the king alone, and at good leisure, my trust was, that I should have prevented him from that purpose; but they being present, my labor was in vain.

Then, when I could not dissuade him from the said will, and both he and his privy council also informed me that the judges, and his learned counsel said, that the act of entayling the crown, made by his father, could not be prejudicial to him, but that he, being in possession of the crown, might make his wil therof; this seemed very strange unto me: but being the sentence of the judges, and other his learned counsel in the lawes of this realm, (as both he and his counsel informed me), methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law to stand against my prince therin. And so at length I was required by the kings majesty himself, to set to my hand to his wil, saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his wil then the rest of the council were; which words surely grieved my heart very sore: and so I granted him to subscribe his wil, and to follow the same; which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfainedly and without dissimulation.

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* [Coverdale's] Letters of the Martyrs, [pp. 1—3].

For the which I submit my self most humbly unto your majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grievous and sorrowful heart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon; which my heart giveth me shal not be denyed unto me, being granted before to so many, which travailed not so much to dissuade both the king and his counsel as I did.

And wheras it is contained in two acts of Parliament, as I understand, that I, with the duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your majesty from your royal crown, surely it is untrue: for the duke never opened his mouth to me, to move me any such matter, [nor I him;] nor his heart was not such towards me, seeking long time my destruction, that he would either trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was other of the counsel that moved me, and the king himself, the duke of Northumberland not being present. Neither before, nor after, had I ever any privy communication with the duke of that matter, saving that, openly at the council table, the duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the king, as I did, when I went about to dissuade him from his said will.

Now, as concerning the estate of religion, as it is used in this realm of England at this present, if it please your highnes to allow me, I would gladly write my mind unto your majesty. I wil never, God willing, be author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers, which is an offence most detestable. If I have uttered my mind to your majesty, being a Christian queen and governor of this realm, (of whom I am most assuredly persuaded, that your gracious intent is, above al other things, to prefer God's true word, His honor and glory,) if I have uttered, I say, my mind unto your majesty, then I shal think my self discharged; for it lyeth not in me, but in your grace only, to see the reformation of things, that be amiss. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer that they cannot amend; yet, nevertheles, to shew your majesty my mind in things appertaining unto God, methink it my duty, knowing that I do, and considering the place which in time past I have occupied. Yet wil I not presume therunto without your grace's plesure first known, and your permission obtained; wherof I, most humbly prostrate to the ground, do beseech your majesty: and I shal not cease daily to pray to Almighty God for the good preservation of your majesty from al enemies bodily and ghostly, and for the encrease of al goodnes, heavenly and earthly, during my life—as I do and wil do, whatsoever come of me.

## No. LXXV.

### *Cardinal Poles Instructions for his Messenger to the Queen.*[*]

Instructions for Mr. Thomas Goldwell.

Mr. Goldwel. After ye have made my most humble salutation, wyth al due reverence to the queenes highnes on my behalf, and presented my lettres to the same, then pleasing her grace to hear your commission given by me, and to understand the cause why I do send you to her, ye may expound the same in that fourme that foloweth.

Furst of all, seeyng that the hole cause of my sendyng you to her highnes at this time is grounded upon the request, that her grace maketh unto me in her lettres sent me thise dayes past from the emperours coorte, dated in London the xxviij. of October, in the Latten tonge: wherunto her grace doyth demand answer of me in twoo poynts: one is, touching the difficultye she feareth, by sygnes she seeyth allready, touching the renouncing of the tytle of the supremacy of the church in her realme, when it shall be put furth in the Parlament: which signes be, that wheras her majestie already hath caused to be put forth to the Parlament the abolysheng off those lawes, which concerned the annullation of the legitimate matrimony of the gracious ladye, the qwene mother to her grace the same passing the upper house, and put furth to the lower, albeit in the effect they wold not refuse to agree to al that might make to the stableshing of the right of her grace to the crown, yet they did not gladly heare of the abolysheng specially of that law, that gave the title of the supremacy of the Church in the realm, to the crown: suspecting that to be an introduction of the Popes authorytie into the realm: whiche they cannot gladly heare off. And for this cawse cannot gladly hear of my legation in the Popes name: wherupon her grace in the same lettres doth exhort me to staye my voyage untyll a more opportune tyme: and asketh my counsell, in case the lower house make resistance in renouncing of the tytle of supremacye, what her grace were best to do, and what waye she had best to take.

One other poynt is, that her grace desyereth in the same letter to be certyfyed by me, how it came to pass, that a comyssion given by her to Mr. Frauncesco Commendone in secret, was published in the consistory; as her graces ambassador, resident in Vennyce, doth certyfye her:

These be the twoo poyncts, wherin her grace requireth my answere: and for to obey her demand, which to me is a commandemente, I do send yow, nott onely to present my lettres, but also my mouthe, and wyth thise present instructions, for more satysfaction of her grace in all poyncts.

As towcheng the first poynct, which is of most weyght, and so greate toucheng the honor and wealth of her grace both spiritual and temporal, as none can be more; ye maye shew her grace that my first advise and counsyl shal be, to obtain of God by prayer, that which I praye Him to gyve me wryteng this; which is, to have "spiritum consilij et fortitudinis." And this her grace must nowe praye for; that as in the attaining the crown, his high providence shewed by manyfest tokens to have given her these twoo graces; so in the mayntaineng therof, he wil confirm these twoo gyftes in her mind. Her highnes knoweth, yf she had relented at that time for any peril, when that both mannes counsell and force were against her, she had loste. So yf she for any feare do relent, and do not renounce that title of supremytie, which took the name of princes and right heire from her; she can nott maintayne that she hath gotten already by the spirit of counsell and fortitude. So that my first counsell is this, that obtaining by prayer these twoo gyftes, which her grace had att that time, to shew her self no less ardent in the leaveng of the title of supremytie, for to maintain her right, then the king her father was in the acqwysition therof, to the pryvation of her ryght. Which so much more she ought to do, and be more fervent in this, then her father was in that; bycause that was done against all lawe both of God and man; and this that her majesty doth now, shewing her self most fervent herein, doth fulfil both Gods law and mans: and that is her very duty, if she should lose both state and life withal. As she hath known she ought to do, by the example of the best men of her realm. Which for this cause, resisting the kings unlawful lawes, lost both.

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[*] Cotton Library, Titus B. 2, fol. 170.

And now the goodnes of God putting no such hard conditions to her grace nor laying afore her eyes only *præmia futura* wyth losse of temporal, as he did to those men, but *præmia cœlestia* with *terrena* joyned togyther: that serving to the honor of God, which is in this poynt to render the title of supremacye of the Church in earth, to whom God hath given it, she doyth stablesh her own crown withal: if now she should relent herein for any fear of men, being brought to that state, that other men should rather fear her, then she them, specially in so good a cause; this afore God and men were most perpetually to be blamed. Wherfore what my counsell is herein, on this maner now rehearsed, ye may inform her highnes.

Nowe to com to the execution of the thing. After her grace is determened to have it done, casteng awaye all feare, the same stondeth to have hytt put forth, and causeng it to pass by the Parliament; this is another cownsell necessarily to be pondered; consysteng the whole after my opinion in the proponement of the parson, that hath to put furthe the same, that wyth less difficulty, and more favour ytt may passe.

Here ye maye saye, that I moche pondereng the same, and consydereng, that it must be a personne of authorytie, that shuld propone the same, yf it shuld take effect; when I looke in my mynde apon al them I know off the lordes both spirituall and temporall, and persons of the lower howse, that myght have authorytie to do the same; I do see none, butt other he hath defended the contrarye cause by his sentence and wryting, as the spirituall men have done; which taketh awaye a great part of authority to persuade other, when men heareth them accepteng that mattier, that aforetyme thei have oppugned: or else to speak off the temporall lordes, or other, beyng al entangled with pryvate proffet, enjoyeng goods of the Church by rejecting the authority of the same, they cannot speak with that freenesse of spirit, as such a matter requireth. Wherfore yee may conclude with her grace mine opinion herein; that after long consyderation hereof, I see no person but one, that is able, with authority and all favour, to propone this matter: and that person is her grace her self: God having brought it to her hand alone: she being in this matter, and al other immaculate, and without blot, ordered of God to defend his cause, and her own withal.

And this, ye maye saye, the counsell that ytt pleased God to putt in my mynde is, that her grace do in this case, as I remember, the emperor did in his own cawse, passing by Rome, wher as his mind was to justify his quarrel touching the war betwixt him and the Frenche kyng afore the pope and the cardynalls. When doubteng yf onye other person shuld propose the same, it myght have contradiction off that party that dyd favour France, he determined without any conference either with his councel or other, to put forth the matter himselffe. And so when nother the pope, nor no other loked for eny such thing, his holynesse and the cardinals being now congregate, he entered in amongst them in the consystorye, and made a long oration, in justyfyeing his cawse, and obtayned that he wold without any resystence.

Underneth this maner my poor advyse shuld be, that her majesty should personallye come into the Parlament, and putt furthe the same her selffe, and I dare be bold to saye, what for her authorytie, and the justenes and the equytie of the cawse hytt selfe, she shal have no contradiction: and if need were also to shewe her selffe to the lower howse, the thing hytt self so neer toucheth her wealth, both godly and temporallye, that ytt shuld be taken rather *cum applausu*, then otherwyse.

Further, and joynctly wyth this, hytt shall be necessarye her highnes make mencyon of the Popes legate, in my parson, to be admytted and sent for. Wherein her grace hath this furst to entreate, thatt the lawe of my bannyshment may be abolished, and I restored to name and bloud. And herein her grace doith know whatt extreame injustyce hath bene done to me, and all our howse: and touching my parson, what was ever done that could be layde agaynst me, why I should be bannyshed, which never thought nor dyd in that cawse I was bannyshed for: butt thatt wherebye I deserved rather greate rewarde then enye payne, beyng so geven wyth hart and mynd to the kyngs honour, and wealth both off hym and the realme, that wyth no reward, which was offered me greate, the kyng himselffe could not persuåde me to do, or sentence ony thing agaynst his honour and the wealth off the realme, and to his dampnation. Here is all the cawse why I suffered bannyshment, with so great losse off those kynnesfolk, that were derer to me then my lyfe. And this beyng done by the consent off the Parlament, though, I doubt nott, agaynst their mynde, the Parlament ys bound afore God and man, to revoke me again, and specyally now comyng with that comyshion, that bryngeth the stableshment off your graces crowne, to the comforth off the hole realme, both temporallye and syiritually e.

And this her grace may boldelye saye off al the tyme of my exile, wherein God hath gyven me honor more then I dyd requyre, or would have had, if it had layne in my owne choyse, and gooddes suffycyent to mayntayn my state, yff ever ytt be founde, that for any respect of person, for ambytion, pleasure or lucre, I swarved from that I judged the honor of God, and, in matters off my cuntree, from the wealth theroff; I am content not only not to be accepted at this tyme, butt perpetuallye to be bannyshed. But yff they prove all the contrarye, and that with the king your father, nott onlye as a faithfull subject, butt wyth that love also, that no servant could shewe to his master more, nor sonne to his father, I shewed ever to exteame more his honor and wealthe, then myne owne gooddes or contreye, and never procured other then the wealthe off the same; then lett them beleave now, that I never wold come unto them after so manye yeares absence, your grace bearyng the crowne, wyth other commyssion than that I know surely should be to the honor, comfort, and wealth of your grace and the whole country.

And so touching this poynct of my counsell, that her grace requyreth of me, here ye have explicated, how the hole matter, wherein my counsell is requyred, may be concluded. For otherwayes at this tyme I see not what myght be taken, nor can imagyne no other so good, as this waye: whiche me seamythe God hath ordered should be taken and preferred above all other.

After this, ye shal showe her grace yf this waye be nott followed, or dysferred, what I most feare. And this ys furst, that the Popes holynes beyng alredye perswaded to graunte to the staye of my jorneye, contrary to his furst comyshion, when her grace showed more fervenceye to receyve the obedience off the Churche, that the next comyshion I shall have shall be to retourne back into Italye agayn. And the cause whye I fearr this ys, that the Pope shall thinke by offreng to her grace and the realme, all those graces, that do purteyne to the reconcyliation off both to the Church, when he seeyth it ys nott accepted wyth thatt promptnes it is offred, he shall think, that bothe afore God and man he hathe satysfyed all that coulde be reqwyred of him, touchyng the demonstration of his paternall affection to her grace and the realme. In the whiche the College off Cardinals peradventure wyll judge, that his sanctytie hath bene over moche bountefull, specyallye when they heare off this my stayeng beyng made wythout their consent: which thei wyll ever take for a greate indignytie, hearyng no gretter, nor more urgent cause theroff, then hytherto hath bene shewed; and knoweng how her grace cannot mayntayne her ryght, nother afore God nor man, wythout haveing recourse to his holynes, and to the see apostolyk, off whose authorytie and dyspensation the hole ryght of her cawse doyth depende: as som of them then wold have had his holines at the beginning not to have sent his legate, untyll he had bene reqwyred, so moche more now, after he hath sentt, and he not accepted, thei wyll all be off opinion, that he shall be revoked. And then what peryll both her grace and the hole realm stondeth in, by the reason of the schisme yet remayneng, it is manyfest of ytt selfe.

And yet this is nott al my feare of my revocation, but that which may follow, that I feare more. Which is this: that where as now yff I had been accepted with that promptnes and syncere affect, as I was sent of the Popes holynes, and that I brought wyth me, my parson I trust should have brought more comfort to her highnes, and the rest of the contrey, then ony stranger; as the Popes holynes thought, when he made me legate; so nowe on the contrary, for the selfe same circumstances and cawses, that parteyne to my personne, nott beyng accepted, it shal more aggravate the cause, att all times, that the realme hereafter should require to be absolved of the schisme, and al other that wold seke to prevail against her graces tytle, by the reason off the schisme, for the selff cawse, that I was nott accepted, retourneng again to Rome, wyll take this for a great proffe of the obstynat endurenge in the same, which all dyvyne lawes doyth most condempn. So that my parson, I desiring nothing more then to bryng comfort to her and the realm, nott accepted, shal be cawse of more discomfort, which as I say, God of his marcye forbed. Expounded under this maner my feare, which stondeth in my revocation, nott for my self, but for the domage that may com to her majestye and the realme therbye; the same beyng verye lykelye, if my stay be deferred ony longer space: knoweng that his holynes and the college wil nott suffer such indignitie: then yow may declare withall the remedyes, that I thought best to be used at this tyme to avoyde this inconveniencye.

And herein yow may show, how the furst remedie is, that the Pope and the Colledge of Cardinals be wel persuaded, that my staye here is but for a smale tyme, and for to bryng a more suer conclusion, and mak the waye more playn, as I have caused the Popes holines to be informed by a servant of mine sent by post to Rome, shewing the tenor of the bil her grace wrote by Herrye my servant. Wherin was conteyned that her highnes shortlye trusted that the matters of the Parlament shuld have that conclusyon, that I most desyered. And apon this hope that messenger had to showe his holynes, that I had sent my stuf afore, towards Flaunders: and now also for confyrmation of that hope I have sent a part of my companye afore to tarrye me there. So that this yow may saye ys the furst remedye I can fynd to kepe the Pope and the college in hope of a brave and good resolution.

One other chyfe remedye is, becawse I perceive the emperours majesties counsel hath ever bene, that her grace in matters of religion, and in the renounceng the title of the supremacye, shuld procede with grate moderation, and nott to be hastye therin, untyll other matters temporall were better settled; for this cawse, besyde that what I could do by lettres, if it were possyble, as moche as was in me, to remove his majesty from the opinion, that dilation in this matter shuld be profitable to her highnes, or the realm; as she may perceve by the copy of my letters, written to the emperor, sent by Herrye Pyninge: I have likewise persuaded hys majesties confessour, whome I founde here a man of great sanctitye and learneng, that for the love he bearith towards his majesty touching his sowles wealth, and honor off the worldc beside, and affection to her grace, that he wolde personallye repair himself to his majesty, and by al means possible attempt to remove this worldlye feare. And herein I have gyven him instructions, wheroff yow have the copie with yowe, that yowe may show the same to her highnes.

The thurd remedye is, that which I attempt now, by sendeing yow to her majestie, that she maye be well enformed of the peryll; which in myn opinion is now more great, then when the duke of Northumberlonde dyd sett agaynst her. And the same must be overcom wyth that meanes that her grace then had the victory. Which was by putting her hope and trust holye in God, and in the justyce of her cawse, casteng awaye all feare worldelye. Whiche doyng, her highnes may be suer her cawse perteyning to the honor off God, and wealth of his Church, for the whiche His Sonne dyed for, thatt ys Lord off all, she shall fynde leste difficultye, and moche redyer help, then she can now imagyne. And this now shall be suffycyent yow enfourme her grace touching the mattier, wherin it hath pleased her to ask my advyse and counsell.

Touching the other matter, wherein her highnes semyth to be offended for the relation made openlye in the Consistory by Master Francesco Comendone, of those things, which her majesty had told hym in secrete. Off this yow may say, her grace beyng enfourmed of the treuthe hath more cawse to accept that which was done moste gratefully, then in onye part to be offended therewyth. And the truthe is this, he dyd nott open onye thing that was tolde him in secret, nor dyd nott make his relation as I thought my self he had done at the begynnyng, as off things harde of her graces mouthe, but that he had harde off other Catholyk and devoute personnes, that knew her graces mynde. Which was in generall off the devout mind that her ma^tie^ bore to God and the Church; and of that particuler poynct, that she wolde have had showed only the Popes holines, nothing was spoken. And al this was done to confirm the cardinals minds touching the approbation of that the Pope had done, in makeng so soddenlye his legate, afore eny information was given what mind her grace bore to the obedience of the Churche: which some did not approve at the furste. And after this relation made by Mr. Francesco, that had bene in England, all were well satisfyed. So that all turned to the honor of her maiestie, and to corroborate al that was done to her servyce. And that she maye the surelyer be advertysed how all things passed in this matter, I have caused to be copied one part off a letter, which the Popes holynes wrote unto me upon this acte; and the same yow maye show unto her grace.

And becawse I do know what greate servyce it myght be to her grace to be trewlye informed in all partes that parteyneth to the returne of trewe obedyence to the Church, both touching the tyme and maner, and the conseqwence thereoff; and to discern the craftes and wyles, that the enemy of mankind ever useth to make it seame trewe obedience, when it is not: whereapon dependeth the hole grounde off the maintenance of the state, that God hath gyven her grace: and how few there be in the realme, (al beyng maculate therein), that can or wyll endeavour themselffe, to explicate the peryll, and showe the remedye: therfore consydereng that I in person can nott come so sone to gyve her highnes enformation, as I know the necessytie of the matters to be concluded doith reqwyre; you may show her ma^tie^ that among those gentlemen of my companye, whome I have sent afore to Flaunders, there to remayne, there be twoo, of whome if it wyll please the same to take information off, and as her grace fyndeth itt, to th honour of God and wealth off the realme, in this furst settleng of the obedyence of the Churche, so to execute the same ; I wold think that her grace shuld be well satisfyed, and satysfye all good men wythall : thise being men of that qwalytiees, that ye know ; which have godlye prudence, and humaine, joyned bothe togyther. Of the which one I knowe by long experience, that hath bene manye yeares so conversaunt with me, as no man more famyliar. Of whome I have ever judged my selff to have that treasour, that fewe greate pryncys hath the lyke. And off the other to have as great pleasure for the tyme he is content to serve me. But whether her hyghnes wyll serve her selffe to be enfourmed off them in this first settelleng off her state, this ys in her graces pleasur.

This onlye I wold desyer her M. wylleng the same, if they shold com, that they myght com to be knowen to come from me, for the cawses that I have showed yowe.

Further, your commission shalbe to expounde to her highnes my hole mynde and sentence, towching the demande hitt pleased her grace to make in her gratiouse letters dated the xxviij. of Januarye concerninge those personnes, whom for the good opinion her grace had of their vertue, lerning, and catholyke good mynde, she intended to make bishopes, how that they may be provided fore, withowte derogation to the authority of the see apostolique, her grace not intending further to extend the powere of the crowne regall, then hit was custumable in use afore the scisme enteryd. In this poynte, wherein her grace demaundeth myne answere, yow shall make the same conformable to that whiche, by long and often conference with me, ye knowe to be myn utter sentence. Wherein ye nede nott to have any further explication by wrytinge.

Beside this, touching the two actes of Parlament ; oon of the legitimation of the matrimonye betwene the most gracious quene her mother, and the king her father ; the other of the sacramentes to be used under the maner, that they were used the last year of K. Henry the VIII. her graces father : whiche both it pleased her ma$^{tye}$ of her goodnes to send unto me, for my sattisfaction of mynde, to knowe how they were passed by consent of the Parlament ; you may shewe her grace that these too, perfectely inacted and concluded, be those in treuthe, that of al acts that could be made to my comforte, none could bring me more satisfaction. Whereof the onlye cause is, that I know nothing can pass by the Parlament more to the stablishment of her hieghnes state, both afore God and man, then the sure stablishinge of these too. And for this cause whattsoever lacketh to the stablishing therof, me seemeth, I am bounde to utter plainly to her grace and trewlye to say whatt doth nott satisfye me in those acts ; my whole satisfaction dependinge of the fruite, that may redound to her grace and the realm, when they shal be perfectlye concluded.

And therfore herein yow shall nott lett passe to enform her grace pleasing the same to give yow benign audience, as wel wherein they were nott to my utter satisfaction, as also wherein they satisfyed me, and brought me some comfort.

And first of all, how the former acte of the ratifying of the matrimony seemed unto me myche defectuous; in that the Parlament, taking for cheffe grounde, the wisdome and goodnes of the parentes of both parties in making the matrimonye, doth nott folowe that wisedome in the conclusion and stablishing of the same. Theyre wisedome in making hitt was, that they thought nott sufficient to conclude the matrimonye, notwithstanding the consent of the partyes, onlesse by the Popes dispensation and authorite of the see apostolique, the impedimentes of conjunction, named in the lawes of the Churche, were taken away, and hitt so made legitimate. And hereof the act of the Parlament, that would justifye the same, with derogation of another acte, made to the condempnacion of that matrimonye, maketh no mention. Which me seameth as great a defecte, as yf oon shulde take a cause to defende, whiche hathe diverse causes al concurrent to oon effecte, whereof the oon dependeth apon the other, and oon beyng principall above all the other, and wolde in the defence thereof name the other causes, and leave owte the principall. For so yt ys in the cause of the matrimonye: the consent of the partyes and parentes depended upon the dispensation of the Churche, and the see of Rome: withowte the whiche the wisedome of the parentes dyd nott thincke hitt coulde be well justifyed, as the effecte dyd showe, in demaunding the same: and this ys that whiche nowe ys lefte owte in the justification, that the Parlament hath made, alleaging onlye the wisedome of the two parents, the kings of Ingland and of Spayne.

And if it be here sayd, as I understonde some do say, that the dispensation was asked of those prynces, not because it was so necessarye, that the mariage coulde nott be justifyed withowte that, butt as they say *ad majorem cautelam:* how this answere cannott stande to that effecte, I have so sufficientlye informed yow, that yow of your selfe I dowbte nott, withowte further declaration by wrytinge can expounde the same. Therfore leaving that to your memorye and capacite, to flye multiplication of wrytinge, this only I wyll putt yow in remembrance of, that yf the dispensation of the Pope in that mater was asked of those two princes *ad majorem cautelam,* which was to stoppe all menes mowthes, making pretense of justice, that might have bin brought fourthe, or objected, againste that matrimonye, unlesse thys dispensation had bin obteyned; at the least for this cause in this act shulde also have bin made mention of the dispensation, following the wisedome of those princes *ad majorem cautelam;* beynge now more feare of pretensed justice against that matrimonye, as the effecte hath, and doth shewe, then ever coulde be imagined by the wytte of those princes, when they obteyned fyrste the dispensation.

As towchinge th'other acte of the confirmation of the sacramentes, ye shall showe also wherein hit seameth to me defectyve. Whiche ys, that whereas the grounde of the makinge therof, as the acte doyth expresse, ys taken for to redresse the temerytye of them, whiche, being affected to the nueltye of opinions, dyd other take them awaye, or abuse the administration of them, against the auncient and laudable custome of the Catholique churche; this beinge a verey necessarye and piouse cause to make that acte in the prosecuting and concluding of the same

I fynde this greate defecte, that never being approbate by the Churche, that those persones which remayne in *scisma*, shuld have the right use of the sacramentes; but rather to suche ys interdicte the use of them: this acte maketh the gate open to them, that be nott yet enteryd into the unite of the Cherche; to the use of the sacramentes, declaring hytt selfe how they shulde be ministered, with relation to the tyme and yeare of that king; and namyng him, that ys known to be cheffe author of the scisme. Whatt defect this is it seemeth manifest of yt selfe.

This shewed, wherein both these actes were defectuouse, and thereby not bringing me full comforte, ye shall then expounde wherin, at the readinge of them, I toke some comforte. Which was that the conclusion of both was passed, graunted, and inacted by the Parlament. So that touching the effecte, there coulde be no difficultye hereafter in the Parlament, the same being now bounde to the approvinge and observancie of theyr owne acte. And wherein they were defectuese, this owght to be supplyed by the princes authority, that ys to saye, by her graces authoryte, as right quene. To whom it apperteyneth, as cheffe head of the Parlament, and of the hole realme withall, in all actes, that the Parlament dothe determe, both to interpreate that that ys obscure, and to supplye and make perfecte that which ys defectuouse, as well in the tyme of the Parlament, as when yt ys dissolved. So that now these both actes, being passed by the Parlament, they are brought to her graces hand to interpreate and supplye, as yt shall be judged by her graces wisedom, howe they may beste take effecte. And to do the same other owte of the tyme of Parlament, or in another Parlament, byndinge them, by theyre owne decree, ratefyeng the mariage, and the use of the sacramentes, accordinge to the forme of the Catholike churche, to admitt the authoryte of the see of Rome. Whiche not admitted, nother thone acte nor thother can take effect: and admittinge and stablishing of the same both those acts, by this oon, (wherin ys comprised the reduction of the realme to the unite of the Churche) shalbe stablished and made perfecte.

For conclusion of al this, ye shall informe her grace, that as I consider dayly the wonderfull goodnes of God to her hieghnes with all paternall cure of her sowle, parson and state, and hys all so manifest protection every waye, and by so meny wayes calling her grace to stablishe this unite of the Churche in the realme, whereof the breakinge hath bin cause of so great miserye, in the realme, both spirituall and temporall, with travayle temporall of her majestye and utter jeopardye of losyng her state: so also I do consider whatt wayes the enymye of mankynde Satan, "Qui expetivit cribrare Ecclesiam tanquam triticum," hath used, and continuallye useth to lett, that her grace can nott putt in execution that wherunto God continuallye doth call her. I dare be bold to say in this particular cause, that that the apostle sayth generally, speakinge of Satans malice, "Non ignoramus cogitationes ejus."

And so herein I do se how by all meanes he dothe tempte to make her grace fall from that simplicite, "Quæ est in Christo Jhesu," the whiche God hath ever hytherto maintened in her. And this I havinge noted of the especiall goodnes of God toward her, how all the rest fallinge from the unite of the Church at the tyme of her fathers reygne, when she was in most trowble and travayle, yett her hieghnes never committed eny thing that was prejudice to the same, being protected of God in that simplicite, and bringeng that mynde with her to the crowne: Sathan knowing that by open temptinge her to do against that, by the way of commission, he should not prevayle, he dothe attempte to make her to fall by this other way of omission: wherbye his malice trusteth, that commission shall folowe. Against the whiche, albeit my verey truste ys, the prayere of the Churche at this tyme for her grace shal defend her; yet untyll I se by her graces goodnes so necessarye and godlye acte of the reduction of the realme to the perfecte obedience of the Churche concluded, I cannot be without some feare: and therfore be more solicitouse in advertiseing her maj$^{\text{tie}}$ of the greate peryll, wherof fewe or none do, or wyll, speake unto her: and nott onlye to advertise her grace, butt withall to shewe the reamedye; wherof yow being sufficientlye informed, this shall be the end of my commission by wrytinge: prayeng Almightye God to inspire her hieghnes to accepte your sayings on my behalfe, as he hath inspired me with all sincere affection by suche meanes to utter the same.

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## No. LXXV. *a*

[Supplement to *Cardinal Pole's Instructions for his Messenger to the Queen.*

For the conclusyon of all thatt ys comprysed in your instruction, as that the whiche conteyneth the hole somme of my poore advise and counsell it pleasyth her grace to aske of me, yow shall saye that my moste humble desyer is that in all deliberation her grace shall make toucheing the mayntenaunce of her state, the same wyll euer well pondre and consydre what the providence of God hath showed therein, above that which hath bene showed in her predecessours kyngs of the realme in this one poynct, which is to have the crowne not onle as a kyngs dowghther and heyr, but hath ordered that this poyncte off ryght inherytaunce shall depend, as it doyth, of the authoritie he hath geven to his Churche, and off the see of Rome, whiche is the see apostolyk approveng her mother to be legittimate wyffe off Kyng Henrye the Eyght, wherebye she is bounde both afore God and man as she wyll showe her selffe the very doughther off the sayde Kyng Henrye the Eyght ryght heyr off the crowne, so also to showe her selffe ryght doughtier off the Church and of them that be resyde.. in the see apostolyke, who be the ryght heirs to Peter, to whome and hys successours Christe chiefe hedd of the Church in heven and in earthe hath gyven in earth to bere hys place, toucheng the rule off the same Churche, and to have the crowne thereoff. Which well consydered and pondered her grace shall sone see how in her person the prouydence of God hath ioyned the ryght she hath by her father in the realme, wyth the ryght of the Church, thatt she can nott prevayle by the one, excepte she ioyne the other wythall, and they thatt wyll seperate thise twoo, take away not onlye halfe her ryght, but her hole ryght, beyng not so moch heyr because she ys Kyng Henryes onlye doughtier wythout yssue male, as she ys his lawefull doughtier, which she hath by the authorytie off the Churche.

Which thing prudentlye and godlye considred she can nott but see what faithfull counsell this is, that above all acts that in this Parlament shall be made, doth aduertyse her grace, to establesh that the wych parteyneth to the establesheng off the authoritie off the Church and the see of the same, wyth rendreng to hym that is ryght successour to Peter therein his ryght tytle off hedde in the Church in yearthe, wythout the which she can not be ryght hedde in the realme, and this estableshed, all controuersye is taken awaye, and who wyll repyne vnto this, he doth repine to her ryght off the crowne.

Wherefore this is my furst aduyse, that this poyncte above all other shuld be entreated and enacted in the Parlament, and so I knowe her graces full mynd was and is that it shuld be, but she fearith difficultyes, and hereapon dependeth that her grace asketh my poore aduyse how this difficultyes may be taken away.

Vnto this yow may saye, that they muste be taken away by the healpe off him that by his highe provydence above mannes expectation hath gyven her all redye the crowne, which wyll have as well this second act knowen of the mayntenaunce thereof to depend off him, as the furst in atteyneng therto. And to have his healpe the meane is, by humble prayer, wherein I wold advertise her highnes not onlye to gyve her selff to prayer, but also by almes to the nede excitate the myndes off other to prayer, these be the meanes off moste effycacye, and wyth this to take that ardent mynde to stableshe the authoritie off the Church casteng away all feare off man, that she toke to have her crowne, and not so moche for her owne sake as for the honour off God, which gave her the crowne, and yf ony dyfficultye shuld be feared in the Parlament herein, leve the honor to take away the dyfficultie thereoff to none other, but assume that parson to her selffe, as most bound therevnto, and to propone yt her selffe, which I wold trust to be off that efficacye that yff inwardlye ony man wyll repugne, outwardlye the reasons be so evydent for this part that ioyned wyth the authoritie off her parson beyng proponent, none wyll be so hardye, temerariouse, nor impious, that wyll resyste. And if in this deliberation it shuld seme straunge to put furth thise matters in the Parlement, as I have sayd in the instructions wythout comunicateng the same wyth ony off her cownsell, I wold thinke ytt well her grace myght conferre it wyth twayne off the chefest that be counted off the people moste nere her fauour, one spirituall and an nother temporall, wyth declareng to them, furst how touching her conscyence afore God, and her ryght afore the world she can neuer be qwyett vn tyll this matter be stableshed touching the authorytie off the Churche, reqwyreng their vttermost healpe in that as if she shuld fyght for the crowne, her majestye may be suer the putteng the same furth wyth that erneste maner, they wyll not lacke to serve her, and thei may serve greatlye in the Parlament after her grace hath spoken, to prosecute and justyfye the same wyth efficacye off wordes to gyve all other example to follow, her grace leaveng this part vnto them, that if the name off obedyence to the Pope shuld seme to bryng as it were a yoke to the realme or ony other kynde of seruytute, besyde that it shuld be profytable to the realme both afore God and man, that her grace that bryngeth it in again wyll neuer suffir it, nor the Pope himselfe reqwyreth no such thing, and herein also yf they saye that my person beyng the meane to bryng it in wold neuer agree to be an instrument thereoff, if I thought ony thraldome shuld com therbye, thei shall neuer be decyued off me. And yff thei wold say besyde I wold neuer haue taken this enterpryce apon me except I thought by the same to bryng greate comfert to the countreye, wherein the Popes authorytie beyng accepted I wold trust shuld be so used that it myght be an example off comfort not onlye to that countreye butt to all other that hath rejected it afore and for that cawse hath bene euer syneth in great myserye. This is the summe off all my poore aduyse at this tyme, in this case, whereoff I besech Almyghtie God so moche may take effect as shall be to his honour, and welth to her grace, and the hole realme besyde. Amen.]

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## No. LXXV. *b*

### *The Form of the Restitution of a maried Priest.**

DECIMO octavo die mensis Octobr. anno Dom. 1554, in ædibus solitæ residentiæ magistri Anthonij Huse, armigeri, in occidentali angulo vici nuncupati Pater Noster Row, civitatis London, notorie situatis, coram venerabili viro magistro Henrico Harvy, LL.D. vicario in spiritualibus generali, [decani et captli ecclíæ cathis et metropoliticæ Xri Cantuariens: custodam spiritualitatis sede archiepali Cantuarien: jam vacante] in presentia mei Joannis Incent, notarij publici propter absentiam magistri Anthonij Huse, registrarij, &c. assumpti, &c. comparuit personaliter Robertus Vevian presbyter. nuper rector ecclesiæ parochialis de Hever, decanat. de Shoreham, ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis jurisdictionis immediatæ, ac quandam professionem in scriptis redactam et conceptam fecit, et publice legebat, sub eo qui sequitur verborum tenore.

Wheras I Robert Vevian, clerk, late parson of Hever in the county of Kent, being of the peculiar jurisdiction of the church of Canterbury, being ordered a prest about xxvij. yeres past, having ministred as a prest in al kind of prestly function and ministration of sacraments and sacramentalls, as to the office of a prest appertaineth; have sithins that time, contrary to the state of myne orders, decrees of the Church, and laudable customes of the same, marryed one Agnes Stanton, being a single or solute woman, and with her in one house, as man and wief, have cohabited and dwellid, to the offence of my Christen brethren, and brech of the unity of Christs said Church: I the said Robert do now lament and bewail my lief past, and thoffence by me committed: intending firmly by Godds grace hereafter to lead a pure, chast and continent lief, according to such grace as Almighty God of his mercy, upon my humble petition and prayer, shal grant me: and do here before you, my competent judge and ordinary, most humbly require absolution of and from al such censures and pains of the lawes, as by my said offence, and ungodly behaviour I have incurrid and deservid; promising firmly, and solemnly professing before you in this present writing never to return to the said Agnes Stanton, as to my wief or concubyne: but from hensefourth to absteyne from her, and to keep miself sole, pure and chast from al carnal affections and copulations; especially from her, and also al other women, according to the laws and constitutions of our mother, the Catholick church, and as my order also requireth. In witnes of this myne advised and deliberate minde, promise and profession, I have to the same in this writing subscribed my name with myne own hand. Yeven the 18th day of October in the year of our Lord God 1554, &c.

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* Regist. Eccles. Christ. Cant.

Per me Robertum Vevian.

Qua quidam professione per prænominatum Robertum Vevian publice lecta, et manu sua propria subscripta, ac præstito juramento, &c. de parendo juri, et stando mandatis Ecclesiæ, dominus ad humilem ejus petitionem, absolvit eum a sententia excommunicationis et alijs censuris et pœnis juris per ipsum, ex causis superius expressatis, incursis, et eum sacramentis Ecclesiæ, ac officio suo presbyterali, et integræ functioni ejusdem restituit et redintegravit; et decrevit sibi literas testimoniales, &c.

Restitutio Joannis Browne, rectoris de Wymbaldowne in decanatu de Croyden.
Restitutio Henrici William, presbyteri.
Restitutio Petri Williamson, presbyteri.

*These are al in the same form with the above written, only* mutatis mutandis. *And no more are registred but these.*

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## No. LXXVI.

### *John Fox his Letter to the Parlament, against reviving the Act of the Six Articles.*[*]

Frequens hic per omnium ora ac aures jactatur non suspicio modo, sed constans certissimaque prædicatio, id vos summi, sanctissimique patres, moliri, ut sanguinariæ leges illæ "Sex Articulorum" titulo inscriptæ, quondam bene sopitæ, nunc demum, velut ex Orco revocentur ad superos. Quod si verum sit, quam vobis plausibile, ac quibusdam sit gratum, ignoro, certe quam reip. funestum ac ominosum sit futurum, satis jam pridem declarat publicus mœror, tristissima rerum fere humanarum, ac luctuosa facies, optimi cujusque gemitus; nec tacita solum suspiria, sed ubertim ex doloris acerbitate prorumpentes lachrymæ, quotidiana bonorum fuga, totius denique reip. (si tamen

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[*] Foxij MSS.

resp. aliqua sit) squalor: ut interim taceam conscientiarum occulta judicia ac vulnera, in omnibus fere horror, in nonnullis etiam funera ac mortes ex rerum perturbatione contractæ. Quæ si calamitates, tot tantæque quidem illæ, quantas vix in ulla unquam rep. conspeximus, ex concepta rerum imagine atque recordatione duntaxat ipsa, cives adeo perstringunt vestros, quid vos futurum tandem existimatis, suspiciendi Domini, exhibitis jam rebus ipsis, ubi in exhibendis tanta sit trepidatio; ubi intolerabilis ipse legum rigor, et acutissima acies cervicibus jam incumbit civium: ubi tot millia hominum non vitæ libertatem, quam jam amiserunt, sed vitam ipsam cogentur deserere? Nec jam vita, sed et conscientia etiam erepta hominibus: nec Deo quidem supplicare licebit pro arbitratu suo, sed ad libidinem paucorum.

Quæ quum ita sint, vel deteriora etiam, quam a me referri queant, considerabit prudentia vestra, quæ documentis nostris non eget, sed pro communi salute rerum, consilia vestra potissimum flectenda sunt. Hæc etenim jam ipsa aguntur tempora, quibus vobis jam in manu situm est, felices nos velitis, an perditos. Si tam vilem habeatis civium vestrorum sanguinem, si nihil vos moveant tot hominum gemitus, querelæ, lacrymæ, bonorum miseriæ, si parum sit vobis una ab ijsdem legibus accepta clades; age denuo, revocetur Trojanus equus in urbem, quo soli, vel cum paucis, regnum hoc possideatis. Sin vero ulla subit animos vestros reip. charitas, si quod patriæ studium maneat, siquid preces nostræ, siquid bonorum supplices manus, siquid denique reip., siquid ecclesiæ Christianæ (quam advolutam genubus vestris existimetis) flebilis querela valeat; efficite modo, pii proceres, pro summa pietate, ut pluris sit apud vos salutis publicæ conservatio, quam privata quorundam solicitatio; nec quid possit pro imperio authoritas, sed quid æquitas potius civibus debeat vestra, velitis considerare.

Nihil enim in omni officiorum genere fieri æquius arbitror, quam ut quorum vos patria patres conscripsit ipsa, eos in filiorum loco ascitos tueamini: quique suam ad vos omnem reverentiam, ac dignitatis authoritatem transferunt, ijdem a vobis salutis ac tranquillitatis vicissim accipiant suæ incolumitatem. Quod si communis patriæ respectus vos minus attingat, at quod vobis ipsis dignum, quod generosa ac heroica sanguinis vestri nobilitas, tacito quodam sensu vobis suggerat, attendite. Nam quum inter humanos omnes affectus, nil sit tam hominis proprium, quam clementia, qua divinæ naturæ imaginem maxime referre vel infimi etiam videntur homines; quid tum a vobis expectari convenit, illustrissimi heroës, qui quo sublimiorem honoris in his terris gradum sortiti estis, hoc expressius supremo huic imaginis divinæ archetypo respondere omnibus modis decet?

Porro, habetis ad hoc reginam, ut nobilissimam, ita ad sana et salubria quæque obsequacem principem. Habetis et cancellarium, ut doctrina præstabilem, ita natura non improbum si quorum absint consilia. Verum ut inter animantium genera, quædam noxia, alia ad hominis usum, creata existunt: rursus sunt, quæ in hoc tantum dicas nata, ut reliquis molestiam ac perniciem moliantur: sic in humanis rebus, nulla resp. nec vitæ genus est, quod suas non habet vomicas, et *κακοβούλους*. Atque hi sunt potissimum, qui religione præposteri, natura sævi, alteri ecclesiæ, alteri reip. exitiales existunt.

Quibus cum bene esse non possit, nisi perturbatis rebus, turbam, quantum queant, intendunt ad sævitiam. Mitissimos principum animos, hoc est, reip. fontes, vitiant, consilia instillant, non quæ honesto, sed quæ ventri suo, ac quæstui serviant: simile quiddam exercentes in humanis rebus, quale Ate tribuit Homerica narratio. Deinde quum tutius lædunt sub umbra nobilitatis, ac se occultant, quo siquid adveniat adversi, illos postremo feriat: siquid boni sit, ipsi primi sint ad carpendam messem. Et quoniam juxta imperitorum legem, nihil his recte fieri videtur, nisi quod ipsi faciunt, ad arbitratum suum universam religionem, cum ipsa scriptura, corrigendam putant, quicquid ipsis non placet hæreticum est. Nil sibi placere potest, quod non illico alba amussis sit quantum libet a scopo alienum.

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## No. LXXVII.

*An instrument of the University of Cambridg, appointing certain of their members to repair to Oxford, to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer there.**

### Procuratorium Academiæ Cantabrig.

UNIVERSIS Christi fidelibus præsentes literas visuris, lecturis et audituris, et quos infrascripta tangunt, seu quovis modo tangere poterunt: nos vicecancellarius senatusque tam regentium quam non regentium almæ academiæ Cantabrigien. salutem, et dilectionem in Christo Jhesu. Cum jampridem ex parte sacræ synodi, sive convocationis prælatorum et cleri Cant. provinciæ, aucthoritate et mandato sereniss. et religiosiss. dominæ nostræ reginæ Mariæ convocatæ, nobis in senatu nostro ad effectum infrascriptum in simul congregatis exhibiti fuerint quidam articuli tenoris infrascripti, viz.

"In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati præsens est realiter, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item, naturalis ejusdem sanguis.

"Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.

"In missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium, pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile:"

Simulque requisiti fuerimus, eosdem articulos matura deliberatione legere, expendere et considerare: et si sanam, veram et Catholicam doctrinam contineant, eosdem approbare velimus: nos in senatu nostro, sic ut præfertur, convenientes, perlectosque nobis articulos, et contenta in ijsdem, quanta decebat in re tam gravi maturitate et deliberatione, perpendentes et librantes, quandoquidem ipsos, et contenta in ijsdem, cum Catholica virtute et fide orthodoxa per omnia convenire animadvertimus, eosdem unanimi consensu nostro atque assensu, ut veros, Catholicos, orthodoxos, ac veritati et doctrinæ Catholicæ, ac aperto Dei verbo, consentientibus veterum orthodoxorum patrum testimonijs, generalium que conciliorum authoritatibus, per omnia innitentes et congruentes, tam consentientibus animis comprobavimus, ut nostra plurimum interesse arbitrati sumus doctrinam articulorum hujusmodi contra omnes illius oppugnatores defendere et tueri.

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* Foxij MSS.

Intelligentes itaque tam facti notorietate, quam famæ publicæ relatione, esse nonnullos perditionis et iniquitatis filios, seditiosos errorum innovatores, et ecclesiæ Christi hostes, qui hujusmodi sacram, Catholicam et orthodoxam doctrinam, ac ecclesiæ unitatem modis omnibus perturbare, dilacerare, infestare, affligere et evertere satagunt, et conantur, quorum præcipui authores et antisignani nominatim sunt, D. Thomas Cranmerus, nuper Cantuar. archiepiscopus, Nicolaus Ridleius, nuper Roffensis, et Hugo Latimerus, jam olim Wigorn. episcopi, academiæ nostræ Cantabrig. quondam alumni, modo apud inclytam universitatem Oxoniensem existentes, nostrarum partium esse duximus, non modo veritatem Catholicam prædictam verbo et scriptis comprobare, ac mundo palam facere, verum etiam eandem nedum contra eosdem principales adversarios, sed et contra omnes alios ecclesiæ hostes et veritatis Christi oppugnatores, pro virili nostra, manifesto Dei verbo, sanctorumque patrum testimonijs, defendere, tueri et propugnare. Ac proinde quo veritas magis elucescat, quosdam pios et eruditos viros ex eadem nostra universitate ad hoc muneris publico omnium nostrum nomine obeundum, viz. D. Johannem Yong, vicecancellarium nostrum, Gulielmum Glyn, Richardum Atkynson, Cuthbertum Scot, Thomam Watson, Albanum Langdale, et Thomam Sedgwyke, theologiæ professores, conjunctim et divisim selegimus, nominavimus, et deputavimus: dantes et concedentes eisdem, prout, et tenore præsentium sic damus et concedimus, conjunctim, ut præfertur, et divisim, plenariam potestatem, aucthoritatem et facultatem, vice et nominibus omnium nostrum, almam academiam Oxon. quibuscunque diebus eis visum fuerit, petendi et proficiscendi. Ac si quidem libera eis, pro more, aucthoritate universitatis Oxon. in hac parte dabitur venia et facultas, cum dictis dominis, Cranmero, Ridleio, et Latimero, cæterisque ejusdem farinæ monstris palam et publice, sive privatim, congrediendi, hijsque de rebus disserendi, disputandi et argumentandi, sanamque doctrinam prædictam contra eos patrocinandi, et propugnandi, adversariosque prædictos, et eorum perversas opiniones, et sententias, atque hæretica dogmata refellendi, refutandi, et convincendi, eosque ad resipiscentiam modis omnibus quibus poterint, hortandi, reducendi et persuadendi : cæteraque omnia et singula faciendi, exercendi et expediendi ; quo hujusmodi negotij qualitas et natura de se exigunt et requirunt, promittentes nos ratum, gratum, et firmum perpetuo habituros totum id, et quicquid ab eisdem eruditis viris nomine et vice nominis in præmissis, aut eorum aliquo actum aut gestum fuerit. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium præmissorum, has nostras commissionis, et deputationis literas nostro communi sigillo communiri fecimus. Datum e senatu nostro Cant. x die mensis Aprilis, anno verbi incarnati supra millesimum quingentesimum quinquagesimo quarto.

## No. LXXVIII.

*The University of Cambridg to that of Oxford, relating to the former matter.*[*]

Reverendis in Christo viris D. Vicecancellario Oxoniensi, et universis Doctoribus illius Academiæ, atque Magistris Regentibus et non Regentibus.

Gravi nuper et turbulenta tempestate, sicut vos scitis et experti estis, reverendi in Christo fratres, ecclesiæ nostræ horribiliter jactatæ sunt. Tetra etenim seditiosi erroris, et protervæ atque obstinatæ hæresios pestis ac lues omnes Angliæ oras pergrassata, ipsas etiam academias corripuit, atque gravissime et periculosissime infestavit. Christi pura et orthodoxa religio, mendacibus sectariorum commentis et prodigiosis subinde pullulantium falsarum doctrinarum monstris misere deformata et dilacerata, jacuit. Jam tamen singulari Numinis beneficio, et D. nostri Jesu Christi atque illius Sacri Spiritus afflatu, serenior aura et placida atque amœna amabilis concordiæ tranquillitas affulgere occœpit. Gratias proinde indesinenter agere debemus cœlesti Patri, qui propter suam misericordiam ecclesijs nostris, magna persecutionis violentia afflictatis, optabilem et serenum statum restituerit. Qui per optimam et religiosissimam reginam religionis Catholicæ integritatem, quæ corruptorum maliciosa improbitate pæne extincta fuerat, restauravit, atque academijs nostris antiquam suam libertatem, quæ nephandorum tyrannide opprimebatur, reddidit. Nostrarum vero partium esse ducimus tantam et tam illustrem Dei erga nos beneficentia agnoscere et confiteri; atque etiam eundem Deum et propitium nostrum Dominum, assiduis precibus interpellare, ut hæc quæ jam restaurata est religionis orthodoxa et pura integritas, in dies magis ac magis augeatur; atque ea quæ jam conciliata est pax et concordia firmius et solidius coalescat. Hoc etenim est quod vas electionis, et Christi apostolus Paulus, hortatur, et admonet, dicens, "Cum patientia supportate vos invicem, soliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis. Unum corpus, unus spiritus; sicut et vocati etsis in una spe vocationis vestræ. Unus dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium; qui est per omnia, et super omnia, et in omnibus vobis."

Nos proinde eandem spiritus unitatem, cum Catholica Christi Ecclesia, retinentes articulos, de quibus postrema synodo Londoniensi inter ecclesiarum nostrarum proceres conveniebat, unanimi consensu comprobantes, atque veram, sanam, et Catholicam doctrinam ijsdem exprimi et explicari agnoscentes, optamus lupos omnes, qui Christi ovile dissipare, et simplices oviculas seducere conantur, ab ecclesiæ castris procul abarceri. Dilectos itaque nobis, et eruditos viros D. Jo. Yong, vicecancellarium nostrum, D. Gulielmum Glyn, Richardum Atkynson, Cuthbertum Scot, Thomam Watson, Albanum Langdale, et Thomam Segiswyck, theologiæ professores, atque Catholicæ fidei et academiæ nostræ alumnos, ad vos legare destinavimus: non quod doctrinam articulorum, in questionem et disputationem vocent, quam nos omni ambiguitate seposita, veram et orthodoxam esse agnoscimus; utpote quæ et aperto Dei verbo et consentientibus patrum testimonijs, et generalium conciliorum aucthoritate, fulciatur et confirmata si; sed ut nostro omnium nomine sanæ doctrinæ una vobiscum patrocinentur, atque orthodoxam fidem propugnent, et eos qui eidem adversantur, convincant, et hereticæ atque perversæ sententiæ authores refellant et refutent. Quales apud vos esse credimus Thomam Cranmerum, N. Ridley, et Hug. Latimerum, nuper episcopos, et academiæ nostræ, atque Christi ecclesiæ filios obedientes: nunc vero, sicut quidam referunt, quod nos dolentes scribimus, falsæ et corruptæ doctrinæ contumaces patronos. Quorum nos miserandum statum multum deploramus, mentem illis meliorem precantes, quo mutata sententia per resipiscentiam in matris ecclesiæ sinum simul sese recipiant. Quam quisquis non habuerit suam matrem, is Deum Patrem habere non poterit. Ut ergo vos intelligeretis, quæ nostra esset his de causis sententia, pios et eruditos hos viros ad vos publica authoritate nostra mittimus, atque has literas communi nostro sigillo sigillari fecimus. Christus Jesus vos vestramque illustrem academiam pietate et bonis literis florentem, ad veræ religionis augmentum, et corruptæ errorum profligationem perpetuo conservet, e senatu nostro 10 Aprilis 1554.

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[*] Foxij MSS.

Concordat cum originalibus literis missivis et procuratorijs.

Vestrum omnium in Christo amantissimi, vicecancellarius et regent. et non regent. senatus Cantabr.

## No. LXXIX.

*Cranmer's Letter to the Queen's Council after his Disputation at Oxon.**

In right humble wise sheweth unto your honorable lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's highnes for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the wil of our late soveraign lord King Edward VI. and what I spake against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honors and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify to your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford, against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first, of the real presence; secondly, of transubstantiation; and thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday against me; upon Tuesday against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday against Master Latimer. How the other two were ordered I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked, without order: and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument.

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* Foxes Actes [vol. vi. pp. 535, 536].

And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scantly be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofes, that they might answer us, being required by me therunto; wheras I my self have more to say, then can be wel discussed, as I suppose, in twenty dayes. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to al that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to al that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such hast, not to seek the truth, but to condemne us, that it must be done in post-hast, before the matters could be throughly heard—for in hast we were al three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment therof unto your wisdomes. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty; and I shal pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good lordships in al godlines and felicitie. April 23, [1554].

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## No. LXXX.

*The Lord Legates Commission to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, deputing them to absolve and dispense with the Clergy, in his stead; and absolve the Laity.**

### Commissio Domini Reginaldi Poli Legati de Latere.

REGINALDUS miseratione divina Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconus cardinalis Polus nuncupatus sanctissimi D. N. papæ et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges, et universum Angliæ regnum, de Latere legatus, venerabilibus ac nobis in Christo dilectis decano et capitulo ecclesiæ metropolitices Christi Cant. ad quos omnis et omnimoda jurisdictio spiritualis et ecclesiastica, quæ ad archiepiscopum Cant. sede plena pertinuit, ipsa sede jam vacante, notorie dinoscitur pertinere, seu eorum in spiritualibus vicario generali, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum sanctissimus in Christo pater dominus noster dominus Julius Divina Providentia papa tertius, inter alias facultates, pro hujus regni omniumque personarum in eo existentium sanctæ ecclesiæ reconciliatione facienda, necessarias nobis in hac nostra legatione concessas, hanc specialiter indulserit, ut quoscumque in hæresium et schismatis errores lapsos, ab eis et a quibuscunque censuris et pœnis propterea incursis, absolvere, et cum eis super irregularitate præmissorum occasione contracta dispensare, et alia multa ad hæc necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna facere: et hoc idem munus Catholicis locorum ordinarijs et alijs personis Deum timentibus, fide insignibus, et literarum scientia præditis demandare possumus, prout in ejus literis tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis, expeditis plenius continetur:

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* Registr. Eccles. Cant.

Cumque Dei benignitate, et serenissimorum regum pietate, regnum hoc universaliter, et omnes domini spirituales et temporales, aliæque personæ communitatum in eo, quod proxime celebratum est, parliamento congregatæ, singulariter primum, et deinde universum corpus cleri provinciæ Cantuariensis, et omnes fere personæ singulares dictum corpus repræsentantes, coram nobis existentes, aliæque pleræque fuerint sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ per nos ipsos reconciliatæ; speremusque fore, ut omnes aliæ, quæ reconciliatæ adhuc non sunt, reconciliari debeant: difficileque et potius impossibile sit, ut tam numerosa multitudo per manus nostras reconcilietur: ideoque vices nostras in hoc, locorum ordinarijs et alijs personis, ut supra qualificatis delegandas duximus:

Circumspectioni igitur vestræ, de cujus probitate et charitatis zelo plenam in Domino fiduciam obtinemus, authoritate apostolica nobis per literas ejusdem sanctissimi D. N. papæ, et per nos vobis nunc impensa, omnes et singulas utriusque sexus, tam laicas quam ecclesiasticas singulares, et quorumvis ordinum regulares vestræ civitatis, et dioceseos, personas, in quibusvis etiam sacris ordinibus constitutas, cujuscumque status et qualitatis existant, etiamsi capitulum, collegium, universitas, seu communitas fuerit, quarumvis hæresium aut novarum sectarum professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores et fautores ipsorum, suos errores agnoscentes, ac de illis dolentes, et ad orthodoxam fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognita in ipsis vera et non ficta aut non simulata pœnitentia, ab omnibus et singulis hæresium schismatis, et ab orthodoxa fide apostasiarum et blasphemiarum et aliorum quorumcunque similium errorum, etiam sub generali sermone non venientium, peccatis, criminibus, excessibus et delictis, (de quibus tamen jam inquisiti vel accusati seu condemnati non fuerint) et quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdictorum, et alijs ecclesiasticis et temporalibus sententijs, censuris et pœnis in eas præmissorum et infra scriptorum occasione ac jure, vel ab homine latis, vel promulgatis, etiamsi eis pluribus annis insorduerint, et earum absolutio dictæ sedi, etiam per literas in die cœnæ Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat; in utroque conscientiæ scil. et contentioso foro, eos vero qui jam inquisiti vel accusati aut condemnati fuerint, vel ut præfertur ad cor revertentes, in foro conscientiæ tantum, plenarie absolventes et liberantes;

Necnon cum eis super irregularitate per eos occasione præmissorum contracta, etiam quia sic legati missas et alia divina officia, etiam contra ritus et ceremonias hactenus probatas et usitatas, celebraverint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contracta: quodque irregularitate et alijs præmissis non obstantibus in suis ordinibus, etiam ab hæreticis et schismaticis episcopis, etiam minus rite, dummodo in eorum collatione ecclesiæ forma et intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, et in eorum susceptione etiam juramentum contra papatum Romanum præstiterint, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque quotcunque ac qualiacunque etiam curata, invicem tamen se compatientia beneficia secularia vel regularia (dignitatibus in collegiatis ecclesijs principalibus et in cathedralibus, etiam metropolitanis post pontificalem majoribus exceptis) etiam schismaticis episcopis, seu alijs collatoribus, etiam laicalis potestatis prætextu habita, authoritate apostolica retinere, dummodo alteri jus quæsitum non sit. Et non promoti ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines a suis ordinarijs, si digni et idonei reperti fuerint; rite et legitime promoveri, ac beneficia ecclesiastica, etiam curata, si eis alias canonice conferantur, recipere et retinere valeant, qualitate temporis, ministrorum defectu, et ecclesiæ necessitatibus utilitatibusque ita poscentibus, dispensandi et indulgendi, ac omnem inhabilitatis et infamiæ maculam sive notam ex præmissis quomodolibet insurgentem, penitus et omnino abolendi, necnon in pristinum, et eum, in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, statum; ita ut omnibus et singulis gratijs, privilegijs, favoribus et indultis, quibus cæteri Christi fideles gaudent, et gaudere quomodolibet possunt, uti et gaudere valeant; in omnibus, et per omnia, perinde ac si a fide Catholica nunquam in aliquo defecissent, restituendi, reponendi, et redintegrandi, ac eis (dummodo corde contriti) sua errata et excessus circumspectioni vestræ, seu alicui alteri per eos eligendo Catholico confessori sacramentaliter confiteantur, et pœnitentiam salutarem eis pro præmissis injungendam omnino adimpleant, omnem publicam confessionem, abjurationem, renunciationem et pœnitentiam jure debitas arbitrio vestro moderandi, vel in totum remittendi: necnon quoscunque regulares et religiosos, extra eorum regularia loca, absque Sedis Apostolicæ licentia, vagantes, ab apostasiæ reatu, alijsque censuris, et pœnis ecclesiasticis per eos propterea, etiam juxta suorum ordinum instituta, incursis, injuncta eis pro modo culpæ pœnitentia salutari, pariter absolvendi et super quacunque irregularitate propterea per eos contracta, aut cum eis, ut alicui curato beneficio de illius obtinentis consensu, etiam in habitu clerici sæcularis, habitum suum regularem sub honesta toga presbyteri sæcularis deferendo, deservire, et extra eadem loca regularia remanere, ad beneplacitum nostrum, libere et licite possunt, eadem autoritate apostolica, ob defectum ministrorum, et elias prædictas causas, dispensandi;

Ac quoscunque qui in sacris ordinibus constituti, matrimonia, etiam cum viduis et corruptis mulieribus de facto contraxerint, postquam mulieres sic copulatas rejecerint, illisque abjuraverint, ab hujusmodi excessibus et excommunicationis sententia imposita, eis pro modo culpæ pœnitentia salutari in forma ecclesiæ consueta, absolvendi, ac cum eis, postquam pœnitentiam peregerint, et continenter ac laudabiliter vivere cogniti fuerint, super bigamia propterea per eos contracta, ita ut ea non obstante, in quibusvis susceptis et suscipiendis ordinibus, etiam in altaris ministerio ministrare, ac alicui beneficio ecclesiastico, de illius obtinentis consensu, deservire, extra tamen diocesin, in qua fuerint copulati, eisdem de causis dispensando. Necnon parochialium ecclesiarum tuæ diocesios rectores sive curatos, de quorum fide, probitate, circumspectione, et charitatis zelo plena fiducia conspici possit, ad quarumcunque utriusque sexus suæ parochiæ, personarum laicarum tantum, absolutionem, et ecclesiæ Catholicæ reconciliationem (ut præfertur) autoritate apostolica faciendam: et siqui ex curatis prædictis ad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum defectum alias idoneas et sufficientes personas, quæ eorum vices suppleant, nominandi et deputandi: quos sic per vos nominatos et deputatos in locum nostrum, in præmissis absolutionibus et reconciliationibus, substituimus [eisque vices nostras subdelegamus plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica nobis (ut præmittitur) concessa, tenore præsentium concedimus facultatem vosque in præmissis omnibus in nostrum locum substituimus]: præmissis, ac regula de insordescentibus edita, et quibusvis alijs constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, et omnibus illis, quæ in literis prædictis sanctitas sua voluit non obstare, contrarijs non obstantibus quibuscunque præsentibus in præteritis casibus locum habentibus, et ad beneplacitum nostrum duraturis. Datum Lambethi prope Londinum, Wintoniensis diocœsis, anno a nativitate Domini MDLV. idibus Februarij, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Julij Divina Providentia papæ tertii anno 5to.

REG. CAR. POLUS Leg.

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## No. LXXXI.

### *The Lord Legates Instructions to the Bishops, in the performing of his orders about absolving their Clergy and Laity.**

SINGULI domini episcopi, necnon officiales ecclesiarum, quæ nunc vacant, pro executione eorum, quæ a reverendissimo domino legato sunt eis demandata, ordinem qui infrascriptus est, poterunt observare.

Primum, vocatum ad se totum singularum civitatum, quibus singuli præsunt, clerum, de hijs quæ sequuntur, instruere procurabunt.

De paterno amore et charitate, quam sanctissimus D. N. Julius papa tertius erga nationem Anglicam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit serenissimam Mariam fuisse reginam declaratam, reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum cardinalem Polum de suo latere, ad has partes legatum misit, ut regnum hoc, tot jam annos ab Ecclesia Catholica separatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, et in errores lapsos consolari, atque in Dei gratiam restituere studeret.

De ejusdem domini legati adventu; quanta lætitia et honore is acceptus fuit, tum a sereniss. regibus, tum ab alijs omnibus.

De hijs quæ in proximo parliamento acta et conclusa sunt. Scil. de omnibus dominis de parliamento, et universo regno a schismate et censuris incursis absolutis, et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ reconciliatis. De omnibus legibus, quæ contra authoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ et Romani pontificis fuerunt per Henricum VIII. et Edwardum VI. latæ et promulgatæ, revocatis et abolitis. De restituta sanctiss. N. D. papæ et Ecclesiæ Romanæ eadem obedientia, quæ ante hoc perniciosissimum schisma præstabatur.

De authoritate episcopis restituta; et maxime ut possint contra hæreticos et schismaticos procedere, et eos juxta canonicas sanctiones coercere et punire.

Hijs ita expositis, veniant ad facultates sibi ab eodem reverendiss. D. legato concessas, quæ recitentur: et hic omnes, qui in schisma et alios errores lapsi sunt, invitentur ad absolutionem et conciliationem humiliter ex toto corde petendam, necnon dispensationes, tam super ordinibus, quam super beneficijs necessariis et opportunas postulandas deinde præfigatur dies, intra quem dicti de clero humiles et pœnitentes compareant ad petendam suppliciter absolutionem, reconciliationem et dispensationes prædictas.

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* Registr. Eccles. Cant.

Idem vero domini episcopi, postquam illi omnibus erroribus suis renunciaverint, et promiserint sacramentaliter ipsis, aut alteri sacerdoti Catholico, confessuros esse errores suos et pœnitentiam sibi injungendam ad impleturos, eos absolvent, et ecclesiæ reconciliabunt, et cum ipsis juxta formam facultatum, pro petentium necessitatibus, prout sibi visum fuerit, dispensabunt: adhibendo semper convenientem distinctionem inter eos, qui solum in schisma et hereses inciderunt, et eos, qui eos etiam publice docuerunt, et alios ad peccandum adduxerunt.

Eodem die constituetur dies festus et solennis, in quo, adstante in ecclesia populi multitudine, domini episcopi, et omnes curati in ecclesijs suis omnia eadem, quæ clero jam exposita fuerunt, populo quoque insinuabunt, et omnes invitabunt, paterne et cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ gremium revertantur, promittendo fore, ut omnibus præterita crimina omnia condonentur, et remittantur, modo eos ex animo illorum pœniteat, et illis renuncient.

Præfigatur autem terminus, ut puta tota Pascatis octava, intra quem terminum omnes ecclesiæ reconcilientur. Alioqui eo lapso contra ipsos, et eos etiam, qui post reconciliationem ad vomitum reversi fuerint, severissime procedetur. Dicatur de facultate concessa a reverendiss. domino legato episcopis et alijs, ut absolvere possint omnes quicunque ad cor reversi fuerint.

Iidem domini episcopi et officiales nominabunt et deputabunt ecclesiarum parochialium rectores, seu alias personas idoneas, quæ laicos ab hæresi et schismate, et quibuscunque censuris absolvant juxta facultatum formam et tenorem, data per episcopos formula, qua in absolutione et reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterunt cum clero totius diocesios observari prout commodius visum fuerit.

Domini episcopi et officiales præfati, necnon omnes curati seu alij ad id deputati, habeant librum, in quo nomen et cognomen, et parochia omnium reconciliatorum inscribantur, ut postea sciatur, qui fuerint reconciliati, et qui non.

Idem domini episcopi et officiales octava Pascatis elapsa, poterint facere visitationem civitatis primo, dein dioceseos; et siqui non fuerint reconciliati, poterint ad se eos vocare, et cognoscere causas, propter quas ab erroribus suis nolunt recedere. Et si in eis obstinate perseveraverint, tum contra eos procedent.

In hac facienda visitatione attendant diligenter, quæ in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, et maxime faciant, ut omnes ecclesiasticæ personæ ostendant titulos suorum ordinum et beneficiorum; ut si in ijs aliquis alius defectus notetur, illis provideant, et omni studio procurent, ut errores, quibus dioceses eorum sint infectæ, extirpentur, et veritas fidei tum in concionibus, tum in confessionibus doceatur, deputando personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, et confessiones audiendas id etiam curent, ut sacrorum canonum instituta in omnibus observentur, et nomen divi Thomæ Martyris, necnon sanctiss. domini nostri papæ ex libris dispunctum, in illis restituatur, et pro eo secundum morem ecclesiæ, ut ante schisma fiebat, oretur.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit ante omnia facienda commemoratio miseriarum, et infelicitatis præteritorum temporum et magnæ gratiæ, quam nunc Deus pro sua misericordia populo huic exhibuit: hortando omnes ad hæc grato animo cognoscenda, et infinitas gratias divinæ ipsius bonitati assidue agendas.

Hortandi sunt etiam omnes, ut devote orent Deum pro salute et felici statu horum serenissimorum et de hoc regno optime meritorum, ac merentium regum, et specialiter pro felici partu sereniss. et pijssimæ reginæ.

### *Formula Absolutionis.*

Dominus noster Jhesus Christus, summus Pontifex per suam pijssimam misericordiam, et clementiam vos cruore suo preciosissimo redemptos, de ineffabili sua pietate, ab omnibus peccatis per vos commissis, misericorditer absolvat. Et ego authoritate apostolorum divi Petri et Pauli, ac Sedis Apostolicæ mihi commissa, vos et vestrum quemlibet ab omnibus peccatis, criminibus, excessibus, et delictis, atque ab omni hæresi, schismate, apostasia, irregularitate, et quocunque errore vestris; necnon a juramento contra papatum Romanum per vos præstito; et a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdictorum et alijs sententijs, censuris et pœnis ecclesiasticis a jure vel ab homine latis, per vos ratione præmissorum incursis et contractis, absolvo, ac communioni fidelium, et S. sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ sacramentis restituo, reduco et redintegro. In nomine Patris et Filij et Sp. Sancti. Amen.

## No. LXXXII.

### *An Italian to his friend, concerning Car. Pole.**

NONNE solitus fuisti affirmare, cardinalem illum tuum Polum optime nosse justificationem sola fide in Christum? mirifice cupere promotam doctrinam nostram, quam mundus odit? Expectare autem tempus atque occasionem, qua se patefaciat? Certe audivi ego te centies omnia hæc affirmantem, atque audierunt quotquot erant tibi aliqua necessitate conjuncti, et gustarunt bonum Dei verbum. Quum aliquis eorum aliquando quereretur, diceretque se non posse ferre Polum ita esse addictum papis, atque ita palam, et tam malo exemplo consentire quotidie missis, atque alijs illicitis cultibus, tu solebas prodire et affirmare, illam esse dissimulationem ad tempus, sed patefacturum se brevi, magno cum fructu ecclesiarum Dei. Annon desines nunc ita de illo sentire ac loqui? Non objicies patrocinium tam injustæ causæ? Non fateberis una nobiscum, Polum tuum aut veritatis et pietatis studium abjecisse, et peccare in Sp. Sanctum ad mortem, aut nunquam serio in religione egisse? Ea vero colloquia, quæ apud eum aliquando instituebantur de Christo, de Evangelio, de viva fide et de justificatione, huc spectasse, ut nobis tandem pulchre imponeret? O miserum illum, et infelicem! Proh! quam atrociter læsit æternam Dei, Christi et Sp. Sancti majestatem, atque omnes piorum ecclesias? Nam in regno

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* Ex Balæi Centurijs. [Catal. illustr. vir. p. 739.]

Angliæ docebatur, et summa cum lætitia audiebatur, justificatio sola fide in Christum, satisfactio peccatorum per Christum, certitudo salutis nostræ per Christum, vera pœnitentia, vera absolutio, verus ac legitimus usus sacramentorum, atque aliæ hujusmodi doctrinæ, omnino conformes propheticis, evangelicis, apostolicisque oraculis, atque usui veteris Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, ita ut essent inde sublati, extirpatique illi fœdissimi abusus, abominabilesque superstitiones atque idolomaniæ, quæ scatent, regnantque in papatu. Cum vero ageretur de his fæcibus rursus in illud regnum invehendis, divinis vero doctrinis abolendis, Polus tuus obtulit hic suam operam, quia speravit se autoritate et gratia plurimum illic valiturum. Ac statim regnum ingressus est, præcedente scilicet idolo crucis et cum omni illa pompa atque abominatione, qua legati antichristi uti solent. Populo vero imperavit in palatium convenire, genua flectere ante se. (quin et rex et regina una procubuerunt in genua, nec puduit illum antichristi vicarium id sustinere.) Ubi autem populum admonuit hactenus a vera fide deviasse, atque hæreticum fuisse, addidit se absolutionem papalem velle impartiri, eumque sanctæ Rom. Ecclesiæ reconciliare: et confestim erecta manu, cruceque illata, populum ipsum absolvit, id est, arripuit atque avulsit, (quantum in se quidem fuit,) a studio veræ pietatis, ac ipsiusmet veritatis. Arripuit, inquam, atque avulsit e sinu atque custodia ipsius veri pastoris Dom. nostri Jesu Christi, projecitque recte in sentinam pristinorum abusuum atque errorum, et sub meram tyrannidem antichristi insigni proditione posuit. Quid potest sceleratius, quid horribilius excogitari? Præsertim de homine, qui favere nostræ causæ aliquando visus est. Annon agnosces nunc, quem virum tandiu et tantopore, colueris, et pæne ut divinum aliquod numen adoraveris? Annon desines tandem?

Quum tuus ille amicus nuper sub nomine Athanasij edidisset scholia in orationem ipsius Poli, in qua Evangelium vocaret semen Turcicum, principes vero Germaniæ Turcas, tu mire tergiversationibus cardinalem defendebas; indignissimum putabas, qui ita vexaretur: quin jurabas, eum longe aliter nunc sentire, quicquid aliquando sensisse visus fuerit. At quo pacto poteris excusare, quod nunc in Anglia gessit? Adde multorum literis nuntiari, restitutam illic fuisse statuam divo (ut ipsi inquiunt) Thomæ Cantuariensi, proditori olim sui regis pessimo. Proh Deum immortalem! hocne etiam tuus Polus potest pati? Sed Dei beneficio factum esse audio, et nunc caput illi imagini amputatum sit, et corpus in partes disceptum.

Quin adde, agi nunc in misera illa Anglia de lupanaribus etiam restituendis. Sed quidni? Quemadmodum enim umbra corpus, sic prostibula ac reliquæ fædidates ac vitia, in primis vero idola, papatum consequuntur. Sed audi reliqua, audi quæ Filius Dei non poterat legere, quin adhuc magis perhorrescat, ac intimis medullis contremiscat. Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, una cum tribus quatuorve alijs episcopis vere pijs ac sanctis, qui justificationem vera fide in Christum, gratuitamque peccatorum remissionem docuerat, exutus archiepiscopatu, et deterrimo carcere conjectus, vitam degens in tenebris, in squallore, in egestate, singulis horis gladium carnificis expectans, tum demum igne absumptus est, tyrannide certe inaudita. Joannes Hopperus Vuigorniensis episcopus, et D. Joannes Rogers, et

Doctor Rolandus Taylerus, veri martyres Christi, passi sunt ignes constantissime.

Contra Stephanus Gardinerus falso episcopus Vuintoniensis (nam Joannes Ponetus verus illius ecclesiæ pastor, et verus servus Jesu Christi exulat) cum octo aut decem alijs episcopis impijs et sanguinarijs, qui Evangelium atque ipsissimum Christum fuerant acerrime insectati, nunc sub cardinali tuo Polo, in summo splendore, summisque divitijs et luxibus illic regnant. Ecce itaque Christum in vinculis, omni infamiæ ac tormentorum genere confectum, exutum vestibus, et tanquam ovem ductam ad macellum. Et vicissim ecce Barabbam latronem, alijsque tragicis facinoribus coopertum, liberatum, exultantem, et ferocientem. Atque ecce milites dividentes inter se spolia Christi. Ecce, inquam, ecce, ut videmus, accidere membris eademmet, quæ capiti nostro Christo acciderunt. Necesse enim est ut simus conformes imagini ejus.

In summa, tuus cardinalis regnat et triumphat, fruiturque honoribus fere papalibus, fruitur actione gratiarum, gratulatione ac gloria ex tota Rom. curia, atque ex omni regno hypocritarum : denique fruitur spe potiundi pontificatus. Verum ego illi vicissim nuntio, omnes eos qui spiritum Dei sentiunt, (atque hi sunt nostra ætate plures, quam ille forte putet, et quotidie crescit numerus) cogi pejus de illo sentire, ac loqui, quam aut de ipso Julio III. aut de quovis alio dissolutiore et sceleratiore cardinale. Quandoquidem tum antichristus ille, tum reliqui ex cardinalium grege, aut potius armento, palam atque aperte nobiscum pugnarunt : et nunc imprimis pugnant : quia victoria Poli eos reddit insolentiores. Polus vero insidijs, ac sub prætextu pietatis : quamobrem cum hac ætate, ac in reliqua posteritate, rasi et uncti, atque id genus hypocritarum encomijs ac laudibus illum onerabunt, celebrabuntque, omnes piorum ecclesiæ non poterunt non queri, se tam indigne fuisse delusas ab eo. Quamquam esset id Polo utcunque ferendum, si nullam aliam pœnam experturus esset, præter dedecoris atque infamiæ sempiternæ. Alia enim eum manet multo gravior. O! iterum illum miserum, infelicemque : nam non multo post justissimi Dei nostri ira et vindicta aget, aget illum præcipitem in profundum abyssi ; ubi cum diabolo atque angelis ejus, sempiterno igne cruciabitur.

Illud vero hic addere opus est. Nam sedes illa Rom. stulte sibi persuasit fore, ut nunc tota Germania redeat ad ejus obedientiam ; scilicet, quia videt Angliam utcunque redijsse : partim circumventam multis fallacijs dolisque, partim aperte vi coactam. Quare cum audierit comitia Augustæ celebrari, ex toto cardinalium grege selegit Moronum, quem mitteret eo legatum, hominem, qui in agnoscenda et persequenda veritate persimilis est Card. Polo. Ab eo itaque expectandæ sunt similes fallaciæ, similis hypocrisis, atque impietas : ut non lac lacti magis simile sit : qui unum videt, alterum videt.

## No. LXXXIII.

*Bradford to Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, concerning the Freewillers, about* 1554.*

To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, Dr. Latimer, prisoners in Oxford, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, and His holy Gospel.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father more and more kindle your hearts and affections with His love; that our greatest cros may be to be absent from Him, and strangers from our home, and that we may godly contend more and more to please Him. Amen.

[As always I have had great cause to praise our dear Father through Christ, so methinks I have more and more, in seeing more likely the end of my life (which is due for my sin,) to be through the exceeding grace of Christ a testimony of God's truth. Thus the Lord dealeth not with every body; not that every body hath not more deserved at God's hands than I, which have deserved more vengeance than any other, I know, of my time and state; but that by me I hope the Lord will make the riches of his grace, to his glory, to be seen more excellent. With me therefore I humbly beseech you all, my most dear fathers in God, to give thanks for me; and, as you do, still to pray for me that the Lord, as for his love's sake in Christ he hath begun his good work in me, even so, of and for the same his love's sake in Christ, he would make it perfect, and make me continue to the end—as I hope he will, for his mercy and truth endureth for ever.]

As for your parts, in that it is commonly thought your staff standeth next the door, yee have the more cause to rejoyce, and be glad, as they which shal come to your fellowes under the altar: to the which society God, with you, bring me also, in His mercy, when it shall be His good plesure.

I have received many good things from you, my good lord, master and dear father, N. Ridley; fruits I mean, of your godly labours. Al which I send unto you again by this bringer [Augustin Bernher]: one thing except, which he can tell, I do keep upon your further plesure to be known therin. And herewithal I send unto you a little treatise, which I have made, that you might peruse the same; and not only you, but also ye, my other most dear and reverend fathers in the Lord for ever, to give your approbation as ye may think good. Al the prisoners hereabouts, in maner, have seen it, and read it: and as therin they aggre with me, nay rather with the truth, so they are ready, and wil be, to signify it, as they shal se you give them example. The matter may be thought not so necessary, as I seem to make it. But yet if ye knew the great evil, that is like hereafter to come to the posterity by these men, as partly this bringer can signify unto you, surely then could ye not but be most willing to put hereto your helping hands. The which thing that I might the more occasion you to perceive, I have sent you here a writing of Harry Harts own hand; wherby ye may see, how Christ's glory and grace is like to loose much light, if [that] your sheep *quondam* be not something holpen by them that love God, and are able to prove that al good is to be attributed only and wholly to God's grace and mercy in Christ, without other respect of worthines then Christ's merits. The effects of salvation they so mingle and confound with the cause, that if it be not seen to, more hurt will come by them than ever came by the papists; inasmuch as their life commendeth them to the world more then the papists. God is my witnes, that I write not this, but because I would God's glory, and the good of His people. In free wil they are plain papists, yea, Pelagians: and ye know that "modicum fermenti totam massam corrumpit." They utterly contemn al learning.* But hereof shal this bringer show you more. As to the chief captains therefore of Christ's church here, I complain of it unto you: as truly I must do of you even unto God in the last day, if ye wil not, as ye can, help something, "ut veritas doctrinæ maneat apud posteros" in this behalf; as ye have done on the behalf of matters expugned by the papists. God for His mercy in Christ guide you, [my] most dearly beloved fathers, with His Holy Spirit here and in al other things, as most may make to His glory, and the commodity of His Church. Amen.

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* [Coverdale] Martyrs Letters, [pp. 273—275].

Al here, God therfore be praised, prepare themselves willingly to pledg our captain Christ, even when He wil, and how He wil. By your good prayers we shal al fare the better; and therefore we al pray you to cry to God for us, as we, God willing, do and wil remember you. My brethren, here with me, have thought it their duty to signify this need to be no less, than I make it, to prevent the plantations which may take root by these men.

Yours in the Lord,
ROBERT FERRAR. JOHN BRADFORD.
ROWLAND TAYLOR. JOHN PHILPOT.

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## No. LXXXIV.

### *The Prisoners for the Gospel, their Declaration concerning K. Edward's Reformation.*†

To the King and Queens most excellent Majesties, with their most honorable high Court of Parlament.

WE poor prisoners for Christs religion, require your honours, in our dear Saviour Christs name, earnestly now to repent, for that you have consented of late to the unplaceing of so many godly lawes, set furth touching the true religion of Christ before, by two most noble kings, being father and brother to the queens highnes, and aggreed upon by al your consents; not without your great and many deliberations, free and open disputations, costs and paines taking in that behalf, neither without great consultations, and conclusions, had by the greatest learned men in the realm, at Windsor, Cambridg and Oxford, neither without the most willing consent, and allowing of the same by the whole realm throughly: so that there was not one parish in al England, that ever desired again to have the Romish superstitions and vaine service, which is now by the popish, proud, covetous clergy placed again, in contempt not only of God, al heaven, and al the Holy Ghostes lessons in the blessed Bible: but also against the honors of the said two most noble kings, against your own country, fore aggreements, and against al the godly consciences within this realm of England, and elsewhere. By reason wherof Gods great plagues must needs follow, and great unquietnes of consciences; besides al other persecutions and vexations of bodies and goods, must needs ensue. Moreover we certify your honours, that since your said unplaceing of Christs true religion, and true service, and placing in the room therof antichrists Romish superstition, heresy and idolatry, al the true preachers have been removed, and punished, and that with such open robbery, and cruelty, as in Turkey was never used, either to their own countrimen, or to their mortal enemies.

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* [This is well known to all those who have had to do with them, in disputations or otherwise: for the writings and authority of the learned they have utterly rejected and despised.]

† Foxii MSS.

This therfore our humble suit is now to your honourable estates, to desire the same, for al the mercies sake of our dear and only Savior Jesus Christ, and for the duty you owe to your native country, and to your own souls, earnestly to consider from what light to what darknes this realm is now brought, and that in the weightiest, chief and principal matter of salvation, of al our souls and bodies everlasting, and for ever more. And even so we desire you at this your assembly, to seek some effectual reformation for the afore written most horrible deformation in this church of England. And touching your selves we desire you in like maner, that we may be called before your honors; and if we be not able both to prove and approve by the Catholic and canonical rules of Christs true religion, the church homilies and service set furth in the most innocent K. Edwards days; and also to disallow and reprove, by the same authorities, the service now set furth, since his departing; then we offer our bodies, either to be immediately burned, or else to suffer whatsoever other painful and shameful death, that it shal please the king and queens majesties to appoint. And we think this trial and probation may be now best, either in the plain English tongue by writing, or otherwise by disputation in the same tongue. Our Lord for His great mercy sake grant unto you al the continual assistance of His good and Holy Spirit. Amen.

## No. LXXXV.

*John Fox to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Queen Maries time: relating to the persecution.**

Ut singularis vigilantia vestra cum pari conjuncta prudentia, neutiquam eget consilijs aut documentis meis, proceres et patres inspiciendi, ita nihil vicissim a pudore ac verecundia mea alienius esse possit, quam summates viros ulla in re interpellare literis. At utinam

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* Foxii MSS.

hunc naturæ affectum, ut hactenus, perpetuo tueri liceret. Nunc vero ubi in eas difficultates, ceu inter Symplegadas, incidimus, ut neque obticescere sine impietate, nec loqui sine periculo liceat, considerabit, opinor, prudentia vestra non tam quid me deceat, quam quid officij exigat ratio. Quoque gravior sit ad scribendum causa, hoc faciliorem spero impetrabit veniam audacia. Equidem nihil addubito, quum eximia authoritas vestra divinæ cujusdam potentiæ vicariam nobis imaginem representat in terris, semper et egit sedulo, et actura est, ut cum dignitate vestra, simul publica totius ditionis vestræ tranquillitas salusque contineatur. Quid enim aliud vel ab amplissimo hoc loco expectare, vel de singulari vigilantia vestra suspicari convenit, quam a vobis, qui patres sitis reip. paratissima fore omnia, sicubi vel auxilij fidem, vel juvandi voluntatem res communis desiderabit, ut neque facultati vestræ quicquam adjici, nec in voluntate quicquam desiderari poterit. Atque enimvero si in ijs duntaxat sita esset reip. administratio, quæ per se satis possent humanæ prudentiæ præsidia moderari, nimis insanire videretur, qui vos monendo instituere, hoc est, solem meridianum luce ascititia illustrare speraret. Quanquam ne id quidem sapientia, opinor, vestra postulabit sibi, hujusmodi censeri vos, qui non communi conditione nati cum cæteris, pariter cum reliquis mortalibus, etsi minus fortasse, at nonnunquam tamen, labi atque exorbitare possitis: etiamsi humana forent maxime, atque intra proprij ingenij vires clausa, quæ ageretis.

Nunc vero cum omnis reip. gubernatio divini sit, magnaque ejus pars in religionis versetur tractatione, longe supra humanum captum ardua, ut alteram partem vobis lubenter tribuimus, ita in altera societatem aliquam consilij haud omnino estis, opinor, aspernaturi: præsertim cum id non tam fiducia arrogantiæ aliqua facimus, quam temporis atque officij necessitate impulsi. Quis enim, vos obtestor, gravissimi patres, ferat; quis non deploret; quem non ad gemitus, ad lacrymas pertrahat, tametsi Angliam nunquam viderit, tantum in Anglia fundi Christiani sanguinis; tot cives ingenuos, tot liberales et innocentes promiscue cum fœminis viros, capite ac fortunis quotidie periclitari, cædi, exuri, laniari; prope sine modo et numero? Quod si barbari ex ultima Turcia barbarosa, aut exteræ nationis ferus hostis aliunde irrumpens in Angliam, tantam hanc gentis nostræ stragem designasset, haud minor fortasse calamitas, aut minor profecto esset querimonia. Sævitiam etsi omnino per se gravem, nationis tamen minuerit distinctio. Nunc quorum saluti apud vos potissimum esse perfugium conveniebat, eosdem vos ipsi capi, exagitari, discerpi, dilacerari, Angli Anglos, magistratus subditos, Christiani Christianos, cernitis et toleratis. Quique nuper sub Edwardi auspicatissimi principis divino imperio florentissima tranquillitate, cum domum vitæ non securitate modo, sed voluptate etiam utebantur, nunc ijdem invertente se rerum humanarum scena, miseris cruciatibus vitam, quam tueri nequeunt, deserere coguntur: non quia vita aut mores mutati ipsorum, sed quia duntaxat tempora mutata sunt.

Et ubi interim ἐπιεικεία illa Paulina, ubi clementia vestra, mitissimi proceres, ubi inveterata illa semperque laudata etiam erga hostes, Anglorum pietas, si in vestros tam efferi tamque exitiales esse velitis?

Scio ingeniorum immensam ac infinitam prope varietatem esse in mundo ; apud homines haud secus quam apud belluas. Quidam natura mitiores. Contra sunt, quos natos sævitiæ dixeris, ac truculentiæ. Alij consuetudine prava hoc vitio delectantur. Nonnulli rursus ab alijs, ceu contagium, accipiunt. Verum utcunque alijs aliud natura insevit, certe nihil viris generosis tam proprium ac genuinum, nihil naturæ ipsorum (si naturæ tueri velint) quadrans magis, quam generosa quædam indoles ac morum ingenuitas : quæ prosit omnibus, officiat nemini, nisi lacessita foret. Ac ne tum quidem, nisi coacta magis, quam sua sponte : idque magis reip. ratione, quam sua sævitia : ac ne tum quidem sui oblivisci potest generosa pietas, semper ad salutem miserorum, quam perniciem intentior ; excusans, patrocinans, sublevans, relinquens, quo misericordiæ cognoscentiæ esse locus possit.

Ecquæ hæc nunc tanta hominum, ne dicam, an temporum degeneratio, in viros, non improbos modo, sed innocenti ac inculpata vita, a quibus nemo unquam læsus vestrum, aut lacessitus sit, publice simul ac privatim bonos, sic inardescere sævitiam quorundam, ut nulla sit hostium natio tam barbara, ubi non tutius conquiescant, quam apud suos ? Quondam apud priscos Romanos plusquam sontium censebatur, quod civem in discrimen adduceret capitis ; ubi et octo erant suppliciarum genera, quorum mors, ut ultima, ita nisi clarissima, non indicebatur : quid quod ne tum quidem deerant etiam vitæ defensores, ac libera apud populum actio. Ex quo effectum est, ut eloquentiæ studium tanto in honore ac usu apud omnes esse, ut urbem prope universam ad sui contentionem excitaret. Tantus in gentilitio populo patriæ amor, ac salutis cura, apud patricios vigebat viros, quorum omnis fere laus in conservandis quamplurimis cerneretur. Atque istos nondum ulla religionis imbuerat gratia, tantum natura ipsa, ac literarum humanitas ad tantam excolere potuit civilitatem. Et o brutorum jamdudum in Anglia extinctum genus, quod apud ethnicos natura, quod literæ valuerunt civiles, non idem valebit pietas, non Evangelij vigor, non a Christo inculcata toties impetrabit charitas ; quin ob quamlibet levem causam, aut nullam potius, ad pœnas rapiuntur, adeo frigescente ubique charitate, ut haud sciam, an hoc ipsum capitale futurum sit, quod pro afflictis fratribus mutire audeam ; idemque in hac re eveniat mihi, quod Justino olim, pro Christianis ἀπολογῶντι qui dum pro martyribus deprecatur, fit et ipse martyr.

## No. LXXXVI.

*Dr. Ridley late Bishop of London to West, formerly his steward, who had complyed with the Romish religion.**

I WISH you grace in God, and love of the trueth. Without the which truly established in mans heart by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christs cause, in the time of tribulation, then it is for wax to abide the heat of the fire.

Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded that this

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* Foxii MSS. [C.C.C.C. MS. No. cv. fol. 323 *et seq.*]

world is but transitory, as S. John saith, "Mundus transit et concupiscentia ejus."* I am persuaded Christs words to be true, "Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, I wil confes him before my Father, which is in heaven."† And I believe that no earthly creature shal be saved, whom the Redeemer and Savior of the world shal before his Father deny. This the Lord grant that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present, or to come, high or low, life or death, be able to remove.

It is a godly wish that yee wish me depely to considre things perteinyng to Gods honor and glory. But if ye had wished also, that neither fear of death, or hope of worldly prosperity shuld let me to maintein Gods word, and His truth, which is His glory and true honour, it wold have liked me very wel.

You desire me for Gods sake to remembre my self. Indeed, sir, now it is time for me so to do. For so far as I can perceyve, it standeth me of no les daunger, then of the los both of body and soule: and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing wil awake him. He that wil not fear Him, that threatneth to cast body and soule into everlasting fire, whom wil he fear? Oh Lord, fasten thou together our frayl flesh, that we never swarve from thy lawes.

You say, you have made much sute for me. Sir, God graunt, that you have not, in sueing for my worldly deliverance, empaired or hindred the furtheraunce of Gods word and his truth.

You have knowen me long indede, in the which time it hath chaunced me to mislyke some things. It is true, I graunte. For sodeine chaunges without substantial and necessary causes, and the heady setting furth of extremities, I did never love. Confession to the minister, which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and enform the weak and ignorant consciences, I have ever thought might do much good in Christs congregation. And so I assure you I do think, even at this day.

My doctrin and my preaching, you say, you have heard oft: and after your judgment, have thought it godly, saving of the sacrament. Which thing, although it was of me reverendly handled, and a great deal better than of the rest, as you say, yet in the margent you write (warily, and in this world wysely) thus: "And yet methought, not al soundly." Wel, sir, but I see so many chaunges in the world, and so much alteration, or els at this your saying, I wold not a litle mervayl. I have taken you for my trustie freynd, and a man, whom I fantasied for plainness and faithfulnes, as much, I ensure you, as for your learning. And have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I considre mo things than one; and wil not say al that I think. But what need you to care what I thynke, for any thing that I shal be able to do unto you either good or harm?

You geve me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain glory. Truly, sir, herein I like your counsel very wel; and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my lyves end.

To write to them whom you name, I cannot se what it wil avayle me.

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* 1 Joan. 2.

† Matt. 10.

For this I wold now have you know it, I esteme nothing avaylable for me, which also wil not set furth the glory of God.

And now because I perceive you have an entyre zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivitie, and worldly misery; if I shuld not bear you a good heart in God again, methynk I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure hence out of this world is at hand I cannot tel. The Lords wil be fulfilled. How soon soever it shal come, I know the Lords words must be verified on me, that I shal appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be countable to Him of al my former lyfe. Athough the hope of his mercy is my shote ankor of eternal salvation: yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lyvely faith in his mercy. Conscience moveth me, considering you were one of my family and of my household, (of whom then I thynke I had a special cure, and of all them which were in my house, which indede ought to have been an example of godlines to al the rest of my cure, not only in godly life, but also in promoting of Gods word, to thuttermost of their power: but now alas! when the trial doth separate the corn from the chaff, how smal a deyl it is God knoweth, which the wynde doth not blow away:) this conscience, I say, doth move me to have fear, lest the lightnes of my family shal be layd unto me, for lack of more earnest and diligent instructions, which shuld have been doon. But blessed be God, which hath geven me grace to se my default, and to lament it from the bottome of my heart, before my departure hence. This conscience also doth move me now to require both you, and my freynd Dr. Harvy, to remembre your promises made to me in time past, of the pure setting furth and preaching of Gods word and his truth. These promises, although you shal not nede to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world; yet look for none other, I exhort you as my freynds, but to be charged with them at Gods hand.

This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, byddeth me now say to you both in Gods name: Fear God, and love not the world; for God is able to cast both body and soul into hel fire. "Cum exarserit in brevi ira ejus, beati omnes," saith the Psalme, "qui confidunt in eo."* And the saying of S. John is true, "Quicquid est in mundo, veluti concupiscentia carnis, et concupiscentia oculorum, et fastus vitæ, non ex Patre, sed ex mundo est. Et mundus transit, et concupiscentia ejus. Qui autem facit voluntatem Dei manet in æternum."† If these gifts of grace, which undoubtedly are necessarily required unto eternal salvation, were truly and unfeignedly grafted, and firmely stablished in mens hearts, they wold not be so light, so sodaynly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as it is now, alas! seen so manifestly, of so many in these dayes.

But here peradventure ye wold know of me, what is the truth. Sir, Gods word is the truth, as S. John saith, and it is even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and chaunge, as the moon, yet Gods word is stable and abydeth for evermore. And of Christ it is truly said, "Christus heri et hodie, idem etiam in secula."*

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* Psal. 2.

† 1 Joan. 2.

When I was in office, al, that were esteemed for learned men in Gods word, aggreed this to be a truth in Gods word written: that the common prayers of the Church shuld be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure you, I never found man, so far as I do remembre, neyther old nor new Gospeller or papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of Gods word, think you, that the alteration of the world can make it now an untruth? If it cannot, why do men, so many, shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth, once received of us al? For what is it I pray you, else to confes or deny Christ in this world, but to confes and maintain the truth taught in Gods word, nor for any worldly respect to shrynke from the same? This one have I brought but for an example. Other things be in like case, which now particularly I nede not to rehearse. For he that wil forsake wittingly, eyther for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of Gods word, if he be strayned, he wil assuredly forsake God and al his truth, rather then he wil endaunger hymself eyther to loose, or to leave that he loveth indede better, then he doth God and the truth of his word.

I lyke therin very wel, your plain speaking, wherin you say, I must eyther aggree or dy: and I thynk you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must dy, whether I aggree, or no. But what folly were it then to make such an aggreement, by the which I could never escape this death, which is so common to al: and also I might incur the guilt of eternal death and damnation?

Lord graunt, that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable aggreement so long as I lyve.

And because I dare say, you wrot of frendship to me this short ernest advertisement, and I think verily wyshing me to lyve, and not to dy: therfore bearing you in my heart no less love in God, then you do me in the world; I say to you *in verbo Domini*, that except you, (and this I say to you I say to al my frends and lovers in God) except ye confes and mainteyn, to your power and knowledg, thyngs which be grounded upon Gods word, but wil eyther for fear, or gayn of the world, shrynke and play the *apostata*, indede you shal dy the death. You understand what I mean. And I beseech you, and al my true freynds and lovers in God, remembre what I say. For this peradventure may be the last time, that ever I shal write to you. From Bocardo in Oxenford, theighth day of April, anno 1554.

Yours in Christ,
NICOLAS RYDLEY.

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* Heb. 13.

## No. LXXXVII.

*John Hopton Bishop of Norwich, to the Earl of Sussex, giving account of the joy conceived, and Te Deum sung, for the newes of the Queens being brought to bed of a noble Prince.*[*]

RIGHT honorable, and my singuler good lord. After mine humble commendations, with lyke thanks for your honorable and gentle lettres sent to me, towchyng the behaviour of the curate of Olde Bokenham, and the reformation of other enormytyes there; it may plese you to understand, that I did send immediately for the sayde curate, the church-wardeyns and the quest-men there. And upon their appearaunce with twelve or fourteen of the most substancyall men of the parish, and upon due examynacyon, I coude perceyve none other thyng, but all thyngs to be well, and decentlye ordered, and provydyd for at thys hooly tyme of Eastre, contrary to the information gyven to your good lordshyppe. And yf there had been any thing amys, they shuld have been punyshed according to theyr demerytes. Beseching your good lordshippe, if any further knowledg coome to you, ayther for that town, or any other, concerning the reformacion of my jurisdiction, or the negligence of myne offycers, that I may be advertysed therof, and have your favorable ayd and assystance. And I shall doo the best I can for my dyscharge.

And where it pleased youre honorable lordshipe to wylle me to take a dynner, or a supper with you in the tyme of my vysytation, I humble thank you therfor moost hartelye. Beseching your lordshipe, whan occasion shall serve you to vysyte thys cytye, that ye wyl vouchsafe to take thys my poore house at your commandment; wherunto your lordshipe shalbe as welcoome as to your own.

Further, I undrestond that Mr. Mayre here hathe certyfyed your lordshipe of the sodein good newes brought to us by one of the cytye, of the quenes highnes most joyfull deliverance of a nooble prince. Wherupon to laud God *Te Deum* was solempnly songen in the cathedrall churche, and other places of the cytye, with woonderfull joy and much gladnes of all people throughe owte all thooll cytye, and the countrye therabowtes. And yf ye have any further knowledge therof, I beseche your honorable lordshipe, that I maye be partaker of the same by thys bringer, my servant, whom I send purposely therfor, as knoweth thHooly Goost; who preserve your lordshipe in contynuall helthe and honor. At Norwich, the thred of Maye 1555.

Your lordships assuredlie,
JOHN NORWYCHE.

*Post scripta.* I receyved even nowe knowledge from a friend of mine of two wyttenes more of the goode and joyful newes above wrytten, as this said brynger can declare to your goode lordeshyppe.

JOHN NORWYCH.

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[*] Cotton Library, Titus B. 2, fol. 160.

## No. LXXXVIII.

### *A Proposition in the Convocation against Residence. With Reasons for the said Proposition: and Remedies against Non-residence.**

Decretum perpetuæ Residentiæ juxta Canonum Sanctiones optant pij, sed multa sunt, quæ hodie impediunt, quo minus suum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota consequatur.

*The Reasons.*

I. The statutes of the kingdome, not disallowed, as we hear, by the pope, do permit to the barons, and other great men of the kingdome, a certain number of priests, having cure of souls.

II. Not only the statutes of the kingdom, but the canons do permit bishops a certain number of fellow workers, to assist them.

III. Bishops and prelates, who by reason of thier great learning, prudence, integrity of life, and high faith, are chosen to be the kings counsillors, and whose counsils are very necessary for the restoring of religion, ought not, as it seems, to be compelled to perpetual residence.

IV. When the barons and other great men may be retained in the orthodox faith, by the doctrin, honesty, age and frequent exhortations of reverend men, it seems not convenient, that such men should be driven from them; provided they do reside a good part of the year upon their churches.

V. Since the dispensation of two or three benefices hath been granted by former princes to some priests, for the merit of their life and maners, they cannot without injury be deprived of them; nor yet can they in al respects reside personally and perpetually.

VI. When many have designed their sons for the universities, and have been at no smal charges to give them learning, because they have entertained good hope, that they might hereafter be assistant to their friends and relations: this hope being gone, their care about this matter wil also grow cold, otherwise of it self cold enough. For as he said, "Where there is no honor, there is no art."

VII. The houses of the rectories in many places are either ruined, or none at al, or let out by indentures.

Going to the Court of Rome.
Going to a general Councel.
Going to a Synod, or Parlament.
Violent detaining.

*Remedies.*

That there be a les number of those that follow the court, who heap up benefices upon benefices.

That they who have many benefices, reside a certain time upon each.

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* C.C.C.C. Libr. Synodolia [No. cxxi. fol. 5, i. and k].

That a way be found, wherby such as live in towns and cities may be forced to pay personal tiths. Which being now almost quite taken away, the benefices in such places are in a great part lessened.

When some of the bishops, by reason of the slendernes of their possessions, cannot afford stipends to the priests, their fellow laborers, that they who serve them reside for a certain time of the year in their own parishes.

That rectors, who heretofore have payd pensions to monasteries in ready mony, be not now compelled to pay the same in bread-corn to lay-proprietors.

That in woody places, where the custome hath alwayes obtained, tith may be payd of *sylvæ cæduæ* [that is, wood that is cut to grow again,] especially when there is a great scarcity of corn in such places.

Parishes are not divided *jure divino.* Whence followeth, that as many benefices may be layd into one, so one, by reason of the greatnes of it, may be divided into two.

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## No. LXXXIX.

### *Pole Cardinal Legate, to Archbishop Cranmer, in answer to the Letter he had sent to the Queen.**

ALMIGHTY God the Father, by the grace of his only Son, God and man, that dyed for our sins, may geve yow trew and perfect repentance. This I daylie pray for my self being a synner: but I thank God never obstinate synner. And the same grace the more earnestly I do pray for to be geven to them that be obstinate, the more neade they have thereof, being otherwise past al mannes cure, and admonition to save them. As your open sayings, in open audience, doyth show of yow. Which hath cawsed, that those judges, that hath syt apon the examination of your greviouse fautes, seing no lykelod of ony repentaunce in yow, hath utterlie cast awaye al hope of your recoverie: whereof doith follow the most horrible sentence of condempnation, both of your body and soule, both your temporal death and eternal. Which is to me so great an horrour to here, that if there were ony way, or mean, or fashion, that I might fynd to remove you from errour, bryngeng yow to the knowledge of the truth, for your salvation: this I testifie to you afore God, apon the salvation of myne owne sowle, that I would rather chuse to be that meane, that yow might receive this benefyt by me, then to receive the greatest benefyt for my self, that can be geven under heaven in this world: I easteme so moch the salvation of one sowle.

And becawse it happened to me to see your private lettres directed to the qwenes highnes, sent by the same unto me, wherein you utter and express such appearaunt reasons, that cause yow to swarve from the rest of the Church, in these articles of the authoritie of the Pope, and of the sacrament of the aulter, concluding with these words, "That if ony man can show yow by reason, that the authoritie of the Pope be not prejudicyal to the wealth of the realm, or that your doctrine in the sacrement be erroneous, then you wold never be so perverse to stond wylfullie in your own opinion: but shal with al humilitie submytt your self to the truthe in al things, and gladly embrace the same:" thise your words, written in that lettre, geveth me some occasion, desyring your wealth, not utterly to dispayr thereof; but to attempt to recover yow by the same way, that yow open unto me: which is, *by reason* to show yow the error of your opinion, and withal the light of the treuthe in both causes. But whither this may healp yow indede, or bring you to revoke the same, with trew repentaunce, this I know not; and I fear moche the contrarie. For that I see the ground and begynning, how you fel into errour in both thise articles, not to be of that sort, that maketh men commonly to fall into errours and heresies. Which sort and way is by medling with your wyt and discourse natural, to examen the articles of the faith: makeing your reason judge thereof, which ought to bee judged and ruled by the tradition of the faith. Which abuse causeth men dayly to fall into errours and heresies. And the same also is in yow, and is joyned with that yow have done. But here standeth not the grownde of your errour, nor yet in this other common maner of faulling from the trouthe, which S. Paul noteth in the Gentiles, and is in al men commonlie that followeth their sensual appetites, "Qui veritatem Dei in injustitia detinent:" which thing also hath been occasion of your errour. But yet not this is the very grownde thereof, but a further fawte: that you geveng your othe to the truthe, yow mocked with the same, as the Jewes mocked with Christ, when thei saluted him saing, "Ave Rex Judæorum," and afterwards did crucifie hym. For so did yow to the vicar of Christ, knowledgeng the Pope of Rome by the words of your othe, to be so, and in mynde entendeng to crucifie the same authoritie. Whereof came the plague of deape ignoraunce and blyndnes unto yow. Which is now that bringeth you to this grievous peryl, to perish both bodie and sowle. From which peril no reason can deliver yow.

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* Foxii MSS. [Harl. MSS. ccccxvii. fol. 69].

But yow discovereng your self, touching the entrie, when yow shuld make the customable othe of al legitimate busshops in Christendom, which is the dore for you to entre to the service of God, in the highest spiritual office withyn this realme, and seeing you made the same but for a countenaunce, nothing meaneng to observe that yow promised by the othe; this is a dore, that every thieffe may entre bye. This is not the dore that thei entre by, that mean earnestlie the service of God. Wherein the prophets sentence is playne, askeng this question, "Quis ascendet in montem Domini? aut quis stabit in loco sancto ejus?" And then answering to the same sayeng, "Innocens manibus, et mundo corde, qui non accepit in vano animam suam, nec juravit in dolo proximo suo. Hæc est generatio quærentium Dominum, quærentium faciem Dei Jacob." So that yow now entryng to the mownteyne of God, which was to that high archbushoprick, and to the primacie in the realme, by a cleane contrary way, which is, as yow confesse your self by a fayned othe, by fraud, and dissimulation, what more playne sentence can be against yow, if yow have a thousand reformations in your mynde, then that al this doith not make, that this shuld be the way to the trew service of God, nor that yow, useng a false othe, shuld be of that generation, which with their hart sought God, but utterlye concludeth against yow, that if those that absteine from al deceit with their neighbour, speciallie in othe, be blessed of God, he that confesseth to have used such dissimulation in his othe, not with one neighbour or twayne, but with the hole realme, with the hole church, what can he receve, but the malediction of God? What can more evidentlie show that man to be none of that generation that seketh God? As if there were none other proffe, that followed in your acts, such a deceitful and shameful entrie, doith manifestly declare; and most of al, one of the furst acts yow did after this. Which was to pluck the rest of the realme (of whom yow had chief cure) out of the house of God, bryngeng them furthwyth into the schisme.

And that we see now, that the hole realm by the high mercy of God, beyng brought into the house of God agayn, there to receive his grace and benediction: and this to be done by those princes, and those ministers, "Qui non acceperunt in vano animam suam, nec juraverunt in dolo proximo suo:" your person yet remayneng without, deprived of the grace graunted to them, what doith this showe, but that it is the just sentence of God against yow, for your deceitful entrie into his service; and the mercy of God toward them, that not wyllenglie went furth; but by your traiterous means were thrust out?

So that here now I have told yow, whither yow heare me, or no, the very cause of your blyndnes and ignoraunce: which is the vengeaunce of God against yow, for your dissimulation and perjurie, to him and to the hole Church, at your entreng to the high service thereof. Wherby yow have deserved to be cast out of the howse of God, which is the Church, "in tenebras exteriores, ubi est fletus, et stridor dentium." Which is the place and state, wherein I see yow now lye; and the same I saw so evidently in your lettres, from the begynneng to the eand, as nothing can be more playne: yow showeng your self in the same to be so ignoraunt, that you know not those things, which be evident to every man: which everie man, that hath any exteriour light, by experience and knowledge of things past, doith know——

*Here much is wanting.*

that be once of the Church as dead bodies, when the spirit is out. But to al that be within the body of the Church, this geveth comfort and liffe, as the spirit doith to the bodie. And this shal be sufficient to say for everie mans information of the truthe in this matter, that wil beleave, other than old or late experience, or the contynual doctryne of the hole Church, hath taught in everye Christen realm. Whereof none ever found this fawte, that the Popes lawes spiritual were not to be exercised, because the same could not aggree with their politick lawes: but rather found fawte, when the Pope himself, or his ministers, did let the course of those lawes, which aggreed with everie politick body, as the sowle of man with al complexions, and forme of body. And when they were stopped, then semed to be stopped the breath and liffe of justice, as no realme can gyve, as I sayd afore, greater or surer testimonye than ours. For when the authoritie and lawes of the Pope did flourish in the realm, al justice florished wythal; and that stopped and cast out, as it was thise latter yeares, al good justice and civil maner of lyvyng was stopped and cast furth withal.

So that when you came furst to mervayle of a thing never seen, nor harde of afore in this realm, that a busshop, made by the Popes authority, shuld not be deposed, without his authoritie, what doith this show, but a deap blyndnes and ignoraunce of the use of the law in this realme, ever continual, and never broken of ony just prynce, untyl yow your self were made busshop: which healped them to break al good lawes and customes of the realme; and then afterward to make this for a great reason, that the Popes lawes shuld not be now agayn admytted, for then yow say, al the hole realm that cast out his authoritie, must nedes knowledg themself accursed: which God, yow say, forefend. And this yow show yow cannot abyde, for nothing by ony maner that the realme shuld knowledg themself accursed: which they cannot, yow say, avoide, if thei admyt the Popes law, as good. This word yow shuld have sayd afore the realm had cast furth the Pope's authoritie, for to have letted them from their faull into the curse; and this had bene the very part of a good busshop. But after that thei were faullen from the lawes, which thei had admytted afore, and therby ronne into the curse, (which you say cannot be avoyed of them that hath ones admytted them) then I with al good and Catholick men, do say, God forefend, they after this shuld not knowledg their state to be accursed. Which if thei dyd not, thei could never be absolved from the curse. And he that forbeddeth now the knowledge of the same, doith in effect procure, that being accursed indede, thei remayne ever accursed. This is your monstrous and blynde love yow pretend to bear to the realme, being accursed your self, and blynded in the knowledg of your state, to have the hole realm remayne styl accursed. But the true affection thise two Catholick princes beare to the realm, with the bloode of those that resisted the swarveng from the Popes authoritie, hath obteyned of the high mercy of God, that the hole realme hath with repentaunce knowledged their evel state thei stode in, syneth the leaveng of the authoritie of the Pope in the realme, and with repealing of those lawes, made contrary, have asked absolution, and received it, and be delivered of al curse, received into the grace of God, and brought into the Churches lapp again: thei onelie left out, that doith refuse this grace, and hath not so moche grace to accept it. Whereof if ony should be deprived, none hath deserved it more by the just wrath of God to be deprived, then he that was chief doer, to make the realm lese it, as yow; by showeng your self in this to be the verie membre of Satan, both then, but most of al now. Which deprived of grace of repentaunce hymself, wold draw al other to his dampnation, and dissuadeth al retorne to grace.

This your charitie you now show to your contrie, which, as I said hitherto, is very vengeaunce of God toward yow. Of the which this great blyndnes gyveth a great testimonie, that yow show in your lettre, writeng of thise thynges, as though yow had never knowledge what had been done in the realme afore your tyme, nor what was the state of your time, nor yet what is the state of the realm at this present, bryngeng for a great inconvenient, that if the Parlament shuld accept the lawes of the Pope, thei shuld be constrayned to repeal those that were done against his lawes and authoritie : as though this were not so done already. And showeng so great ignoraunce, both touching the doctrine of the Church, and in this poyncte touching the Popes authoritie, and the experience of the custome of the realm, yet yow conclude, that ignoraunce might excuse other men, how prejudicyal the canon lawes be to the wealth of the realm, if thei wold accept the same. But you cannot be excused by ignoraunce. And seeing in this the very trouthe, that ignoraunce cannot excuse yow, as in trouthe it cannot, being of that kynde it is. But if that do not excuse you, then malice doith condempne yow : which is the very cause to bring you to ignoraunce inexcusable, both in this poincte of the authoritie of the Pope, as in the doctrine of the sacrement: wherin it is no lesse monstrous. And this yow show most, where yow think to speak with lesse obstinacy. As where yow say, that "if thei that follow the Popes doctrine herein, could bryng in but one old auncyent doctor of the Church of their opinion, you have offred afore, as yow offer yet, to gyve place unto them, and to consent to the same." What a proffe is this to show your profound blyndnes? If there be no let but this, because yow see not of the old doctors, at the least one, that were against yowr opinion, in the defence of the Popes doctrine, other men seeing so many, and not one auncient approved doctor that ever dissented, what a wonderful blyndnes is this, not to see one against yow? For this is playne, when the Pope showeth his sence and doctrine in this article, he doith not speak thereof, as of an article, that he himself hath newly found, nor yet ony of his predecessours, but that al hath uniformally received one of another of their fathers, unto the apostles tyme, and they of Christ. Which argument is so strong, so evident to the condempnation of your opinion, and confirmatyon of the Popes, that manie sage and learned men writing against the opinion yow follow, being diverse sortes of arguments to confound the same, set apart al form of reasoneng, and onelie stick upon the testimony and uniforme consent of al the old doctors of the Church to this day. Which testimonies be so meny, that they fyll up great books ; as amongst other, my lord of Durham at this present, in his book written of this matter, taketh this way, to ground hymself most apon, the perpetual consent of the old doctors, continuing unto this age : and al against your opinion. Which book is abrode, and hath been seen of yow.

Then if yee wil think him of so smal judgment or knowledge, that in such a nombre as he bringeth, there is not one, that maketh to his purpose, but al for your purpose, whom he entendeth to oppugne, other this must prove a wonderful blyndnes in hym, and not in hym alone, but in so menie learned men, that taketh the same way ; or ells in yow, that amongst so menye testimonies, som more clerer then som, not to see so moche as one alone : this is an evydent proff, that yee be stark blynd. For if yee were not, if it were but one brought furth unto yow, as is mentioned in that book, the condempnation of Berengarius, that was of your opinion; and that done by a general councel of all the nations in Chrystendom; growndeng it self upon the uniform doctrine of their forefathers; were not this enough, yf yow had yies to see, to show that more then one old doctor were of the Popes doctrin? And if this be not sufficyent proff unto yow, the same being enough to Berengarius hymself, which was converted therby, and persuaded to recant his opinion; what doth this show, but that he was not utterly blynded, but that he saw some testimonie against hym, yow utterly to have lost al syght, that se not so moch as one.

But of this your monstrous blyndnes I mervell the less, the more I see the same to procede of the very justice and wrath of God against yow: with whom yow mocking on that maner as yow showed in comyng in such a high place, in service of the Church, as was to be archbishop and primate of the realm, as to swere *in dolo*, not onlye *proximo*, but *universæ ecclesiæ:* wylleng afterward to pervert the old order of the Churche, which yow called a *Reformation*, me semeth to here the very words and curse of S. Paul, that lighted upon the false prophet Bariesu, letting the coorse of the doctrine evangelical preached by hym, when he then curseng hym, said "O! plene omni malo, et omni fallacia, fili diaboli, inimice omnis justitiæ, non desinis pervertere vias Domini rectas? Et ecce nunc manus Domini super te, et eris cæcus, non videns solem, usque ad tempus." The effect of this I do see hath lighted upon yow; for entreng by deceit to be a chieff doctour in the Church, perverteng *vias Domini rectas,* to be blynded, I pray God it be but *ad tempus.* But hitherto I have not known a more deaper blyndnes. And if that was ponnyshment of that false prophet, to lese his corporal syght for a tyme, that being an infidelle, for very ignoraunce did put obstacle to the very trew doctrine of the faith never hard of afore, to be blynded corporallie for a tyme, yow that first knew the doctrine, and preached the same, which afterward yow do pervert, if yow were stricken with a gretter, and more notable blyndnes, the which yow show now, this is evident to come of the verie hond of God, which mans hond cannot heale, but only the hond of God, that justlie ponnyshed yow therewithal. And the sorer and more desperate cure is of this your blyndnes, the more yow acquyett your self therein: as though yow had a great gift of light above al other. For so yow show in your lettres, persuadeng your self to have found a way in teacheng the doctrine of the sacrament of the aulter, that other hath not seen: which is to take away the absurdity both to the sence and reason of man, that is in the Catholick doctrine, toucheng the sacrement of the aulter, as yow say, in that forme of bread and wyne, to be the verie trew real presence of the body of Christ, and that it is his body and bloode that is showed in the forme of bread and wyne, what reason wil admytt this? What sence? And how moche probable were this, if this doctrine were taught, as yow teach it, to say, that yow see in the forme of bread and wyne, is a figure only of the body of Christ that is in heaven; whom in spirit in that figure yow do honour. This maner no doubt were more probable sayeng to the ears of men that judge things, other by reason or by sence. But the more probable it is, the more false it is, the great sophister and father of al lyes ever deceaving us by probabilitie of reason, proponyng ever that which is more aggreable to the sence, but the trew doctrine of Christ is taught by another way.

*Here is another deficiency.*

being faullen therein not so moche for fawte or abuse of reason, as by malice against reason. And such, I say, no hand can cure, no reason, no discourse; but onlie that it please the high mercy of God, that doith chastise your malicious handleng of the truth, with such ignoraunce and darknes, to withdraw his hond of vengeaunce apon yow: for otherwise you heareng reason, and seeing some light thereof, yet yow have not so moche grace, as to receive it, nor follow it.

This is the thing I greatlie fear in yow, haveng knowledge of your procedyng syneth your furst notable errour in rejecteng the doctryne of the Popes supremitie, and afterward of the sacrement; which as I said afore, was not after the common maner of faulleng, as other did, by curiositie, or by frailtie, but by deliberate malice, to forsake the trouthe in both poinctes, to satisfie your carnal appetites, to the which your dissembleng furst, and mockeng with the treuthe, and afterward openlie forsakeng the same, did serve you. Which as yet yow do not knowledg: and this must be the first things, that you shuld knowledg, makeng open confession with repentaunce thereof, if yow shal ever come to receive ony fructe of the mercy of God.

So that if I now, that desire your recover, shuld go about by way of discourse, or argument, to bryng yow from your errour to the truth, this must be the furst poyncte, to show how you fell into the same darkness, to the entent that God so moche remytteng his hond of justice, that yow may se your abhomination in abuseng the truth, you might knowledge by feare the justice of God, in letteng yow faul into so great darkness; and by the hope of his infinite mercy caull to hym for grace to be restored to some lyght of his infallible veritie. And this I with al my heart prayeng for yow, in the mean season, untyl God give yow the grace to do the same for your self, shal withal open unto yow the maner of your faulle.

Touching your furst article of the Popes authoritie, which I nede not open ony further then you have opened your self, nor cannot better express it, then you have set it furth, I haveng no knowledge thereof, but by your own sayng and wryting, for defence of perjurie objected to yow. And now mark yow wel, if yow have any sence of knowledge left unto yow to see your self and your own dedes, if ever there were hard such kynd of a defence, in ony perjurie of onie man, that had left hym onye light of reason, or knowledge of justice. Which for to know, furst yow must be put in remembrance of the kynd of your othe, and the maner of makeng thereof. The kynd was such, that it was no new othe, but the very same, that al archbusshops of Canterburie, which be primates of this realme, al archbusshops, and busshops, in ever Christen realme, doith accustomable make to the Popes holines, as to the vicar of Christ in earth, swearing to hym obedience; such was your othe. And as touching the maner of makeng of it, none could be more solempne; being made in the hond of a busshop, with the testimonye and assistence of other busshops, openly in the church, in the presence of as moche people as the church could hold; at such tyme as yow arraid with the sacred vesture of a busshop, cam afore the aultre to be consecrated archbusshop. Al this yow cannott, nor do not denye; nor yet that after al this solempne and open othe, yow did directlie and openlie against the same. Which must necessarilie condempne yow of perjurie.

But this necessarie consequence yow denie; granteng notwithstondyng to have done contrary to the oth. But yow say for your defence, that "where yow went to make the othe, even then yow never thought to observe it." And least this shuld be an inconvenient, and a thing moche dommagious unto your fame and eastimation, if it were not wel known, that you swore one thing in the most solempne fashion yow could, and ment another, here yow bring such a testimony by wryting, yow bryng furth a previe protestation, made with previe witnesses, haveng the hond and signe of the notarie, to prove that when yow went to make that solempne othe yow were nothing mynded to observe it. Which former protestation, whereto doith it serve, but to testify a doble perjurie, which is to be forsworne afore yow did swere. Other perjurers be wont to break their oth after they have sworne, yow brake it afore. "Quis sapiens et intelliget hæc, et intelliget malitiam Satanæ?" And a wonderful aggravation of the wrath of God towards yow.

But let the malice of Sathan be furst considered, in deludeng yow, when yow thought to delude other. This delusion was this: that because it had bene hard some protestations to be made, also of some good men, in a case, when thei not beyng at their own choise and libertie, when "per vim et metum, qui aliquando cadit in constantem virum," they be made to swere to that, which afterward they have done contrarie to their former oth: in which case a protestation, excuseng the wil, and alledgeng the feare, hath some colour of defence: this, I say, yow hearyng, and Sathan puttyng yow in remembrance hereof, with the similitude of this deluded yow; makeng yow beleve, that such a kynd of protestasion might serve for a premeditate perjurie. Wherunto yow were not driven, nother *vi*, nor *metu*, as yow were not in this your case: except yow caul that a just fear, that yow dyd see, if yow did not sweare, you could not satisfie your ambition and covetousnes, in haveng the busshoprick. For so it was, leave yow thise two affections, care yee not for to be made busshop, and who dyd constrayne yow to sweare? Were yee not by that refuse quite delivered of al necessitie to sweare? This also ye cannot denye. Whereunto therefore serveth your protestation made by the hand of a notarie, but to make your previe perjurie more notoriouslie known, but to make it known to the world, that yow entreng to the rule of a part of the flock of Christ, yow entred not in by the dore; and not entreng by the dore, but *aliunde*, what comfort could your flock loke for to have by yow? But that which Christ saith to follow of those, "Qui non intrant per ostium, sed aliunde," to be stealers and thieffs, "Qui non intrant nisi ut mactent, et perdant;" as the effect hath shewed by yow.

But here yow deceive your self again, and wold deceive other, makeng your defence of your simulate oth, that "yow dyd the same so, for the more service of God, haveng in your mynd then to reform the Church," to the which being no way, but to make that oth for a countenance; this yow thought for such a purpose might be acceptable afore God: and also entreng by the authoritie of the Pope, called by hym, that had authoritie to name yow: then yow think it cannot be justlie of onie man objected unto yow, that yow did not entre by the dore. And this truelie if you could have kept your own counsil, toucheng me, I durst not object the same unto yow, seeyng nothing outwardlie, but as that yow were lawfullie called and institute busshop. And of your inward I wold not make my self judge.

*More wanting here.*

and see, as is the furst poyncte in your lettres; where yow make a great mervayle, saying "it to be a thing, that was never seen in the realme, that to condempne any subject thereof, justice shuld be sought of a forreyn power, as is the Popes." How this is to be called a forreyn power, I wil declare afterward. For this I do not mervel, if yow do not wel know, not being so open to them that lacketh spiritual doctrine, nor of that ignoraunce I do not speak now, but of that outward light and knowledge, which is open to every man by experience. The which yow not knoweng, it may be wel said, yow be cast *in tenebras exteriores,* and that yow have lost both interiour and exteriour knowledge of things. For so yow show in this case, where yow say, "It was never seen in the realme, that to condemne ony subject thereof to death, shuld be required ony other sentence, then that comyth from the imperial crowne of the realm, and their temporal lawes." Wherein that which I note furst is this, that in that place yow seme to lament, that being condempned alredie, as yow say, by the lawes of the realme, of high tréason, this dilation is geven to your death, not to suffre, afore al such things as be layd to your charge, were furst known at Rome, this being natural unto al that be in jeopardie of liffe, if they cannot hope by ony just defeance to extue the same, at the least to have tyme al desire: followeng that proverb, "In space comyth grace." The which natural affect being extinct in yow, this followeth withal, natural knowledge to be extinct, as in the proheme of your lettre is more declared.

And now to come neerer to that yow say was never seen, that "onye subject to be condempned, had nede of ony outward justice," calleng outward justice, the canon lawes, that come from the Pope. To this I say, the experience and use of the lawes, and justice in this realme, doith show clene contrarie to your mervel, that it was never seen in the realm, afore the tyme of your malicious oth, that there was ever ony man condempned for the crime of heresies, by the mere justice that comyth from the temporal lawes, but al were first declared to be such by the spiritual lawes of the canons, which yow call "forreyne lawes." And this beside I say, afore that same tyme, of al other crimes, as treason and other, there was never spiritual man put to execution, accordeng to the ordre of the lawes of the realm, but he were furst by the canon laws condempned, disgraded, and then gyven to the temporal hondes. Wherof there be as menye examples, afore the tyme of breakeng the old ordre of the realm thise last years, as hath bene delinquents. Let al the records be sene; and speciallie this is notable of the busshop of ——— which being emprisoned here for high treason, the king wold not procede to his condempnation and ponnishment, afore he had the Popes bull geveng hym.

And this is the trade of justice, which the king and qwene use with yow at this tyme, beyng condempned of treason, being consecrate busshop, to have the Popes sentence from Rome afore yow suffre: which maner of proceding, you say, was never afore in the realm: and the practice and experience in like cases doith show never to have bene otherwise, afore the tyme of your notable perjurie. And so Catholick kings, as it pertayneth to the privilege of the see of Rome, when they be crowned, doith sweare.

And now look what ignorance is this, to think that the like was never sene in the realme, when it was never seen otherwise, amongst those princes, that were counted to be in the obedience of the lawes of Christ, and of the Church.

But now to come to that yow speak of, the Popes law and power: which after a seditious maner of speakeng, you call *a forreyne power*, this stondeth under such a fashion, if God leave yow so moch sence to understond what I say, that the Popes power can no more be called forreyn power, comyng not of man alone, but of Hym that is God and man, that was "secundus homo, de cœlo cœlestis," then may be called a forreyn power, that the sowle of man comyng from heaven, hath in the body generate in earth. And so it is in the politick body of this realme, ruled with politick lawes, founded by mans reason, that be called temporal lawes: to them comyng the Popes laws spiritual doith no other, but that the sowle in the body, to gyve liffe to the same; to confirme and strengthen the same. And this is it the aungel speakeng in Christes conception, and declareng what his authoritie shuld be, signifyed, saing, he shuld sytt "super domum Davyd," which was a temporal reigne, "ut confirmet illud et corroboret." And so doith the spiritual lawes, procedynge of his spirit: as be the lawes of the Church, and canon lawes. Which wheresoever thei be wel observed, doith this effect, ever to confirme and stablish the temporal lawes of the realm, as no realm hath had more experience then this, ever syneth the tyme they received the faith, and obedience of the Pope; from whom came theyr doctrine of the faith. There was never notable trouble in the realm of ony kynd, if it dured ony space, but it was ever lightly eased, and the realm established by some legate sent from the Pope and the see of Rome, following the prescript of the canons, and the spiritual law: without the which no realme can wel be governed, but al be like to the thornbush: whereof it is written, *in libro Judicum*, when the Sichimites had chosen a tyrannie over them, against the law of God, then it was prophesied unto them, what shuld come thereof, which was, that fire shuld come furth of that thorne, which was their king, that shuld devoure the people, and from the people, to burne hym, as it was, and ever shal be, where mere temporal lawes, without spiritual, doith rule. Which state may be compared to be like such a thorne, whereof fire doith come furth, to the destruction both of the governour and the people. And how the lawes of the realme might be wel likened to such a thorne, after that the spiritual authoritie was cast furth, the destruction of such a sort of men, of al degrees, both great and smal, the great spoyles that were taken, may geve sufficient proff to al them, that hath ony sence, or remembraunce of things so lately done.

And now comying again to the spiritual authoritie and law, to join it self with the temporal, this is like to the fyer that Moyes saw *in rubo:* which gave light, and dyd not burne, nor never doith, when it is wel used. And if it be not wel used, the faute is in the persons, and not in the thing; as the faute is not in the temporal lawes, when the prynce doith abuse them; howbeit of their nature they be *tanquam spinæ,* as was also Moyes law, sharp to which was mitigate; and so shal be in every when they be joyned with the spirituall ought not to be called *forreyne lawes*

*More here wanting.*

"Non in probabilibus humanæ sapientiæ verbis, ne evacuetur crux Christi:" as it shuld be in this case. For if this probabilitie were followed, the sklaunder of the cross shold be voyd. For this were no sklaunder to the Jewes to hear Christ honoured in a figure, thei being ever used to the same. Nor it wold seem so moch folyshe to the gentiles and infidelles, after we had accepted Christ for God, to honour him in a figurative maner. But this being the counsel of Christ to utter his great misterie in forme that he should have it sklander to both the Jews, that seke signes, and were used to be taught by figures; and also the Gentiles, that styck upon the judgment of reason; the more probable you make it, the further you swarve from the trew doctrin of Christ, and verie trew maner to teach it. And here may no new maner be taught. What a haynous pride is this, this doctrine passeng a thousand yeare, and as menye hundred beside, as hath bene syneth this sacrement was instituted, by the myddest of the Jewes and Gentiles, with this sklaunder and appearaunce of folyshnes, never being found fawtie in any one of the busshops and preachers of the word of God, that they confessed the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrement of the aulter: but al found fautie and condemned of heresie, which denyed the same. And ever the doctrine of the presence prevayling and triumpheng above mans reason, or sence, may be capace of the same. Which both God wil have mortified and dye utterlie, when this mistery and meate of liffe is spoken and taken. For as that was the beginneng of the destruction of man, when followeng the probabilitie of reason, he wold feade hymself with meate prohibite unto hym; so the counsil of God hath ordeyned, this to be the begynneng of the liffe of man, to take a sensible meat, wherein nother reason nor sense can find ony probabilitie, or make any judgment thereof.

But because I have entreated this part more largely in another epistle, that I send unto yow, wherein I show that stondeng, as yow do, without repentance of the maner of your entrie to the service of the Church, yow could never be nother good scholar of this doctrine, and moche less a master, I wil now procede no further to reason with you herein, knoweng al to be in vaine, and no healp nor meane to recover yow, but only prayer. Which with al my hart, as I wold for mine own sowle, I wyl not fayle to use for yow, to hym, whom yow have so greatlie offended, as I never redd of ony busshop, that ever was in the Church. But the founteyne of his mercie is never closed to them that wyl cal for it; as myne own entier prayer is to the infinite mercy of God, that yow may have the grace so to do: sendeng yow for obteynyng of that, his holy spirit, "Qui condemnat mundum de peccato, de judicio, et de justitia:" that seeing furst your sore condempnation, yow maye therewith be sturred, with al humilitie and contrite hart, to demaund some comfort: which cannot be hoped of without your former condempnation of your self. Wherunto to bryng yow, it hath cawsed me by wryting to set furth so earnestly some part of your grievous offences afore yow: wylleng yow no less comfort, then I wold to myne own sowle.

And the same I say, concludeng and eandeng, as I began: it may please the paternal love, that God beareth unto al synners, for his sake, that being his only Son, God and man, dyed to pay their ransome, for to forgeve yow, and to deliver yow *ex ore leonis*, which hath so devowred yow, that if you be not plucked out as the prophet Amos saith of Israel, "Quomodo si eruat pastor duo crura, aut extremum auriculæ:" I say if you be not plucked out by the eare, yow be utterlie undone both body and sowle. Which yet again, and ever, the infinite mercy of God may defeande you from. Wrytten in the coorte at St. James, the vj. of Novembre, 1555.

Yowr very trew coumfortore in God,
yow not refuseng hys grace,
R. POLE. CAR. LEG.

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## No. XC.

*Archbishop Parker to the Secretary, desiring the Councels letters, in order to his discovering of certain Writings of Archbishop Cranmer.**

SYR, being here, and wold be loth to be idle; and thereupon havyng consideration as wel of these quarters, for the common quyet among the people, as respecting the common service of the better sort toward the Q. highnes, and her affairs; I fynd them al in so good order, that I do rejoyce therin. As for my ecclesiastical persons, I deal with them indifferently, that I fynd also obedience in them.

Now, sir, with spying and serching, I have found out bi very credible enformation, among other things, in whose hondes the grete notable wryten bokes of my predecessour, Dr. Cranmer, shuld remayne: the partyes yet denying the same; and therupon despayre to discover them, except I maye be ayded bi the councells letters, to optayne them. I pray your honor to procure ther letters, to authorise me to enquire and serch for such monuments by al wayes, as bi mi pore discretion shal be thought good: whether it be bi deferryng an othe to the parties, or veweng ther studies, &c. This opportunytie of enformation being suche, I wold wyshe, I coud recover these bokes to be afterward at the Q. commandment. I wold as moche rejoyce, whyle I am in the countreye, to wynne them, as I wold to restore an old chancel to reparation. Because I am not acqueynted with the stile of the Councels letters in this case, I send you no minute: trusting that your goodnes wil think the lauber wel bestowed, to cause the clarke of the Councel to devise the forme. And thus hearyng of the liklywood of the plage to be in begynnyng in some placys hereabout; and yet myn own house, thanks be to God, in good quyet, I wyshe the Q. famylye to be defended by Gods honde. At my house from Bekesborne this 22. of August.*

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Your honors assured, MATTHUE CANT.

To the Right Honorable Sir William Cecyl,
Knight, Principal Secretary to the Q.
Majestie. At the Court.

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## No. XCI.

### *Dr. William Mowse, Master of Trinity Hal in Cambridg, his letter of thanks to Secretary Cecyl.*†

Ornatissimo Equiti Gulielmo Cecillio, regio secretario.

QUOD nullam adhuc grati animi significationem ob acceptum beneficium fecerim, vereor nequid de me mali suspiceris. Nam cum tanta tua in me fuit benevolentia, quantam in nemine adhuc sensi, valde dubito, ne magnitudo tuorum in me meritorum, id quod negligentiæ crimen vix effugere possit, in majoris sceleris periculum volet. Nam ut in omnibus rebus naturaliter evenire videmus, ut quæque res sit affecta, ita plerumque se statim ostendat, sic a gratis animis, beneficij accepti aliqua significatio haud multo post subsequi debeat. Præsertim si hujusmodi sit, in quo singularis benevolentiæ insigne argumentum extitit. Nam cujus animus in recenti beneficio languescit, illum diuturnam beneficij memoriam retinere non est verisimile. Hæc me valde perturbant, et eo magis, quod ab hoc vitio quam longissime abesse desidero, cujus suspicione mea culpa non omnino careo. Ut enim aliæ meæ res sese habeant, optimorum virorum gratia multum adjutus sum: ut omittam singularem Cantuariensis munificentiam, quam in me multis annis sine ullo meo merito exercuit, Chæci vero tam egregius animus et constans voluntas in me fuit, cum id nec ulla officiorum necessitudine, nec familiaritatis conjunctione effectum sit, an ejus virtuti et singulari humanitati id tribuere debeam, aut deorum voluntati, et meæ fortunæ, non facile dicere possum. Sed de tua benevolentia quid dicam, qua omnes meas fortunas et amicorum studia complexus

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* An. 1563. † Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

es? Nam quod illi mihi cupiebant, id tu solus, reluctantibus inimicis, confecisti. Quare sicut in beneficio conferendo princeps fuisti, ita et ego illud totum tibi præcipue acceptum referre deberem. Et licet id proprio quoque tempore pro beneficij magnitudine significatum non sit, jucundam tamen tui recordationem semper habui. Nec minus laboravi qua potissimum ratione meipsum saltem voluntate ipsa, gratum ostenderem. Nam liberum amoris et officij mei iter conditionis humilitas et exiguæ facultates interrumpunt. Tum ipsa scholasticorum officia, quæ in crebris literis consistere solent, nec isti meæ ætati, nec huic studiorum rationi satis conveniunt, cum illæ gratiores esse soleant, quæ a pueris atque ijs eloquentibus, perveniunt. Ut ne addam tuas gravissimas occupationes, quas meis nugis perturbare plusquam scelestum ducerem. Quare quod tua integritas pro tot beneficijs a me exigebat, id sedulo præstabo, ut quibus muneribus tua opera præsum, in his me probe exercendo tuæ de me opinioni satisfaciam. Vale, 20 Februarij. Cantabrigiæ. Tuæ humanitati devinctissimus,

Gulielmus Mowseus.

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## No. XCII.

*Justus Jonas to Secretary Cecyl concerning the Miseries of Germany, occasioned by the Interim: and that hee might receive the kings intended munificence.*[*]

Clarissimo viro Domino Sycilio, &c. domino meo observando ad manus propria dentur.

S. D. P. Quanta sit tua erga miseros, in omni genere officij, pietas, equidem ante hoc tempus non ignorabam: sed certe, ut quemadmodum sentio, loquar, nunquam tantam esse putavi, quantam hodie expertus sum. Me enim miseris annumerare non vereor siquidem varij fortunæ casus graviter me afflixerint. Hoc intelligere si voles, audias quæso pauca quædam verba ex parentis ad me epistola bona fide recitata. "Utinam," inquit, "coram tibi, mi fili, exponere possem afflictum statum rerum cum publicarum, tum privatarum ἐν τῇ πάσῃ Γερμανίᾳ. Mallem tibi tam magno spatio montium et marium a nobis dissito scribere læta καὶ εὔφημα, sed difficultates assidue adhuc crescunt; et propter non receptum librum 'Interim,' cogar forsan iterum aliquo migrare. Potes cogitare quam difficile et molestum futurum sit τῷ γέροντι," &c. Hactenus pater. Hoc tam triste exordium qualis secuta sit narratio ipse cogitare poteris. Equidem hæc scribens chartam lacrymis madefeci. Subibat enim longe tristissima paternarum calamitatum recordatio; quarum siqua pars in filium redundat, ut certe redundat, quis miretur, si me miserum dixero! Apud te præsertim, cui tanquam medico causam morbi reticere vix bene possum. Cum itaque illis vel asperitatibus rerum, vel injurijs temporum, eo usque dejectus sim, ut aliorum benignitate casus meos sustentare cogar; non putavi regiæ majestatis munificentiam, qua nescio quos meos labores benigne potius, quam merito remunerari constituit, hoc tempore negligendam esse.

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[*] Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Si forte eam spem avidius prosequi videor, non cupiditati, sed necessitati id ascribes meæ. Festino enim ut ante hyemem in Galliam revertar, earumque rerum cognitione me instruam, quarum mihi olim in Anglia usus esse posset. Hanc enim patriam non minus diligo, quam si in ea natus essem. Cumque de studiorum meorum fine cogito, non minus Angliam, quam Germaniam, mihi propono. Quidquid igitur regia majestas hoc tempore in me contulerit, id mihi loco arctissimi vinculi erit, quo me in totam reliquam vitam huic regno obligatum arbitrabor. Bene et fæliciter vale.

Tuæ dominationis deditissimus,
JUSTUS JONAS Junior.

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## No. XCIII.

*Miles Wilson to Secretary Cecyl, lamenting the Spoiles of the Revenues of Schooles, Benefices, and Hospitals. To which are added his arguments against this Sacrilege.**

Ornatissimo, clarissimoque viro, Gulielmo Cecilio, regio consiliario prudentissimo, et literarum patrono maximo.

CUM in aula nuper essem, vir ornatissime, et sermones cum tua dominatione sererem de multis varijsque rebus, partim ad Christi religionem propagandam, partim ad remp. conservandam ac augendam, imprimis pertinentibus; tradidi (ut scis) tibi lectitandam orationem quandam "De rebus Ecclesiæ non diripiendis," a me superioribus hisce diebus confectam et in publicis academiæ scholis recitatam, in præsentem causæ defensionem, quæ jam tum tractabatur in publica disceptatione. Sed cum animadverterem te hominem in gravissimis reip. negotijs semper occupatissimum, nec tum satis quietum fuisse ad meum perlegendum opus, paulo longius quam pro tantillo spacio temporis
cumque te percupidum esse intelligebam audiendi et videndi quid de tam inusitato argumento ex sacris Scripturis proferri potuisset; existimabam me et te tuo paululum posse levare onere; et etiam ea tecum communicare, quorum particeps fieri vehementer cupidus mihi videbare, si ea in angustas, et concisas argumentandi formas conjicerem, quæ ibi fusius ac liberiore orationis cursu jam tum prosequebar. Itaque ex eo tempore ratiocinia nonnulla et syllogismos contexui, qui et ad urgendum aptiores, et ad recordandum faciliores, et ad permovendum commodiores existunt, quam laxum quoddam et solutum illud orationis genus: ut si illa superiora, propter eorum longitudinem, et infinitas tuas occupationes legere non liceret, saltem hæc brevia dialecticorum consectaria, quæ sequuntur, cum vacet, inspectares. Cujus mei laboris me fructum satis magnum percepisse arbitrabor, si tantum apud T. D. effecerint, ut quæ scholæ percelebres sint nuper dirutæ, in academiæ ruinam maximam, hæ tuo labore extrui mandentur: ut quæ sacerdotia sunt misere despoliata per avaros patronos, ad acerbissimum ecclesiæ vulnus, ea restituantur in integrum ad incredibile reip. decus; ut quæ hospitia delumbata fuerint

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 77.]

perdite, ac extirpata funditus, per importunitatem non ferendam cupidorum hominum, ea, quantum fieri potest, per te adjuventur apud concilium regium, quo ad pristinum redeant statum, nempe in subsidium vere pauperum.

Valeant enim, valeant academiæ, per exiguæ nunc certe, sed brevi futuræ nullæ, si earum nutrices, scholæ, negligantur, seminarium et seges florentis academiæ. Ut enim mare cito exarescit non influentibus undiquaque rivulis ac fluminibus; sic absorbebuntur statim academiæ, et in nihilum recident, si ex scholis aditus illis præcludantur, sic ut illinc ad academias nullus, aut quam paucissimi commeant. Doctrina omnis generis conticescet, papismi regnum, et plusquam Gothicus barbarismus omnia pervadet loca; si non eruditis melius, quam jam est, consulatur, si præmia eruditionis, rectoriæ, præbendæ, et omnia auferantur. An dimicabit miles, stipendium si negetur? An tellurem proscindet aut bos, aut arator, si pabulum illis non satis abunde præbeatur? An trajiciet mare mercator spe questus omni sublata? An terra profundet herbas, imbribus non depluta? An molendinum molare possit, si alveum interturbes, et aliorsum cursum ejus vertas? Nequaquam certe. Sic neque quisquam acrioribus studijs doctrinæ operam navabit, nisi ager suus aliquo quasi rore amœno irrigetur, et præmijs ac muneribus condignis feriatur.

Si exempla quæras scholarum eversarum, rectoriarum delumbatarum, hospitiorum excisorum, petas exempla licet affatim horum nefandorum sacrilegiorum, vel a summo Angliæ cancellario; cui, te absente, consarcinata multa obtuli; vel ab episcopo Eboracensi, apud quem etiam ista omnia diligentissime explorata deposui. T. D. novit oppidum, haud procul a nobis dissitum, nomine Childerlay; hic una generosa domus, sed hic multum degener, (quæ est magistri Cuttes) exedit universum oppidum, ne una quidem domuncula relicta, excepta sua domo; hic quia desunt homines, quos templum capiat, recipiuntur equi, quos pro hominibus templum pro stabulo contineat: et quia triticum Domini non est quod in tectum recipiatur, i. homines Christiani, recipitur hordeum et avena, et stramentum omnis generis. Sic oves Christi minuuntur, sic pecudes augentur, sic perit bonus pastor, et pastoris virtus: sic templum partim fit horreum pro frugibus condendis, partim vero stabulum pro custodiendis equis.

Argumenta hic subjungo, quæ prius pollicitus fueram. Longior sum quam vellem; sed magnitudo causarum, et zelus huc me vel invitum produxit. Quare ignoscet, spero, T. D. cui omnia prosperrima in Domino precor. 3 Februarij 1552.

Tuæ dignitatis studiosissimus,

MILO WILSONUS.

*Argumenta, quibus ostenditur; impium esse Bona Ecclesiæ ab Ecclesijs divelli.*

I. Quicquid Domino consecratum est in usum sacratissimi sui ministerij, sive homo, sive animal, sive ager fuerit, nec vendi potest, nec redimi a quoquam.* 27 Levitici.

Bona ecclesiastica, ut aurum, argentum, ædes, prædia, Domino consecrantur in usum sacri ministerij.

Ergo bona ecclesiastica nec vendi, nec coemi possunt. Et per consequens, nec auferri, nec mutari debent.

Minor liquet. Nunquam enim agrorum possessores agris suis et bonis ecclesias dotassent, suos exhæredando, nisi ut ministris Dei abunde prospiceretur, in ministerium suum probe incumbentibus. Ac 2do, communia facientes omnia.

II. Quod nostrum non est, abripere nefas est, et contra justitiam omnem, quæ est virtus sua cuique tribuens.

Bona ecclesiæ, nostra non sunt: nullius sunt, quia Christi, cui dicata et donata sunt.

Ergo iniquum est bona ecclesiæ diripere quovis modo.

Probatur minor tum lege divina, tum imperatoria. "Quicquid enim fuerit consecratum sanctum sanctorum erit Domino. Domino dicabitur, et non redimetur."† Et jure civili, "Quæ domini juris sunt, ea in nullius bonis computanda sunt."

III. Quod cum lege naturæ pugnat, legitimum non est.

Divellere terras sacerdotum cum lege naturæ pugnat.

Ergo eas divellere legitimum non est. Minoris probatio.

Pharao, sub lege naturali vivens, non patiebatur terras et possessiones suis adimi sacerdotibus, aut allevari pretio ullo:‡ sentiens, secundum naturam, id maxime esse, ut inde viverent unde laborarent. Præterea, ex horreis publicis gratuito aluit sacerdotes, cum suæ res parum sufficerent sibi. Et cum omnem terram Ægypti quintas pendere coegit Joseph, unicas sacerdotum terras exemit, quas liberandas censuit omni dura conditione.

IV. Nemo civis bonus est, qui ex communibus privata facĭt, qui non magis communitati studet, quam proprijs adaugendis commodis.

Qui opes ecclesiasticas, et prædia sacra distrahunt, ex communibus privata faciunt, sua commoda quærunt, publicum negligunt bonum.

Ergo qui ecclesiæ bona abstrahunt civium bonorum numero ponendi non sunt, sed civitatis eversores, et reip. putandi sunt.

V. In omni bene administrata rep. semper summa cura fuit religionis conservandæ, et bonarum artium.

Direptio bonorum ecclesiæ, et religionem quatefacit, imo demolitur, et artes bonas vigere impedit.

Ergo direptio opum ecclesiasticarum in bene temperata rep. consistere nequit.

Minor ostenditur. Quod nullus in vinea Domini opus faciet, portans pondus et æstum diei, nec in præmijs hujuscemodi ætatem suam conteret, nisi præmio ad laborem aliquo concitetur: nullus artes consectabitur ingenuas, sublatis illis præsidijs unde sustentarentur: *honos* enim *alit artes.* Nec triturabit bos, si obligetur os; nec pastor pascet oves, si de lacte non bibat; nec militabit miles, si stipendium subtraxeris; nec in vinea faciet opus, qui de denario non conducitur.

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* Levit. 27. † Levit. 27. ‡ Gen. 47.

VI. Si conferatur nostra resp. cum Judæorum, quæ per Dominum nostrum instituta est, minus reperietur nostris ministris dari, quam V. Testamenti Levitis fuerat deputatum. Nam Numerorum 3 Levitarum viginti duo millia tantum recensentur, qui tabernaculo Domini tum temporis inserviebant. Et hic exiguus numerus universas per omnem Judæam decimas, primitias, oblationes recepit in viaticum et victum suum, cum 48 urbibus, atque suis suburbanis locis ad tria circumcirca milliaria.

At nostrorum ministrorum numerus quadruplo major est, ut apparet ex parochiarum limitatione et numero. * So enim cum duobus templa vulgariter connumerantur hic in Anglia, et duo ad minimum in singulis sacerdotes sunt, omnibus simul collatis.

Ergo cum solum decimas recipiant sacerdotes Anglicani, idque imminutas, et delumbatas valde, non detractio, sed additio potius, facienda esset, si par ratio utrobique retineretur.

VII. Nulla pauperum bona eripienda sunt. Pauperibus enim Paulus ubique collectiones facit.

Bona ecclesiæ sunt bona pauperum.

Ergo bona ecclesiæ eripienda non sunt.

VIII. Si diripere aliquid privato sit impium, si commune civitatis ærarium expilare sit nefarium, unde robur et præsidium urbis pendeat; quanto magis scelestum et iniquum erit capitis nostri Christi bona divellere, et ministris ecclesiæ opes despoliare, quæ sunt nervi religionis, et spiritualis regni Christi.

At privato detrahere, impium est, et gazas urbis exinanire sceleratum, morteque plectendum in omni bene temperata republica.

Ergo scelere carere non potest, publica ecclesiæ et Christi capitis bona ad istum modum misere dilacerare.

IX. Qui vendentes in templo et ementes ejecit, ipsum templum, et omnia in templo ad vendendum proponentes, impunitos, opinor, nunquam permittet.

At cum flagello in templo vendentes et ementes ejecit Christus, magno percitus furore.

Ergo non connivebit ad eos, qui omnia diruunt, et ex domo orationis speluncam latronum faciunt.

X. Quæcunque ad Sabbatum rite sanctificandum et celebrandum spectant, conservanda et retinenda sunt. Est enim pars Decalogi Sabbati sanctificatio.

Bona ecclesiæ ad Sabbatum rite sanctificandum pertinent.

Ergo bona ecclesiæ integra conservanda sunt. Minor sic probatur.

Sabbatum rite celebratur Evangelij prædicatione, sacramentorum administratione, precum profusione, et pro pauperibus diligenti provisione.

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* Quid per hanc notam, quære.

Sed ecclesiastica bona et verbi prædicationem fovent, et sacramentorum administrationem alunt, et pauperes in ecclesia sublevant: dum eos sustentent ministros, qui et hæc peragunt officia, et indigentibus necessaria subministrent.

Ergo bona ecclesiæ pernecessaria sunt ad festum rite sanctificandum.

XI. Unicuique ad perfectionem contendendum est. "Estote" enim "perfecti, sicut Pater vester cœlestis perfectus est."

At Christianæ perfectionis est vendere quæ habemus omnia, et pauperibus dispertire. Nam, "si vis perfectus esse, vade et vende omnia, quæ habes, et pauperibus dato."

Ergo de Christo et ecclesia nihil detrahendum, sed pauperibus potius indies adjiciendum erit.

XII. Bonum quo communius, eo melius. Quo multiplicatius eo laudatius.

Sed pastores ecclesiæ et episcopi, bonum est.

Ergo augendus eorum numerus, non minuendus existit. Ergo, quo plures episcopi eo rectius est; et per consequens plures constituendi, potius quam deponendi, et abjiciendi, qui nunc constituti sunt.

Major liquet, minor sole clarior est. Nam "siquis episcopatum appetit, bonum opus desiderat." Certe episcopus esse non potest non esse bonum.

XIII. Balthazar graviter punitus est ob vasorum Deo consecratorum direptionem et profanum eorum usum.*

Achan insigniter plectebatur ob sacrilegam distractionem.†

Antiochus horribili mortis genere perit, ob impiam sacrorum diripiendi voluntatem, et conatum.‡

Lysimachus lapidibus obruitur propter consimile facinus.§

Heliodorus gravissimis vulneribus conficitur a Deo, quod sacra templi vasa abducere conaretur.‖ Et sic de universo numero sacrilegorum dici potest.

Ergo omnes, qui sacrata Deo divellunt, gravissimas pœnas expectent oportet.

XIV. Sic divus Paulus ratiocinatur. "Sub spe debet is, qui arat, arare; et qui triturat sub spe, spei suæ particeps esse debebit."¶

Ergo qui in agro evangelico arat, et qui in area Domini sedulo triturat, sub spe percipiendorum fructuum, et arare et triturare debent.

At quæ relinquitur spes, cum aufertur res?

XV. Qui non seminant spiritualia, carnalia ne metant.

Laici spiritualia non seminant. Quippe quia nec verbum annunciant, nec sacramenta administrant.

Ergo laici non debent metere carnalia. Iniquum est, ut inde quis vivat, unde non laboret. Et Paulus dicit, "Qui non laborat, non manducet."

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* Dan. 5.
† Josue 7.
‡ 2 Macch. 5.
§ 3 Macch. 9.
‖ 3 Macch. 4.
¶ 1 Cor. 9.

XVI. "Dignus est operarius mercede sua."* Ergo qui non operatur, dignus non est. Et per consequens, neganda esset merces non omnino operanti. Sic pellantur omnes inutiles fuci, sive laici sive clerici extiterint, qui alienis insidiantur laboribus: quique mel exugunt omne, parum aut nihil mellis relinquentes hijs, qui vere apes sunt, valdeque laboriosæ.

XVII. "Dominus ordinavit, ut qui Evangelium annuntiant, ex Evangelio vivant."

Ergo e contrario, de Evangelio ne victitent, qui Evangelium aut nolunt, aut non possunt denuntiare.

XVIII. Paulus inter ecclesiasticos ita se gerebat, ut gratis panem a nemine acciperet: sed cum labore et sudore nocte dieque faciebat opus, ne cuiquam eorum oneri foret. Præcepit item illis, "Ut siquis nollet operari, is nec ederet."

Ergo qua conscientia de ecclesiasticis bonis vivere illi possunt, de prebendarum fructibus, de rectorijs, de hospitijs, de episcoporum patrimonijs, et reliquis ecclesiæ proventibus, qui nullo ministerio ecclesiastico inserviunt, nec prædicando Evangelium, nec sacramenta exhibendo, nec ecclesiasticam disciplinam, ut par est, exercendo?

XIX. "Qui præsunt presbyteri, duplici honore digni sunt: maxime qui laborant in verbo et doctrina." Qui duplex honos duplicatum designat subsidium; et ut putavit Theophilactus, abundans, præter stipendium commune.

Ergo tribuatur hic duplex honos sedulis ministris; nec ita minuantur quotidie victus eorum, ut sibi et suis parum sufficiant in propria vocatione, et munijs obeundis.

XX. Quæ sunt militibus stipendia, ea sunt bona ecclesiæ et earum ministris.

Sed militibus stipendia detrahere iniquum est. Ergo iniquum bona ecclesiæ.

XXI. Vinitori fructum et vinum, opilioni lac, agricolæ fruges, eripere non licet. Sed quod vinitori vinum, opilioni lac, agricolæ fruges, id ecclesijs opes suæ.

Eas ergo subducere, et hijs vitæ adjumentis fraudare verbi ministros, nullam profecto habet æquitatem.

XXII. Ministris ecclesiæ omnia ad vivendum necessaria suppeditanda sunt.†

Necessaria autem definio, quæ sibi, uxori, liberis, familiæ satis sunt; quæque hospitalitati servandæ et exhibendæ sufficiunt peregrinis, egentibus, mancis, claudis, cæcis, decrepitis, orphanis et viduis.

Ergo bona ecclesijs aliquando deputata, adimenda non sunt: ne forte his singulis satis relinquatur, et ita necessarijs vitæ præsidijs despolientur hi, quos Spiritus Sanctus præcepit, ut de ecclesia viverent.

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* Mat. 10.

† Deut. 25; 1 Cor. 7; 1 Tim. 3.

XXIII. Qui ecclesiæ bona spoliant, hij ministros verbi et Dei spoliant.
Qui ministros Dei spoliant, hij Christum ipsum despoliant. Nam "quod uni horum feceritis, et mihi feceritis."
Ergo ecclesiæ bona diripere est Christum ipsum, et ejus ministros victu suo defraudare; et Christi tunicam ac patrimonium in partes dissecare. Quod quam horribile sit sacrilegij genus, omnes pij norunt.

XXIV. Irritum esse non debet, quod testator pie, et secundum scripturas testamento suo condidit.* At multi pij morientes testamentis legaverunt sua bona ecclesijs, in earum necessarios usus.
Ergo impium est, hoc spernere testamentum, vel frustrari quovis modo, sic ut surripiatur avare, quod munifice, quod sancte præbitum fuerat.

XXV. In nascenti ecclesia Christi, apostolorum in temporibus, pij terras et possessiones et omnia vendiderant, ut pauperibus, et publicantibus evangelium abunde prospiceretur.†
Ergo jamdiu donata, et ad longum tempus confirmata ecclesijs, in hos ipsos usus, nec vi nec dolo rapienda sunt; ut conferantur in eos, qui nec paupertate ulla premuntur, nec ullo ministerio sacro ecclesijs deserviunt.

XXVI. Quod vel promittitur, vel destinatur in usum ecclesiæ, subtrahendum non est, nec callide submovendum. Id quod probatur ex Anania et Sapphira.‡ Duo horrenda exempla.
At bona ecclesiarum destinantur in maxime necessarios usus, in sustentationem pauperum, et in subsidium ministrorum.
Ergo, non astu, non vi avellenda sunt dicta ecclesiæ bona: ne forte id avellentibus accidat, quod Ananiæ et Sapphiræ supra eveniebat.

XXVII. Qui templum Ierosolymitanum spoliebant, pœnas sacrilegij gravissimas luebant;§ certe qui Christianorum templa diruunt, ac despoliant, et ex illis, ut scopis, omnia everrunt, impune nunquam, opinor, ferent.

XXVIII. Est in hijs abusus. Reformentur ergo. Alunt superstitionem. Nutriant ergo exin veram et sinceram Christi religionem. Indignis tribuuntur ecclesiæ prædia. Ergo dignioribus concedantur. Fuci pellantur, telluris inutile pondus.

XXIX. Homicidæ putantur, qui violentas manus injiciunt in alienum corpus, et illi vitam corporis eripiunt.
Ergo erunt multo magis, qui pabulo cœlestis doctrinæ animas piorum orbant, atque destituunt, sic ut æternum pereant. Quod laici faciunt, qui victus ministrorum sibi rapiunt, qui soli illos rore cœlestis verbi pascerent. Et ita impediunt, ne possint hoc facere.

XXX. Sacerdotes Judæorum impij, qui in nece Domini consenserant, pretium sanguinis recipere nolebant, in eos per Judam rejectum; sed eo mercandum decernunt agrum in sepulturam peregrinorum.

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* Gal. 4. † Act. 2. ‡ Act. 5. § 2 Macc. 1, 3, 9.

Ergo nostri Scribis et Pharisæis deteriores sunt, qui patrimonium crucifixi, i. Christi tunicam, etiam non oblatam, sibi auferunt, et quoque jure quaque injuria sibi attrahant.

XXXI. Nullum sacrilegum impunitum sinet Deus.
Bona ecclesijs divellere sacrilegum est.
Ergo hæc ecclesiæ bona diripere, ultionem Dei gravem commeretur.
Minoris probatio. Omnis ablatio sacri de sacro sacrilegum est. A definitione.
Diripere bona ecclesiæ est rem sacram de sacro auferre.
Ergo bona ecclesiæ divellere sacrilegum est.

## No. XCIV.

*Peter Martyr to procure a license from the Court for one of his Auditors, who desired to preach.*[*]

Vere fidelissimo Christi Ministro Domino Jacobo Haddono, has tradas,
Londini.

S. D. In collegio Magdalenæ, Haddone in Christo charissime, cui frater tuus præsidet, est pius et probus vir, qui Hugo Kirke appellatur, magister artium, inter suos bonæ famæ, atque studio Evangelij Christi (quantum judicare licet) vehementer incensus. Proinde incitatur (ut mihi persuadeo) spiritu Dei, ad prædicandum; quo sanam doctrinam, cujus est sectator non ignavus, ovibus ecclesiæ communicet; quæ in nostris his regionibus, raro, et paucis in locis, quemadmodum oporteret, pascuntur. De universo autem isto negotio, puto illum egisse tecum, quantum ex ejus verbis colligo. Cum itaque me rogaverit, ut ad te scriberem, id libenti animo facio. Et ei, quod possum, fero testimonium; quoad mores bene audit, sacrarum litterarum est admodum studiosus, mihi docenti semper adest, et sacram profitetur doctrinam. Quæ de eo bona fide possum dicere, hæc habeo. De quo etiam potes, si visum fuerit, fratrem interrogare, qui jam hinc discessit, et ad negotia sui collegij procuranda est profectus. Quod mihi (ut verum fatear) parum est gratum. Nam illius conversatione pia, jucunda et erudita, plurimum delector. Sperabam fore, ut te hic quandoque, vel saltem ad aliquot dies, haberemus: at nunc quod sperandum sit non video. Equidem licet adversa valetudine aliquandiu laboraverim, nunc tamen Dei gratia sum restitutus. Piam vero, et mihi nunc maxime necessariam conjugem (ut audivisse te non dubito,) ad Dominum præmisi. Quod ideo scribo, ut Deum roges, quod mihi nunc, dum vivo solus, ac tali adjutorio destitutus, suum conduplicet auxilium. Vale et Christo fælix vivito. 18 Aprilis.[†] Oxonij.

Tuus in Domino,
P. Martyr.

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[*] Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. iii. 37].

[†] An. 1553.

## No. XCV.

*That one who officiated in Dr. Weston's place, might receive the Stipend detained from him.**

Clarissimo viro Domino Guglielmo Sicello, majestatis regiæ secretario,
ac equiti honestissimo. In aula.

S. D. Quoniam, vir clarissime, cum tuam pietatem, tum eruditionem habeo compertissimam, ideo ad te de hoc pio et erudito Christi ministro, quo familiarissime utor, scribendum esse censui. Ita sane res ejus habet: sacras litteras a duobus propemodum annis, Oxonij, pomeridiano tempore publice profitetur, eo plane loco, quo doctor Westonus olim docere, magno religionis dispendio, consueverat. Cumque is religiose atque accurate commisso sibi fungatur munere, stipendium, quod sibi pro universo tempore, quo laboravit in vinea Domini debetur, nunquam adipisci potuit: siquidem id Westonus conatur sibi vendicare. Quod ut sit justum vel æquum, tu quæso apud quem justitia et æquitas plurimum valent, apud temetipsum expendito. Ille hic non est, officio suo non fungitur; neque si adesset, et doceret, posset auditoribus nisi quam pessime consulere, cum religioni puriori tantopere adversetur. Iste vero loco ejus est legitime surrogatus, adest, susceptum munus obit sedulo; atque cum meus discipulus et adhuc sit, et fuerit, veræque religionis studiosissimus, quoad piam doctrinam mecum omnino consentit. Hæc, scio, si apud te cogitaveris, facile adducent, ut quem tibi commendo, et favore et auxilio non indignum putes. Cui existimationi justissimæ, ipse meas addo preces, quibus etiam atque etiam rogo, ut in ejus negotio ipsum juves. Quod si feceris, non modo erit acceptum Deo, sed ecclesiæ quoque non parum conducet. Etenim illi vehementer expedit, ut et laborantibus in verbo Evangelij stipendia non negentur; et juvenes aliqui tandem excitentur, qui loco seniorum juventutem sana doctrina imbuant.

De meis autem rebus non scribam multis, cum te audivisse non dubitem, piam dulcissimamque conjugem in Domino quievisse, quæ sanctissime atque incredibili pietate migrando ad Dominum, ut me in luctu reliquit, quem doctrina cœlesti et mitigo, et indies magis leniam, ita oppressum gravissimo corporis morbo deseruit. Quare tum corpus, tum animus eodem tempore vexatus est acerbissime: cumque adhuc non convaluerim, sed tamen aliquanto melius habeam; non tamen quantum satis esse possit ad meum obeundum munus, te rogo, vir optime, ut precibus tuis coneris impetrare mihi a Deo, vel absolutionem ab hujus vitæ molestijs, vel saltem vitam, qua scholæ et ecclesiæ prodesse valeam; quandoquidem ita vivere, ut sim utilis nemini, propemodum intolerabile judico. Idemque oro, ut tua lectissima conjux, quamplurimum abs te salutari mihi cupio, suis castissimis votis a Christo mihi concedi postulet. Vale atque Deo vivas fælix, meque in Christo, ut facis, ama. Oxonij, Martij 7. 1552.

Tuus ex animo quantus est,
PET. MARTYR.

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. iii. 41].

## No. XCVI.

*John Sleidan to Cecyl. Advises of the state of affaires in Germany.**

Magnifico viro, Domino Cæcilio, equiti, et serenissimi regis Angliæ secretario.

Quas Aprili mense tibi scripsi, vir ornatissime, eas te pridem accepisse puto. Vellem quidem ex tuis hoc ipsum certo cognoscere. Fuit hic nobiscum superioribus diebus serenissimi vestri regis orator, D. Picorinus, expatiatus huc e vicinis castris cum Veneto et Ferrar, legatis. Galliæ rex, post occupatam Lotharingiam et Metim urbem venit Zaberniam, quod est quatuor hinc milliaribus, episcopi ditionis oppidum. Ibi habito delectu, petivit Haganoam, illinc Weissenburgum; quo in oppido litteris acceptis a Mauritio, castra movit ad xiii diem hujus mensis, et partitis copijs retrocessit. Ejus rei quæ sit causa nondum constat. Electores etiam principes quatuor, ij qui Rhenum accolunt, Wormacia suos ad ipsum miserunt legatos, deprecandi opinor causa. Basilienses quoque nuper ipsum adierunt Zaberniæ, et pro finitimis locis intercesserunt. Nunc autem omnes Helvetiorum pagi, communi missa legatione, idem faciunt. Nam hæc nostra regio frumentum eis abunde subministrat quotannis; eaque commoditate nolunt se spoliari: et hoc ipso die, opinor, eos compellare regem: nam ante biduum hac transierunt. A nostra civitate rex alimoniam flagitavit; bis fuimus ea de re in castris, primum apud Sarburgum, dein Zaburniæ. Pabulatores multum sane incommodarunt agricolis, qui prope omnes tamen in urbem confugerant. Cujusmodi sint urbis nostræ munitiones, audisse vos non dubito. Veruntamen hoc ipso tempore novum opus instituimus, utilissimum reip. futurum. Ulmam frustra obsederunt principes, ac misere vastatis circum agris, alia quoque loca tentarunt. Mauritius fuit cum rege Ferdinando. Redijt quidem ad castra sociorum; sed ad xxvi diem hujus mensis erit rursus cum Ferdinando. Nam is intercedit, et ad Cæsarem profectus esse dicitur, Ænipontem, ut certi aliquid statui posset. Quod si fiat, magna pars consiliorum regis mutabitur et intercidet. Cæsar comparat exercitum, et erit bellum haud dubie valde atrox. Concilij nulla jam fit mentio, et silent inter arma leges. Pacem Julius tertius fecit cum Gallo, et Mirandulæ solvit obsidionem, et arctius quoque fœdus cum eo fecisse dicitur. Per Neapolim quoque gravis est proregi simultas cum Salernitano, qui et Venetias confugit. Ferdinandum aiunt ratas habere, quas cum Mauritio tractavit pacis conditiones; ideoque profectum ad fratrem, ut et ipsi persuadeat. Conditiones autem illæ cujusmodi sint, nondum plane constat. Hoc solum fertur, eas ad Germaniam tum dignitatem, tum libertatem pristinam omnino spectare. Deus bene fortunet. Albertus Marchio bellum facit Norenburgensibus. De rebus Turcicis nihil habemus comperti. Gallus in Lotharingiam redit, ut exercitum Belgicum retundat.

Hæc sunt, de quibus ad vestram magnif. in hoc tempore scribendum duxi, tum meo, tum soceri nomine. Quæso, ut tandem de meo negotio aliquid cognoscam; quod ut commendatum habeas, et rever.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

domino primati commendes, plurimum oro. Vale, Argent. 18 Maij, 1552.

Tuæ Magn. deditissimus,

Jo. Sleid.

*Sal.* Literas hucusque distuli, expectans occasionem mittendi. Rex benigne respondet Helveticis legatis, et Lucemburgum dicitur petere. Expectamus quæ sit futura actio ad 26 hujus mensis. Gallus respondet, electorum principum legatis, perfecisse jam se quod voluit: nempe captivos principes liberatum iri, et se, qui jam satis gloriæ consecutus sit, redire domum. Ita respondet xiii hujus, quo die castra movit. Iterum vale. Dat. 24 Maij, 1552.

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## No. XCVII.

*More Advices from Germany. Desires a Patent for his stipend granted him by K. Edward VI.*[*]

Domino Gulielmo Cæcilio, regio secretario, &c.

Sal. Literæ meæ diutius hic hæserunt, quam putaram. Ecce, dum omnes erecti sumus, et avide expectamus vicesimum sextum diem Maij, quo die alter erat futurus conventus Ferdinandi et Mauritij nuncius adfertur, Mauritium profligasse quasdam copias Cæsaris. Id autem accidit in Alpibus. Est oppidum ijs locis, Rutam vocant; ibi futurus erat delectus militum, qui pro Cæsare cogebantur. Mauritius autem antevertit, et novem signa profligavit: deinde celeriter progressus, aditum quendam in angustijs Alpium, et arcem ibi positam, Erenburgum cepit. Fuit hoc decima nona die Maij. Cæsar eo accepto nuncio statim Æniponte discessit: quod oppidum ab arce illa distat iter bidui. Erat cum eo Ferdinandus, qui transactionis futuræ causa illuc venerat, ut alteris literis significavi. Simul ergo discesserunt, ingressi iter Tridentum versus: nam in Italiam Cæsar cogitabat. Sed aiunt eum monitu fratris Ferdinandi, mutato consilio profectum esse in Austriam. An Mauritius eum insequatur, nondum plane constat. Est infra Æniponte alter aditus, positus in augustijs Kopfsteinum vocant. Hunc quoque si teneat ille, vix ullum ex Italia militem sit habiturus Cæsar. Hic nunc est rerum status: cætera brevi cognoscemus. Tunc ad te, plura. Sed, oro, cognoscam ex tuis literis, num meas accipias: et de meo stipendio fac aliquid boni cognoscam. Vale. dat. xxx Maij, 1552.

Jo. Sleid.

Reverendissimo D. Cantuariensi cupio imprimis commendari. Facito, quæso, ut diploma mihi conficiatur ejus, quod sereniss. rex mihi constituit, stipendij, et ut solvatur quod jam præterijt. Per Richardum Hils mercatorem vestratem recte curabitis. D. Checum, oro, plurimum ex me salutes.

Hæc ubi scripsi, literæ mihi adferuntur a socero. Commendat se vobis omnibus plurimum. Jubet ut ego vobis subinde scribam, eo quod ipsi non sit integrum ex ijs locis. Est autem in finibus Lotharingiæ: Exercitus Gallicus tripartitus, Walderfingi, oppidi Lotharingiæ, ad Saram flumen, convenit omnis 23 die Maij ; et quatriduo post ingressus iter petijt recta Lucemburgicam regionem, trajecto flumine Mosella. Quacunque eunt ijs locis, omnia devastantur incendijs et direptionibus. Is fuit ibi rerum status 28 die Maij, quo die socer mihi scripsit.

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[*] Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

## No. XCVIII.

*Intelligences concerning the motions of the Emperor, and the state of the Protestant Princes.* *

Magnifico viro, D. Gulielmo Cæcilio, sereniss. Angliæ regis secretario.

Sal. Motum hujus anni perscripsi, magnifice domine, ad initium usque Septemb. et serenissimum regem paucos intra dies accepturum spero. Fortasse priusquam hæ tibi reddantur, acceperit. Postremum est, de capto rursum Lantgravio: sed is denuo dimissus, jam est domi. Calendis Septembris Cæsar Augusta discedens, Joannem Fridericum, Saxoniæ ducem, amplissimis verbis et amanter admodum dimisit, prolixe de sua benevolentia illi pollicitus ; et religionem ei suam permisit. Ille postridie domum redijt. Mauritius in Hungariam iturus ex pacto, copias suas Doneverda misit Ratisbonam, xxii die Augusti ; ipse domum recurrit, paulo post rediturus ad exercitum. An redierit, adhuc quidem ignoratur. Albertus Marchio Brandeburg. 28 Augusti Trevirim urbem ad Mosellam flumen occupavit. Mansit ibi dies octo ; post, Lotharingiam petivit, relictis Treviri præsidio xii signis ; et xiii die Septembr. prope Sircum oppidum trajecit Mosellam, et in Lucemburgicum agrum invasit. Cæsar Augustæ treis quidem concionatores abrogavit, ob singularia quædam dogmata, sicut fertur: sed reliquis tamen permisit, ut secundum Augustanæ Confessionis, quondam exhibitæ, formulam doceant, et sacramentis utantur. xv die Septembr. Cæsar cum exercitu venit in nostros fines, et in vico quodam, milliare unum ab urbe, permansit in quintum diem: tunc demum impedimentis omnibus Rheno transmissis, in quo magna fuit difficultas, plurimumque laboris et exercitu jusso progredi præter urbem, ipse cum paucis quibusdam heri ingressus est, et sumpto prandio discessit. Sunt in ejus exercitu præter Germanos, Itali, Hispani, Bohemi, qui sane plurimum damni dederunt miseris agricolis. Cæsar omnino putatur iturus Metim, ut recuperet ; Galli strenue illam muniunt, et alimoniam omnem totius agri convehunt eo. His rebus omnibus præest Guisius.

Fuit hic nobiscum D. Morissinus, et Aschamus. Oratores omnes Cæsar jussit ire Spiram. De Hungaria nihil habemus. Hæc sunt, magnifice D. quæ tibi scribenda putavi: quanquam fortassis aliunde habes. Quod reliquum est, ut per eum, quem socer meus ad vos mittit, de mea conditione certi quid cognoscam, et ut causam ipse promoveas meam, plurimum oro. Videlicet ut diploma conficiatur, mittatur, et anni jam exacti vel sesquianni potius, solvatur pensio. Quicquid unquam in tui gratia potero faciem. Jamdiu Saxum hoc volvo: Vale. Argent. xx. Septemb. 1552.

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 93].

Jo. Sleidanus.

Johannes Marchio Brandeburgicus adducit Cæsari ad duo millia equitum, religioni est addictissimus. Nec aliter etiam militat, quam ut hoc ei sit liberum.

## No. XCIX.

### *Advises of the State of the Empire.**

Magnifico et spectabili viro D. Gulielmo Cæcilio, equiti, sereniss. regis Angliæ secretario, Domino suo multum colendo.

Sal. xx die Septemb. ad te scripsi, vir ornatissime. Quod Albertus egerit apud Treviros, jampridem audistis. Octobris die xxii reconciliatus est Cæsari per ducem Albanum. Impune fecerit omnia, et militabit Cæsari, quocunque loco jusserit. Pacta, cum Bambergico et Wurcibergensi episcopo facta, erunt rata. Cæsar in gratiam recipit Ætingenses comites, et Mansfeldios, patrem atque filium. Novembris die quarta cepit Aumalium Albertus, Guisij fratrem, cæso illius atque fugato equitatu. Curatum ipsum ex vulnere nuper misit in suam quandam arcem, ad Bohemiæ fines. Cæsar in castra venit xx Novemb. Interea muri pars magna dejecta, sed oppositum est vallum, et præsidiarij crebras faciunt eruptiones. Cæsarem aiunt nolle obsidionem solvere, neque discedere priusquam urbem receperit. Guisius fuit hactenus in urbe cum Nemorensi principe, cum Roschsurio, et Petro Stroza; num adhuc sint ignoramus. Nam superioribus diebus eruptione facta in Alberti castra, qui tum forte quosdam ad prandium invitaverat, xviii equites dicuntur ex urbe evasisse in Galliam. Tormentorum et oppugnationis fragor non solum hic exauditur, quod tridui via distat, verum quatuor etiam trans Rhenum milliaribus et eo amplius. Cuniculis opinor jam tentari urbem. Mauritius ex Hungaria domum redijt, dimissis copijs; Turcæ domum et ipsi reverterunt: si non impetrentur induciæ, magnus inde motus expectatur. Castaldus dicitur bonam operam ijs locis navare Ferdinando regi. Nostrates episcopi sollicitant nova fœdera, quandoquidem vident, et experiuntur, quid sit periculi. E Saxonia mittuntur aliquot verbi doctores Augustam. Mansfeldicus bellum fecerat Henrico Brunsvicensi: num sit composita res ignoramus. Is nunc est rerum status, nec aliud habeo quod scribam.

A vobis nihil responderi mihi miror, neque scio quid expectare debeam. Oro te, magnifice domine, age causam cum reverendissimo Cantuariensi. Equidem totus pergo in opere illo, et diligenter omnia conquiro. Dedi vobis occasiones et ansas, quibus apprehensis negotium nostrum conficeretis apud sereniss. regem. Hæc autem mora valde me coquit. Utinam aliquid saltem rescriberetis. Vale. xvii Decembr. M.D.LII. Argent.

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lansd. MS. ii. 99].

Magnificentiæ tuæ deditiss.

Commendes me velim D. Rever.
Cant. et D. Checo.
Jo. Sleid.

Cuperem habere seriem actionis, quæ regi Henrico fuit cum Clemente Septimo, priusquam ab eo se suumque regnum in libertatem asseruit. Nam et hæc erunt inserenda suo loco.

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## No. C.

*Concerning his Commentaries, which he had sent to K. Edward. Desires Sr. William Cecyl to send him an exact information of the business between K. Henry and Pope Clement. His resolution of continuing his Commentaries, and of writing the History of the Councel of Trent.**

Magnificis et spectatissimis viris, D. D. Joanni Chæco, et Gulielmo Cæcilio, dominis suis plurimum observandis.

Sal. Autumno superiori misi sereniss. regi belli Germanici Commentarios, ad illud usque tempus conscriptos; et perjucundum mihi fuit, ex tuis literis, D. Cæcili, cognoscere, non ei displicere genus hoc scribendi: vobis etiam illud probari, gaudeo, viris doctissimis, et acri judicio præditis. Itaque recte me facturum putavi, si Concilij Tridentini totam actionem, cujus etiam ego pars aliqua fui, regis causa potissimum conscriberem: ut cujusmodi sit conciliorum forma perspiciat; deinde, ut de reliqua historia restauratæ religionis, quam conscribo, judicium faciat. Nam inde ab anno salutis M.D.XVII. quo quidem anno fecit doctrinæ suæ Lutherus initium, rem omnem ordine deduxi ad annum usque M.D.XXXVI. et quod superest, eodem filo contexam, Dei beneficio. Sum autem in eo jam totus, et huic me rei soli trado, neque desistam, adjuvante Deo, priusquam perfecero. Quale sit autem futurum opus, et quam utile non huic ætati modo, sed etiam toti posteritati, malo vos judicare, vestrique similes, quam me prolixius de eo loqui.

Mense Decembri petebam abs te, D. Cæcili, per literas, ut actionem omnem, quæ fuit Henrico regi piæ memoriæ cum Clemente VII. quando se suumque regnum in libertatem asseruit, mihi curares. Habeo quidem ejus rei quædam, sed non tam exacte, neque certo, quam velim. Cupio enim proprie et quam verissime omnia describere. Quod quidem in ijs Commentarijs, quos jam mitto, quique sunt futuri pars operis, animadvertere vos posse puto. Magni ergo beneficij loco mihi erit, si in eo mihi gratificaberis. Est enim locus illustris atque memorabilis, et omnino dignus de quo posteri cognoscant. Siquid præterea sit apud vos hujus generis, una velim transmitti. Quod superest, notum est vobis, magnifici et clarissimi viri, tibi cumprimis, D. Chæce, quemadmodum sereniss. rex, ante biennium, nempe anno M.D.LI. sub finem Martij, stipendium mihi constituit annuum absenti, coron. aureos ducentos: uti reverendissimus D. Cantuariensis, tunc temporis abituro socero meo, domumque redituro, doctori Brunoni, nomine regis confirmavit. Et quoniam ejus pecuniæ nihil adhuc accepi, plurimum vos oro, quod antehac quoque feci non semel, detis operam, ut tandem solvatur. Possem equidem alia facere negotia magno meo cum emolumento, sicut alij plærique, sed ad hunc laborem divinitus me vocatum esse judico, nec animo possum esse quieto, donec ad hoc usque tempus perduxero. Quo magis etiam spero, vos, qui pro vestra humanitate atque prudentia recte omnia intelligitis, in hoc esse elaboraturos, ut de biennio jam exacto, mihi nunc satisfiat, et in posterum caveatur, quo videlicet tanto commodius atque liberius huic rei vacare possim. Quanti enim hic labor mihi constet, vobis æstimandum relinquo. Pertinet autem ad reges, ut ejusmodi labores, qui sunt et literis ornamento et religioni, et utiles reip. foveant. Siquid est omnium rerum, in quo vicissim ego vobis inservire queam, et gratificari, paratum me semper habebitis.

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lands. MS. iii. 29].

Veruntamen, ut hoc meum scriptum de concilio, diligenter asservetur in bibliotheca regis, nec in aliorum manus perveniat, nec ulli detur ejus exemplum, vehementer vos oro. Nam mea plurimum refert, ne spargatur: et est solum, ut ante quoque dixi, particula quædam operis futuri.

De statu rerum nostratium, scire vos arbitror. Galli, sub finem Januarij, libros de religione scriptos a nostris hominibus, ubi per monachos conquisivissent in ædibus, publice per carnificem exusserunt Meti. Postridie discessit Guisius, inque Galliam redijt. Luneburgi fuit multorum principum atque civitatum Saxoniæ conventus. Nuper etiam Palatinus elector, Bavarus, Clivensis, atque Wirtembergicus convenerunt Wimpffæ. Brevi cognoscemus quid sit. Princeps Urbinas dicitur esse factus minister Julij tertii. Transylvani pacem fecerunt cum Turca, de voluntate Ferdinandi regis, ut scribitur, et annuum ei pendunt vectigal. Augusta Vindelicorum tenetur adhuc præsidio, quod Cæsar ante sextum mensem ibi reliquit. Videtur aliquis ibi motus impendere: nec enim omnes præsentem statum ferre possunt. Volratus comes Mansfeldius habet adhuc exercitum, neque certo scitur, in quem usum. Sed non diu latere potest quicquid est. Quod reliquum est, ut lætum atque jucundum a vobis nuncium accipiam, imprimis opto. Deus vos servet. Argentorati. Idibus Martij. M.D.LIII.

Oro vos plurimum, ut has meas literas atque scriptum sereniss. regi exhibeatis cum nostri commendatione. Habetis opportunissimam negotij mei conficiundi occasionem. Obsecro, perficite, ne mihi sit opus in posterum eadem de re scribere.

Vestri observantissimus,
JOAN. SLEIDANUS. Li.

Richardo Hils, mercatori Londinensi, qui nobiscum aliquando habitavit, licebit dare quicquid mihi debetur. Cupio autem, atque etiam oro, ut per eum, qui has reddit, soceri mei famulum, mihi respondeatis. Cunjunctim vobis scribo, quia summam inter vos esse animorum conjunctionem accipio, ut judicij similitudinem.

Mauritius elector dicitur sollicitare, ut exercitum Mansfeldicum ad se traducat, et coquere nova consilia.

## No. CI.

*Concerning the affairs of Germany; and particularly of the Councel of Trent.**

Ornatissimo viro D. Gulielmo Cæcilio, serenissimi regis Angliæ secretario.

Sal. De rebus actis Tridenti, non dubito quin ex Aschami Rogeri literis, ad quem scripsi, cognoris, vir ornatiss. Post impetratam fidem publicam, quod fuit sub finem Januarij, dux Mauricius putabatur omnino missurus esse Philippum et alios. Norenbergam enim usque præmiserat. Sed cum aliquandiu fuissent ibi commorati, sub finem Februarij revocavit eos, ad maturitatem jam prope deductis belli consilijs et apparatu. Dux Christophorus autem Wirtembergicus, qui doctrinæ Confessionem exhibuerat antea per legatos Tridenti, Brentium eo misit cum tribus collegis, quibus se conjunxerant duo nostræ civitatis theologi; et hi quidem Tridentum venerunt, ad xviii diem Martij. In alterum diem fuerat indicta, quam vocant, sessio. Sed nihil tum fuit actum: eaque sessio fuit ad calend. usque Maij prorogata. Postquam ergo legati Wirtembergici, qui nuper eo venerant recentes, et ego, nostræ reip. nomine, theologos nostros, apud Cæsaris treis oratores ibi, certis legibus, ad futuram actionem obtulimus et admisimus: ego, qui jam in quintum mensem ibi fueram, sub finem Martij discessi, et ad xii Aprilis huc redij. Priusquam abirem, de voluntate sociorum egeram diligenter apud alterum Cæsaris oratorem, de modo processus, et urgebam ut theologi nostri publici audirentur, aut super articulis ibi definitis, aut super capitibus doctrinæ, juxta seriem Confessionis exhibitæ. Hoc autem invitissimi faciunt; neque publicum ipsis auditorium, opinor, facile concedent. In quo quidem si perseverent, tum nostri discedent. Et hic quidem fuit, me discedente, rerum status. Qui sunt ibi doctiores, Brentium norunt ex scriptis, et ipsius expetunt colloquia. Sunt ibi Hispani episcopi xxv, Itali totidem aut plures: et hi quidem actionis atque moræ pertæsi, spectabant abitionem; illi vero, Cæsaris authoritate, qui cœtum illum dissolvi non temere patitur, continentur. Jam episcopi nostrates omnes abierant, præter Curiensem et Constantiensem, qui tamen et ipse paucis post me diebus dicebatur esse discessurus.

Videt Cæsar, quam non facile recolligi possit ejusmodi cætus posthac, si nunc eum dissipari contingat: ideoque tantopere studuit hactenus eum continere. Digressus, cum venissem Ænipontem, D. Legatum Morisinum Halæ conveni calendis Aprilis. Postridie continuato itinere intelligebam obsideri Augustam Vindelicorum ab duce Mauricio filijsque Lantgravij, et Alberto Brandeburgico. Biduo post occurrit mihi in via D. Morisini conjux, quæ per Augustam huc profectura, cum difficilem fore transitum audisset, ad maritum redibat. Eodem die deditionem fecerunt Augustani, qui fuit hujus mensis dies quartus. Erant in urbe tria peditum signa, ductore Walthero Hirnheincio: qui omnes liberaliter, nulla devincti lege dimissi fuerunt. Postridie sunt urbem ingressi principes, qui veteri restituto senatu et tribubus, uti in reliquis etiam oppidis fecerant, et constituta nova rep. et tormentis tum civitatis, tum Cæsaris, quæ sunt ibi plurima, perquisitis, die Aprilis septimo discesserunt. Quibus autem conditionibus pacti sunt cum oppidanis, adhuc quidem ignoro. Fuggerus Antonius pridie deditionis excesserat urbe, et quatuor ab Æniponte milliaribus, mane mihi occurrit, tribus tantum comitatus. Ulma post iter feci, qui tunc præsidium habebant, tria signa peditum, et videbantur ad defensionem omnino spectare. Postridie quam illinc abij, nempe octava hujus mensis die, principes, Mauricius, Lantgravij filius, et Megelburgius, datis ad eos literis, commeatum et alimoniam, et alia quædam, ab ipsis petebant. Eas ad literas cum nihil illi responderent, principes undecima hujus denuo scripserunt, seque ipsos appropinquaturos nunciabant; et hoc ipso tempore oppidum obsident. Est autem ea civitas valde locuples, et quia magnam obtinent circum ditionem, arces, castella, oppidula, prædia, vix opinor tolerabunt obsidionem. Proximus est impressioni dux Wirtembergicus, qui sane pacem libenter coleret, si per tempora liceret: ab eo rectum est iter ad nos. Altera ipsorum pars exercitus petit Alpes, credo, ut aditus occupent, nequis externus miles egredi possit. His copijs opinor, præest Albertus Brandeburgicus una cum Hedeckio.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Quid Cæsar agat, aut ubi sit, nescimus. Ego cum essem Æniponti, nihil quicquam vidi apparatus; magnumque tum erat ibi silentium in aula, magnaque solitudo, nisi quod eo ipso die nonnullis fuit datum negotium conscribendi copias. Dubium tamen non est, quin Italum et Hispanum militem Cæsar evocarit. Electores Rhenani suos habent apud principes legatos de pace: sed plærique putant difficillimam esse futuram tractationem. Æniponte mihi dicebatur, Cæsarem in hoc esse totum, ut Mauricium placaret. Et hic quidem paroxysmus nobis imminet ab oriente sole: jam vero ab occidente multo fere terribilior instat. Nam Metim urbem Gallus tenet, et per vicinum nobis agrum iter faciens, volet etiam hanc nostram urbem fortassis videre, multumque hoc ad suam gloriam pertinere putabit, eousque signa promovisse. Quod si alter exercitus, occupata Ulma, cæterisque domitis, ad nos etiam propius accedet, vides in quantis simus augustijs. O! quis erit hujus tragediæ tandem exitus? Gorziam oppidum et Abbatiam prædivitem Galli, ante diem octavum, vi ceperunt, diripuerunt, incenderunt, opinor, præfecto Hispano, cum 38 militibus, suspenso. Theonis villa, Lucemburgicæ ditionis oppidum munitum, quatuor a Meti milliaribus, ad Mosellam flumen, habet equitum peditumque præsidia, et nuper emissis fæminis atque pueris, obsidionem tolerabit. Eo enim capto oppido, nihil fere est ijs locis, quod vim ullam majorem diu sustinere possit.

Hæc est rerum apud nos facies. Vos multo fæliciores, qui festinam pacem colitis in pulcherrima regione. Socer meus, quem nosti, datis ad me literis (nam est in agro Metensibus vicino) multam tibi salutem nunciat, seque diligenter vobis omnibus commendat, et jussit ut hæc, tam suo quam meo etiam nomine, tibi scriberem, quandoquidem ex ijs locis, ubi nunc est, et in hac temporum asperitate, non ita commode potest ipse ad vos dare literas. Quod cum ita sit, nolui hoc officium prætermittere, ut de ipsius apud vos observantia studioque perpetuo cognosci posset. Quanquam et ipse, pro meo in vos affectu, mea sponte scripturus eram : et spero vos in optimam partem hæc accepturos esse, quæ fortasse jam aliunde etiam accepistis. Attamen quia rebus ipsemet tractandis interfui Tridenti, puto vobis tanto futuram esse gratiorem hanc qualemcunque narrationem. Quod superest, ut meum negotium, quod aliquot nunc annis agitatur, et de quo reverendiss. D. Cantuariensis, anno superiori, socero meo certum quid dixit, promoveas, vir ornatissime, etiam atque etiam rogo. Sereniss. rex constituit mihi, sicut Cantuariensis dixit socero, annuos ducentos absenti. Ut ejus rei conficiatur diploma magnopere peto, sicut hactenus, eamque mihi pecuniam dependi flagito. Scis rem omnem haud dubie, alioqui prolixior essem : et priusquam irem Tridentum, scripsi ea de re D. Chæco, sicut etiam reverendiss. D. Cantuariensi. Nihil hactenus mihi responsum est a vobis : quo magis peto, ut per te certi aliquid cognoscam. In eo feceris et socero mihique gratissimum. Vale. Argent. xviii. April. 1553.

JOAN. SLEIDANUS, Licent.

Has literas oro communices reverendissimo D. Cantuar. Nam sic scribo ad ipsum. Per Richardum Hillis mercatorem vestratem recte poteritis ad nos, nisi alia sit ratio commodior. Clarissimo viro D. Checo plurimum et officiose me commendo.

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## No. CII.

*Martin Bucer to the Secretary, for the speeding of Sleidan's business.**

Summa dignitate viro, et pietate, præcellenti D. Sicilio, regiæ majestatis a secretis, domino ac patrono suo summopere colendo.

S. P. Vir clarissime, accipies hic meas literas, quamlibet ægre dictatas, ad summe doctum et pium medicum D. Joannem Quercetanum. Sed te per Christum rogo, nosti supplicationem nostram pro Sleydano, si possis ulla ratione impetrare, dari responsum, in utram placeat partem. Nosti hoc decere administrationem regni, et ceteris, et religionis beneficio tantopere ornatam. Dominus prosequatur te, tuosque omnes beneficentia cumulatissima. Cantabrigiæ, 18 Feb. M.D.LI.

Clarissimæ dominationi tuæ deditissimus in Domino,
M. BUCERUS.

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## No. CIII.

*Ralph Morice, the Archbishops Secretary, his Supplication to Queen Elizabeth, for Prior Wilbore's Pension, lately deceased.*†

To the quenys most excellent majestie.

IN his most humble wise, shewith and declarith unto your most

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* Sir W. H. MSS. [Lands. MS. ii. 51].

† Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

excellent majestie your highnes humble subject and orator Raphe Morice, sometime servant unto that worthie prelate of godly memorie, Tho. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterburye. That whereas your highnes said orator for the space of 20 yeres and above, being reteynid in service with the said most reverend father, in the rowme of a secretary, bestowed and spent both his time, youthe and prosperitye of his life, not so much in writing of the private busines of the said most reverend father, as in travailing with his pen aboughte the serious affaires of the prince and the realme, commyted unto him by those most noble and wurthie princes, K. Henry the Eighth, and K. Edward the Sixth, your majesties dere father and brother, concernyng aswel the writyng of those great and weightie matrimonyal causes of your highnes said dere father, (the good effecte, successe and benefit wherof to Godds glory, this hole realme with the subjects therof, in your highnes most noble and royal personage, do now most happilie enjoye,) as also aboute thextirpation of the bishop of Rome his usurped power and authoritie, the reformation of corrupte religion, and ecclesiastical lawes, thalteration of divine service, and of divers and sundry conferences of lernid men, for thestablishing and advancement of sincere religion, with such like. Wherin your highness said orator most painfullie was occupied in writing of no small volumes, from tyme to tyme. As in that behalf divers lernid men now lyving can testifie; namely Dr. Hethe, Dr. Thirleby, the bisshopes of Elie, Chichester and Heriford. And for that the said most reverend father was myndeful and desirous somedeale to recompence the payneful service of your said orator, he of his own mere motion and good disposition procurid for your highnes said orator, a lease of the parsonage of Ospringe within the count of Kent, ympropriated unto the colledge of S. Johns in Cambridge: which towardes the mayntenance of your said orators lyving was better than 40 markes by the yere *de claro*, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. Which lease of the said parsonage being so grauntid, and redie to be sealid by the master and felowes of the same colledge, one Hawkyns of the garde, by his ymportunate sute, made unto your highnes said dere father the kinges majestie, so wan his highnes favour therin, that his majestie obteynyd the said lease to be sealid to the use of the said Hawkyns. His majestie nevertheles promising unto D. Day, then master of the said colledge, and sone after unto the said most reverend, that his highnes wolde otherwise recompense your said orator for the same with like valewe or better: as the said Hawkyns now lyving can testifie the same. This notwithstanding, most dere soveraigne lady, Almighty God preventing the time of any such recompence by calling your highnes said father unto his mercy, your highnes said orator remayneth as yet unrecompenced to his great hinderaunce, and ympoverishmente. For now being declyned unto age, and having 4 daughters left by thair mother marriageable, your said orator is neither of habilitie to bestow them according to his vocation, as he might have done, yf that small lyving so prepared for him might have remayned to his use; nor hymself to lyve withouten danger, onles your majestie, of your benigne great goodnes, do extende your hignes liberalitie, aide and succour unto hym. And for that your highnes said

orator doeth understand, that one Mr. Wilbore, sometyme prior of the monasterie of S. Austens, departed this transitorie life before Mighilmas last past, who hath a yerelie pension of your majestie of
now by reason of his death in your gracious disposition, it may please your highness in consideration of the premisses, and for that it is reported, that your said most noble, and dere father provided and willed in his last testamente, that such of his subjects, as by his highnes did susteyne any maner of damage or hinderaunce, sholde be satisfied for the same; to be so good and gracious soveraigne lady unto your said orator, in the furtheraunce of his said poor daughters marieges, as to graunte unto hym the said pension during his life, with tharrerages of this last half yere deu at the said feast of S. Michel tharchangel last past. In accomplishing wherof your highnes shal not only do a right charitable and a meritorious deed, but also therbie throughlie satisfie and recompence your said orator for the said lease so surrendred at the request of your highnes said dere father. Although the said orator hath lost in forbearing of the same above M. mark for the space of these eighteen yeres and above, corn being at such a price as it hath byn: and finallie bynde both hym and al his, during thair lyves, dailie to pray unto Almighty God for the most prosperous estate of your majestie in moche honour and felicitie to indure.

## No. CIV.

### *A Prologue or Preface, made by THOMAS CRANMER, late Archbishop of Canterbury, to the holy Bible.*[*]

CONCERNING two sundry sorts of people, it seemeth much necessary that something bee said in the entrie of this book, by way of a preface or prologue; wherby hereafter it may bee both the better accepted of them which hitherto could not wel bear it, and also the better used of them, which heretofore have misused it. For truly some there are that be too slow, and need the spurr; some other seem too quick, and need more of the bridle: some loose their game by short shooting, some by overshooting: some walk too much on the left hand, some too much on the right. In the former sort be al they that refuse to read, or to hear read the scripture in the vulgar tongues; much worse they that also let or discourage the other from the reading or hearing thereof. In the latter sort bee they, which by their inordinate reading, undiscrete speaking, contentious disputing, or otherwise, by their licentious living, slander and hinder the word of God most of al other, wherof they would seem to bee greatest furtherers. These two sorts, albeit they bee most far unlike the one to the other, yet they both deserve in effect like reproch. Neither can I well tell, whether of them I may judg the more offendor, him that doth obstinately refuse so godly and goodly knowledg, or him, that so ungodly, and so ungoodly doth abuse the same.

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[*] [This Prologue is corrected from the Parker Society edition of Abp. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. pp. 118—125.]

And as touching the former, I would mervail much that any man should bee so mad, as to refuse in darkness light; in hunger, food; in cold, fire; for the word of God is light: "lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum;"* food: "non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei;"† fire: "ignem veni, mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut ardeat?"‡ I would mervail, I say, at this, save that I consider, how much custome and usage may do. So that if there were a people as some write *de Cimmerijs*, which never saw the sun, by reason that they be situated far toward the north-pole, and be enclosed and overshadowed with high mountaines; it is credible and like enough, that if, by the power and will of God, the mountains should sink down and give place, that the light of the sun might have entraunce to them, at the first some of them would bee offended therewith. And the old proverb affirmeth, that after tillage of corn was first found, many delighted more to feed of mast and acornes, wherewith they had been accustomed, then to eat bread made of good corn. Such is the nature of custome, that it causeth us to bear all things well and easily, wherewith we have been accustomed, and to bee offended with all things thereunto contrary. And therefore I can well think them worthy pardon, which at the coming abroad of scripture doubted and drew back. But such as wil persist stil in their wilfulness, I must needs judg not only foolish, froward and obstinate, but also peevish, perverse and indurate.

And yet if the matter should bee tryed by custome, wee might also alledge custome for the reading of the scripture in the vulgar tongues, and prescribe the more auntient custome. For it is not much above one hundred years agoe, since scripture hath not been accustomed to bee read in the vulgar tongues within this realm; and many hundred years before that it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue; whereof there remain[eth] yet divers copies found lately in old abbies, of such antique maners of writing, and speaking, that few men now been able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old, and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated in the newer language. Whereof yet also many copies remain and bee daily found.

But now to let pass custome, and to weigh, as wise men ever should, the thing in his own nature: let us here discuss, what it availeth scripture to bee had and read of the lay and vulgar people. And to this question I intend here to say nothing but that was spoken and written by the noble doctor, and most moral divine, St. John Chrysostome, in his third Sermon *De Lazaro;* albeit I wil be something shorter, and gather the matter into fewer words, and less room than he doth there, because I would not bee tedious. Hee exhorteth there his audience, "that every man should read by himself at home in the mean dayes and time, between sermon and sermon, to the intent they might both more profoundly fix in their minds and memories that hee had said before upon such texts, whereupon he had already preached; and also that they might have their minds the more ready and better prepared to receive and perceive that which he should say from thenceforth in his sermons, upon such texts as hee had not yet declared and preached upon: therefore, saith he there: 'My common usage is to give you warning before, what matter I intend after to entreat upon, that you yourselves, in the mean dayes, may take the book in hand, read, weigh and perceive the sum and effect of the matter, and mark what hath been declared, and what remaineth yet to bee declared: so that thereby your mind may be the more furnisht to hear the rest that shal bee said. And that I exhort you,' saith hee, 'and ever have and wil exhort you, that ye (not only here in the church) give ear to that that is said by the preacher, but that also, when yee bee at home in your houses, ye apply yourselves, from time to time to the reading of holy scriptures: which thing also I never linn* to beat into the ears of them that been my familiars, and with whom I have private acquaintance and conversation. Let no man make excuse and say,' saith hee, 'I am busied about matters of the commonwealth;' 'I bear this office or that;' 'I am a craftsman, I must apply mine occupation;' 'I have a wife, my children must be fed, my household must I provide for:' briefly, 'I am a man of the world, it is not for mee to read the scriptures, that belongeth to them that have bidden the world farewel, which live in solitarines and contemplation, that have been brought up and continually nosylled in learning and religion.'

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* Psal. 119. † Mat. 4. ‡ Luke 12.

"To this answering, 'What sayest thou, man,' saith hee: 'Is it not for thee to study and to read the scripture, because thou art encumbred and distract with cares and business? So much the more is it behoveful for thee to have defence of scriptures, how much thou art the more distressed in worldly dangers. They that bee free and far from trouble and intermedling of worldly things, live in safeguard, and tranquillity, and in the calm, or within a sure haven. Thou art in the midst of the sea of worldly wickednes, and therefore thou needest the more of ghostly succour and comfort: they sit far from the strokes of battaile, and far out of gun shot, and therfore they bee but seldome wounded: thou that standest in the forefront of the host, and nighest to thine enemies, must needs take now and then many strokes, and bee grievously wounded. And therefore thou hast most need to have thy remedies and medicines at hand. Thy wife provoketh thee to anger, thy child giveth thee occasion to take sorrow and pensiveness, thine enemies lyeth in wait for thee, thy friend (as thou takest him) sometime envieth thee, thy neighbour misreporteth thee, or pricketh quarrels against thee, thy mate or partner undermineth thee: thy lord, judge or justice, threatneth thee, poverty is painful unto thee, the loss of thy dear and welbeloved causeth thee to mourn; prosperity exalteth thee, adversity bringeth thee low. Briefly, so divers and so manifold occasions of cares, tribulations and temptations besetteth thee and besiegeth thee round about. Where canst thou have armour, or fortress, against thine assaults? Where canst thou have salve for thy sores, but of holy scripture? Thy flesh must needs be prone and subject to fleshly lusts, which daily walkest and art conversant amongst women, seest their beautyes set forth to the eye, hearest their nice and wanton words, smellest their balm, civet and musk, with other like provocations and stirrings, except thou hast in a readiness, wherewith to suppress and avoyd them, which cannot elsewhere bee had, but onely out of the holy scriptures. Let us read and seek all remedies that wee can, and all shall bee little enough. How shall wee then do, if wee suffer and take daily wounds, and when wee have done, wil sit still and search for no medicines? Dost thou not mark and consider how the smith, mason or carpenter, or any other handy-craftsman, what need soever hee bee in, what other shift hee make, hee will not sell nor lay to pledg the tools of his occupation; for then how should hee work his feat, or get his living thereby? Of like mind and affection ought wee to bee towards holy scripture. For as mallets, hammers, sawes, chesells, axes and hatchets bee the tools of their occupation, so bee the books of the prophets and apostles, and all holy writ inspired by the Holy Ghost, the instruments of our salvation. Wherefore, let us not stick to buy and provide us the Bible, that is to say, the books of holy scripture. And let us think that to bee a better jewel in our house than either gold or silver. For like as thieves been loth to assault an house where they know to bee good armour and artillery; so wheresoever these holy and ghostly books been occupied, there neither the devil, nor none of his angels dare come neer. And they that occupy them been in much safeguard, and having great consolation, and been the readier unto all goodness, the slower to all evil; and if they have done any thing amiss, anon, even by the sight of the books, their consciences been admonished, and they waxen sorry and ashamed of the fact. Peradventure they wil say unto mee, how and if wee understand not that wee read, that is contained in the books? What then? Suppose thou understand not the deep and profound mysteries of scripture; yet can it not bee, but that much fruit and holines must come and grow unto thee by the reading: for it cannot bee, that thou shouldest bee ignorant in al things alike. For the Holy Ghost hath so ordered and attempered the scriptures, that in them as wel publicans, fishers, and sheepherds may find their edification, as great doctors their erudition: for those books were not made to vain glory, like as were the writings of the Gentile philosophers, and rhetoricians, to the intent the makers should bee had in admiration for their high stiles, and obscure manner of writing, wherof nothing can bee understand without a master, or an expositor. But the apostles and prophets wrote their books so that their special intent and purpose might bee understanded and perceived of every reader, which was nothing but the edification or amendment of the life of them that readeth or heareth it. Who is that reading, or hearing read in the Gospel, 'Blessed are they, that been meek, blessed are they, that been merciful, blessed are they, that been of clean heart,' and such other like places, can perceive nothing, except hee have a master to teach him what it meaneth? Likewise the signs and miracles with al other histories of the doings of Christ, or his apostles, who is there of so simple wit and capacity, but hee may bee able to perceive and understand them? These bee but excuses and clokes for the rain, and coverings of their own idle slothfulnes. 'I cannot understand it.' What mervail? How shouldest thou understand, if thou wilt not read nor look upon it? Take the books into thine hands, read the whole story, and that thou understandest, keep it well in memory; that thou understandest not, read it again and again: if thou can neither so come by it, counsail with some other that is better learned. Go to thy curate and preacher; shew thyself to bee desirous to know and learn: and I doubt not but God, seeing thy diligence and readines (if no man else teach thee), wil Himself vouchsafe with His Holy Spirit to illuminate thee, and to open unto thee that which was locked from thee. Remember the eunuchus of Candace queen of Ethiopy, which, albeit hee was a man of a wild and barbarous country, and one occupied with worldly cares and businesses, yet riding in his chariot, hee was reading the scripture. Now consider, if this man, passing in his journey, was so diligent as to read the scripture, what thinkest thou of like was hee wont to do sitting at home? Again, hee letted not to read, albeit he did not understand, what did hee then, trowest thou, after that, when hee had learned and gotten understanding? For that thou may wel know that he understood not what hee read, harken what Philip there saith unto him: 'Understandest thou what thou readest?' And hee, nothing ashamed to confess his ignorance, answereth, 'How should I understand, having nobody to show mee the way?' Lo! when hee lacked one to shew him the way and to expound to him the scriptures, yet did hee read: and therefore God the rather provided for him a guide of the way, that taught him to understand it. God perceived his willing and toward mind; and therfore hee sent him a teacher by and bye. Therfore let no man be negligent about his own health and salvation: though thou have not Philip alwayes when thou wouldest, the Holy Ghost, which then moved and stirred up Philip, will bee ready and not [to] fail thee, if thou do thy diligence accordingly. All these things been written for us to our edification and amendment, which be born towards the latter end of the world. The reading of scriptures is a great and strong bulwark or fortress against sin; the ignorance of the same is the greater ruine and destruction of them that wil not know it. That is the thing that bringeth in heresies, that is it that causeth all corrupt and perverse living, that is it, that bringeth all things out of good order."*

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* [Linn, *i. e.* cease.]

Hitherto, al that I have said, I have taken and gathered out of the foresaid sermon of this holy doctor St. John Chrysostom. Now if I should in like manner bring forth what the self same doctor speaketh in other places, and what other doctors and writers say concerning the same purpose, I might seem to you to write another Bible rather then to make a preface to the Bible. Wherfore, in few words to comprehend the largeness and utility of the scripture, how it containeth fruitful instruction and erudition for every man; if any things be necessary to be learned, of the holy scripture we may learn it. If falshood shall be reproved, thereof wee may gather wherewithal. If any thing bee to bee corrected and amended, if there need any exhortation or consolation, of the scripture wee may wel learn. In the scriptures bee the fat pastures of the soul; therein is no venomous meat, no unwholsome thing; they bee the very dainty and pure feeding. Hee that is ignorant, shal find there what hee should learn. Hee that is a perverse sinner, shal there find his damnation to make him to tremble for fear. Hee that laboureth to serve God, shal find there his glory, and the promissions of eternal life, exhorting him more diligently to labour. Herein may princes learn how to govern their subjects; subjects obedience, love, and dread to their princes: husbands, how they should behave them unto their wives; how to educate their children and servants: and contrary, the wives, children and servants may know their dutie to their husbands, parents, and masters. Here may al maner of persons, men, women, young, old, learned, unlearned, rich, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean men, virgins, wives, widdowes, lawiers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and al manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they bee, may in this book learn all things what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as wel concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves and al other. Briefly, to the reading of the scripture none can bee enemy, but that either bee so sick, that they love not to hear of any medicine, or else that bee so ignorant, that they know not scripture to bee the most healthful medicine.

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* [Chrysost. de Lazaro, Concio iii. tom. i. pp. 737—740, ed. Paris, 1718—38.]

Therefore as touching this former part, I wil hear conclude and take it as a conclusion sufficiently determined and approved, that it is convenient and good the scripture to bee read of al sorts and kinds of people, and in the vulgar tongue, without further allegations and probations for the same; which shal not need, since that this one place of John Chrysostom is enough and sufficient to persuade al them that bee not frowardly and perversely set in their own wilful opinion; specially now that the king's highnes, being supreme head next under Christ of this Church of England, hath approved with his royal assent the setting forth hereof, which onely to al true and obedient subjects ought to bee a sufficient reason for the allowance of the same, without further delay, reclamation, or resistance, although there were no preface, nor other reason herein expressed.

Therefore now to come to the second, and latter part of my purpose. There is nothing so good in this world, but it may bee abused, and turned from fruitful and wholsome to hurtful and noisome. What is there above better then the sun, the moon, the stars? Yet was there, that took occasion by the great beauty and vertue of them, to dishonour God, and to defile themselves with idolatry, giving the honour of the living God, and Creator of al things, to such things as Hee had created. What is there here beneath better then fire, water, meats, drinks, mettals of gold, silver, iron and steel? Yet wee see daily great harm and much mischief done by every one of these, as wel for lack of wisdome and providence of them that suffer evil, as by the malice of them that worketh the evill. Thus to them that bee evil of themselves every thing setteth forward, and encreaseth their evil, bee it of his own nature a thing never so good; like as contrarily, to them that studieth and endeavoureth themselves to goodnes, every thing prevaileth them, and profiteth unto good, bee it of his own nature a thing never so bad. As St. Paul saith: "His, qui diligunt Deum, omnia cooperantur in bonum." Even as out of most venimous wormes is made triacle, the most sovereign medicine for the preservation of man's health in time of danger. Wherefore I would advise you all, that cometh to the reading or hearing of this book, which is the word of God, the most precious jewel, and most holy relique that remaineth upon earth, that yee bring with you the fear of God, and that yee do it with al [due] reverence, and use your knowledg thereof, not to vain-glory of frivolous disputation, but to the honour of God, encrease of vertue, and edification both of your selves and other.

And to the intent that my words may bee the more regarded, I wil use in this part the authority of St. Gregory Nazianzene, like as in the other I did of St. John Chrysostom. It appeareth that in his time there were some (as I fear mee, there been also now at these dayes a great number), which were idle bablers and talkers of the scripture out of season and all good order, and without any encrease of virtue, or example of good living. To them hee writeth al his first book "De Theologia:" whereof I shal briefly gather the whole effect, and recite it here unto you. "There been some," saith hee, "whose not onely ears and tongues, but also their fists, been whetted, and ready bent al to contention and unprofitable disputation: whom I would wish, as they been vehement and earnest to reason the matter with tongue, so they were also ready and practive to do good deeds. But forasmuch as they, subverting the order of al godlines, have respect onely to this thing, how they may bind and loose subtil questions, so that now every marketplace, every alehouse and tavern, every feasthouse, briefly, every company of men, every assembly of women, is filled with such talk; since the matter is so," saith hee, "and that our faith and holy religion of Christ beginneth to wax nothing else, but as it were a sophistrie, or a talking craft, I can no less do but say something thereunto. It is not fit," saith hee, "for every man to dispute the high questions of divinity, neither is it to bee done at al times, neither in every audience must wee discuss every doubt: but wee must know when, to whom, and how far wee ought to enter into such matters.

"First, it is not for every man, but it is for such as bee of exact, and exquisite judgments, and such as have spent their time before in study and contemplation; and such as before have cleansed themselves as wel in soul as body, or at the least, endeavoured themselves to bee made clean. For it is dangerous," saith hee, "for the unclean to touch that [thing that] is most clean; like as the sore ey taketh harm by looking upon the sun.

"Secondarily, not at al times, but when wee bee reposed and at rest from al outward dreggs and trouble, and when that our heads bee not encumbred with other worldly and wandring imaginations: as if a man should mingle balm and dirt together. For hee that shal judg and determine such matters and doubts of scriptures, must take his time when hee may apply his wits thereunto, that hee may thereby the better see and discern what is truth.

"Thirdly, where and in what audience? There, and among those, that been studious to learn, and not among such as have plesure to trifle with such matters as with other things of pastime, which repute for their chief delicates the disputation of high questions, to shew their wits, learning, and eloquence in reasoning of high matters.

"Fourthly, it is to bee considered how far to wade in such matters of difficulty. No further," saith hee, "but as every man's own capacity will serve him; and again no further than the weakness or intelligence of the other audience may bear. For like as too great noise hurteth the ear, too much meat hurteth a man's body, [too] heavy burthens hurteth the bearers of them, too much rain doth more hurt then good to the ground; briefly, in al things, too much is noyous; even so weak wits and weak consciences may soon be oppressed with over hard questions. I say not this to dissuade men from the knowledge of God, and reading, or studying of the scripture. For I say, that it is as necessary for the life of man's soul, as for the body to breathe. And if it were possible so to live, I would think it good for a man to spend al his life in that, and to do no other thing. I commend the law which biddeth to meditate and study the scriptures always, both night and day, and sermons and preachings to bee made, both morning, noon and eventide; and God to bee lauded and blessed in al times, to bedward, from bed, in our journeyes, and all our other works. I forbid not to read, but I forbid to reason. Neither forbid I to reason so far as is good and godly. But I allow not that is done out of season, and out of mesure and good order. A man may eat too much of hony, bee it never so sweet, and there is time for every thing; and that thing that is good, is not good, if it bee ungodly done: even as a flower in winter is out of season, and as a woman's apparel becometh not a man, neither contrarily, the man's the woman; neither is weeping convenient at a bridall, neither laughing at a buriall. Now if wee can observe and keep that is comely and timely in al other things, shal not wee then the rather do the same in the Holy Scriptures? Let us not run forth, as it were wild horses, that can suffer neither bridle in their mouths, nor sitter on their backs. Let us keep us in our bounds, and neither let us go too far on the one side, lest we return into Egypt, neither too far over the other, lest wee bee carried away to Babylon. Let us not sing the song of our Lord in a strange land; that is to say, let us not dispute the word of God at al adventures, as wel where it it is not to bee reasoned as where it is, and as wel in the ears of them that bee not fit therefore as of them that bee. If wee can in no wise forbear but that we must needs dispute, let us forbear thus much at the least, to do it out of time and place convenient. And let us entreat of those things which bee holy, holily; and upon those things that been mystical, mystically; and not to utter the divine mysteries in the ears unworthy to hear them: but let us know what is comely, as wel in our silence and talking, as in our garment's wearing, in our feeding, in our gesture, in our goings, in al our other behaving. This contention and debate about scriptures and doubts thereof, (specially when such as pretend to bee the favourers and students thereof, cannot agree within themselves,) doth most hurt to ourselves, and to the furthering of the cause and quarrells, that wee would have furthered above al other things. And wee in this," saith hee, "bee not unlike to them that, being mad, set their own houses on fire, and that slay their own children, or beat their own parents. I mervail much," saith hee, "to recount whereof cometh all this desire of vain glory, whereof cometh al this tongue-itch, that wee have so much delight to talk and clatter? And wherein is our communication? Not in the commendation of vertuous and good deeds of hospitality, of love between Christian brother and brother, of love between man and wife, of virginity and chastity, and of almes towards the poor; not in psalmes and godly songs, not in lamenting for our sins, not in the repressing the affections of the body, not in prayers to God. We talk of scripture, but in the mean time we subdue not our flesh by fasting, waking and weeping; we make not this life a meditation of death; wee do not strive to bee lords of our appetites and affections; wee go not about to pull down our proud and high minds, to abate our fumish and rancorous stomachs, to restrain our lusts and bodily delectations, our undiscrete sorrows, our lascivious mirth, our inordinate looking, our insatiable hearing of vanities, our speaking without mesure, our inconvenient thoughts, and briefly, to reform our life and manners. But al our holines consisteth in talking. And wee pardon each other from al good living, so that wee may stick fast together in argumentation; as though there were no mo wayes to heaven, but this alone, the way of speculation and knowledg (as they take it); but in very deed it is rather the way of superfluous contention and sophistication."*

Hitherto have I recited the mind of Gregory Nazianzene in that book, which I spake of before. The same aucthor saith also in another place, "that the learning of a Christian man ought to begin of the fear of God, to end in matters of high speculation; and not contrarily to begin with speculation, and to end in fear. For speculation," saith hee, "either high cunning and knowledg, if it be not stayd with the bridle of fear to offend God, is daungerous, and enough to tumble a man headlong down the hill. Therefore," saith hee, "the fear of God must be the first beginning, and as it were an A. B. C., or an introduction to all them, that shal enter to the very true and most fruitful knowledge of holy scriptures. Where as is the fear of God, there is," saith hee, "the keeping of the commandments, there is the cleansing of the flesh, which flesh is a cloud before the soul's eye, and suffereth it not purely to see the beam of [the] heavenly light. Where as is the cleansing of the flesh, there is the illumination of the Holy Ghost, the end of al our desires, and the very light whereby the verity of scriptures is seen and perceived."† This is the mind and almost the words of Gregory Nazianzene, doctor of the Greek Church, of whom St. Jerome saith, that unto his time the Latine Church had no writer able to bee compared, and to make an even match with him.*

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* [Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 27. Theol. i. adv. Eunomian. tóm. i. p. 487, *et sqq.* ed. Paris, 1778—1840.]

† [Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 39. In sancta lumina, tom. i. pp. 681, 682.]

Therefore to conclude this latter part, every man, that cometh to the reading of this holy book, ought to bring with him first and foremost this fear of Almighty God, and then next a firm and stable purpose to reform his own self according thereunto; and so to continue, proceed, and prosper from time to time, shewing himself to bee a sober and fruitful hearer and learner. Which if hee do, hee shall prove at [the] length wel able to teach, though not with his mouth, yet with his living and good example, which is sure the most lively and [most] effectuous form and manner of teaching. Hee that otherwise intermedleth with this book, let him be assured, that once hee shal make account therefore, when hee shal have said to him, as it is written in the prophet David, "Peccatori dicit Deus," &c.: "Unto the ungodly said God, why dost thou preach my lawes, and takest my testament in thy mouth? Whereas thou hatest to bee reformed, and hast been partakers with advoutrers. Thou hast let thy mouth speak wickedness, and with thy tongue thou hast set forth deceipt. Thou sattest and spakest against thy brother; and hast slandered thine own mother's son. These things hast thou done, and I held my tongue, and thou thoughtest (wickedly) that I am even such a one as thee self. But I wil reprove thee, and set before thee the things that thou hast done. O consider this, yee that forget God; lest I pluck you away, and there be none to deliver you. Whoso offereth mee thanks and praise, hee honoureth mee; and to him that ordereth his conversation right, wil I shew the salvation of God."

God save the King.†

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* [Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruffin. lib. i. tom. ii. p. 137, ed. Francof. 1684.]

† The volume containing "A list of some of the early printed books in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth," Lond. 1843, contains some interesting notices of fragments occupying the place of fly leaves and end papers in volumes with which they had no connexion. Among them is the following. The Rev. S. R. Maitland, the librarian, says:

"Two leaves each containing the PROLOGUE TO CRANMER'S BIBLE on one side, and the usual matter on the other side. One of these is the prologue to the edition of December 1541, and requires no description; but the other is, as far as I can find, unique. Mr. Lea Wilson, whose magnificent collection of bibles contains (as a very small part of its treasures) twelve copies exhibiting every variety of Cranmer's Bible, and who has spared neither pains nor expense in making himself fully acquainted with the details of the subject, informs me that he had never before seen it. I am indebted to the same gentleman for the suggestion, that these two leaves so differing from each other, and both found together in the binding of one volume, that volume being a Salisbury Breviary, printed by Francis Regnault, at Paris, in 1535, agrees with the notion, supported by other evidence, that this bible was printed in France. Certainly the large black letter of this prologue, and of the Breviary, are as like as can be imagined. Under

## No. CV.

### *Bucer and others learned strangers from Lambeth to Cecyl, to prefer the Petition of some poor French Protestants to the Protector.**

Clarissimo viro, Domino Sicilio, illustrissimi principis Protectoris Angliæ, a secretis, domino et amico summopere colendo, et clarissimo.

Gratiam et benedictionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, augeri tibi precamur, vir ornatissime et religiosissime. Cum summa fide et studio ministrare oporteat Christo Domino nostro afflicto in membris suis, et nostris, non debuimus officium nostrum negare ijs captivis Domini, quorum caussam exponent hi ecclesiæ Gallicanæ ministri, collegæ nostri, et his ipsis fratribus et collegis nostris, ut utrosque tuæ charitati commendaremus, id T. D. a nobis boni consulet. Veniunt vero ad te hi collegæ nostri, jussu reverendissimi domini, ac patroni nostri, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis rogatum, ut captivorum illorum supplicationem velis offerre illustrissimo principi, D. Protectori,

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these circumstances, it seems worth while to reprint this prologue in something like the form in which it stands, premising that it is all in black letter, and that the initial F. is not, as in some copies of the prologue, a Roman letter, but the same flourishing capital as appears in the edition of December, 1541. It should I presume be headed, "A prologue expressynge what is *meant by certaine sygnes and tokens that we have set in the Byble;*" but what was probably the first line has been cut off, and only what is here in *italics* remains. The Prologue itself is as follows:"—

First where as often tymes ye shall fynde a smal letter in the text, it sygnifieth that so moch as in (sic) the small letter doth abounde & is more in the common translaciō in Latyne then is founde ether in the Hebrue or in y$^{e}$ Greke. Moreouer where as ye finde this sygne o+ it betokeneth a dyuersite & difference of readyng betwene the Hebrues and the Chaldees in the same place, whych diuersytes of readynges we were purposed to haue set forth perticularly vnto you. But for so moch as they are very large and tedyous, & thys volume is very great and houge allready, we haue therfore left thē out. We haue also (as ye maye se) added many handes both in the mergent of this volume and also in the text, vpon the whyche we purposed to haue made in the ende of the Byble (in a table by themselues) certen annotaciōs: but for so moch as yet there hath not bene suffycyent tyme mynistred to the kynges mooste honorable counceli, for the ouersyght and correcion of the sayde annotacions, we do therfore omyt them, tyll theyr more conuenyent leysoure. Doynge nowe no more but beseake the, moost gentle reader, that when thou commest at soch a place where a hande doth stande (or any other where, in the Byble) and thou canst not attayne to the meanynge & true knowledge of that sentence, then do not rashly presume to make any pryuate interpretacyon thereof: but submytte thy self to the iudgement of those that are learned.

God saue the kynge.

* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

adjuncta tua commendatione; fidemque faciunt, eos, quorum offerunt supplicationem, nulla alia, quam religionis caussa, patriam suam deserere coactos, in hoc regnum venisse, tanquam ad Christi asylum. Quod cum ita habere propter testium sanctitatem, nihil dubitemus, D. T. quantum licet oramus, ut caussam horum captivorum Christi apud illustriss. principem, D. Protectorem, diligenter agas, et nostras quoque illius celsitudini supplices preces, ad eam caussam offerre non graveris. Quod Christus Dominus tibi cumulate rependet. Cui illustrissimum principem D. Protectorem, teque et tuos omnes etiam atque etiam commendamus. Lambethi XIII Augusti, anno MDXLIX.

Tui in Domino
MARTINUS BUCERUS. PETRUS ALEXANDER.
PET. MARTYR. PAULUS FAGIUS.

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These Letters following, though they have no particular reference, yet being made use of in the former Memorials, I have thought fit to publish them with the rest.

## No. CVI.

*The Archbishop to the Secretary, concerning a French man, that desired a patent to translate the Common prayer into French, and print it.**

To my veray lovinge freunde Sir William Cecill, knight, one of the kings majesties principal secretaries.

AFTER my verai hartie commendations, I thancke youe for your newes, but speciallie for that ye advertise me, that the kinges majestie is in good health, wherin I beseche God long to continue his highnes, as he hath twise (as I trust) restored me to the same.

It seamithe by your letters, that a peace should be concluded betwixt themperor and Duke Morrise, which whither it bee accordinge to tharticles, that afore ye sent unto me, or otherwise, I woulde gladlie understande. The commoditie that might arrise by printinge the boke of Common Praier, and administration of sacraments in the French tongue (if any bee), I reckon it were meete that it shoulde come to theim, which have already taken pains in translatinge the same. Which was first done by Sir Hugh Paullets commaundement and overseen by my L. chauncellor, and other at his appointment: and now altered accordinge to that which must bee put in execution at the feast of All Saints next, at the appoinctment of my L. chauncellor, by a learned Frenche man, a doctor in divinitie. And therfore needless of anny other to bee travailed in. Aug. 26. 1552.

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## No. CVII.

*Mention of Letters sent by him to the Duke of Northumberland, excusing his not proceeding in a Commission. His reflexion upon the Newes.†*

To my lovenge frende Sir William Cecil, knight, and secretary to the kyngs majestie.

AFTER my veray harty recommendations, and no lesse thanks for your frendly letters, and advertisements. Be you assured that I take the same in such parte, and to procede of such a frendly mynde, as I have ever looked for at your hands. Wherof I shal not be unmyndeful, if occasion hereafter, shal serve to requite the same. I have written lettres unto my lorde of Northumberlande, declarynge unto hym the cause of my staye in the commission; which is bicause, that al the gentylmen and justices of the peace of Kent, which be in commission with me, be now at London. Bifore whose comynge home, if I sholde procede without them, I myght perchaunce travel in vayne, and take more payne, than I sholde do good. I have written also unto hym in the favour of Michael Angelo; whose cause I pray you to helpe so moche as lieth in you.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

† Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

The Sophy and the Turke, themperor and the French kynge (not moch better in religion than they) rollynge the stone, or turnynge the whele of fortune up and downe, I pray God send us peace, and quyetnes with al realmes, as wel as among our selfes; and to preserve the kyngs majestie with al his councill. Thus fare you wel. From my howse of Forde the xx day of November, anno 1552.

Your assured. T. Cant.

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## No. CVIII.

*Signifying his desire to have the good will of the Lord Warden, his neighbour.**

To my lovyng frende Sir William Cecill knyght, secretary to the kings majestie. Yeve thies,

After my harty commendations and thanks for your letters; ther is no man more loth to be in contention with any man, than I am, specially with my lorde warden, my nere neighbour, dwellynge both in one contray, and whose familier and entier frendshippe I most desier, for the quyetnes of the hole contray. For the example of the rulers and heades wil the people and membres followe. And as towchynge learned men, I shal sende you my mynde with as moch expedition as I can, which by this poste I can not do, evyn in the colde snowe sittynge opon coles untyl he be gone. But hartely fare you wel in the Lorde Jesus. From Forde, the last day of November.

Your lovynge frende T. Cant.

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## No. CIX.

*Desiring Cecyl to enform him of the cause of Chekes indictment.*†

To my very lovynge frende Sir William Cecyl knight.

After my very harty recommendations; yester nyght I harde reported, that Mr. Cheke is indited: I pray you hartely, if you know any thynge therof, to sende me knowledge, and wheruppon he is indited. I had grete trust, that he sholde be one of them, that sholde fele the queens grete mercie and pardon, as one who hath been none of the grete doers in this matier agaynst her: and my trust is not yet gone, excepte it be for his ernestnes in religion. For the which if he suffre, blessed is he of God, that suffreth for his sake, howsoever the worlde juge of hym. For what ought we to care for the jugement of the worlde, whan God absolveth us? But alas, if any means cowde be made for hym, or for my Lorde Russel, it were not to be omitted, nor in any wise neglected. But I am utterly destitute both of counseil in this matter, and of power, being in the same condemnation that they be. But that onely thynge which I can do, I shal not ceasse to do, and that is only to pray for theym, and for my selfe, with al other, that be now in adversity. Whan I saw you at the courte, I wolde fayne have talked with you, but I durst not: nevertheless if you cowde fynde a tyme to come over to me, I wolde gladly commen with you. Thus fare you hartely well, with my lady your wife. From Lamhith this 14 day of this month of August.

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* Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

† Sir W. H[icke's] MSS.

Your own assured T. Cant.

# APPENDIX No. II.

## No. I.

### *Processus contra Thomam Cranmer.*[*]

REVERENDISSIMO in Christo patri et domino, domino Jacobo miseracione divina tituli sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbitero cardinali de Puteo nuncupato, causeque et causis ac partibus infrascriptis judice ac commissario a sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputato, seu alii vestro in ac parte surrogato sive surrogando cuicunque, vester humilis Jacobus, permissione divina Glocestrensis episcopus ac vestre reverendissime paternitatis, immo verius sanctissimi domini nostri Pape vigore literarum commissionalium presentibus annex' commissarius sive subdelegatus sufficienter et legitime deputatus, omnimodas obediencias et reverencias tanto reverendissimo patri ac sedi apostolice debitas cum omni subjectionis honore. Ad noticiam vestram deducimus et deduci volumus, vestreque reverendissime paternitati significamus et certificamus per presentes, quod die lune, nono viz. die mensis Septembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione decima tercia pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Pauli divina providentia Pape quarti anno primo, in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Marie in Oxonia, in providi et circumspecti viri magistri Johannis Clerk, sedis apostolice auctoritate notarii publici, et testium in actis hujus diei (ut inferius statim apparebit) presenciis coram nobis ad effectum infrascriptum judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentibus, comparens et personaliter constitutus preclarus et venerabilis vir magister Johannes Story legum doctor quasdam literas vestras commissionales vestre paternitatis reverendissime, immo verius apostolicas presentibus annex' sigillo vestro cera rubea impressa in quadam alba lignea capsula inclusa cum filis sive cordulis rubei coloris pendentibus sigillatas, ac signo, nomine, et subscripcione providi viri Claudii Badii clerici Bismitine diocesis publici auctoritate apostolica et imperiali notarii et scribe vestri (ut apparuit) in hac parte specialiter assumpti munitas et subscriptas, non viciatas, non rasas, non abolitas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas, sed sanas et integras ac omni vicio et sinistra suspicione carentes, nobis directas et per partem illustrissimorum serenissimorumque Philippi et Marie Anglie regis et regine in ipsis literis commissionalibus nominat' ex parte dicti sanctissimi

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[* MSS. Lambeth Library, No. 1136.]

domini nostri Pape et vestra realiter presentavit. Post quarum literarum commissionalium presentacionem nobis et recepcionem per nos humiliter factas, ipsisque per dominum Christoferum Smythe apostolice sedis auctoritate notarium publicum usque ad subscripcionem notarii in eisdem exclusive tunc ibidem publice perlectis, per prefatum venerabilem virum magistrum Johannem Story fuimus debite requisiti, quatenus onus execucionis earundem in nos assumere et acceptare ipsasque exequi dignaremur. Post cujus requisicionem sic ut premittitur nobis factam, ob honorem et reverenciam sacrosancte sedis apostolice et paternitatis vestre reverendissime, onus execucionis earundem in nos assumpsimus, atque juxta vim, formam, tenorem et effectum earundem procedendum fore decrevimus; prenominatumque magistrum Johannem Clerk notarium publicum in nostrum et actorum nostrorum agendorumque et expediendorum per nos et coram nobis in causa et causis inferius descriptis ac inter partes infranominatas scribam assumpsimus, deputavimus, et constituimus. Quo facto, egregius vir magister Thomas Martyn legum doctor exhibuit procuratorium suum a serenissimis Philippo et Maria Anglie rege et regina sibi et dicto venerabili viro magistro Johanni Story ac Davido Lewis conjunctim et divisim in hac parte concessis ac sigillo magno eorundem serenissimorum et illustrissimorum regis et regine in cera crocei coloris sigillatis; lectoque procuratorio hujusmodi de mandato nostro, prenominatus venerabilis vir magister Thomas Martin exhibens ut prefertur procuratorium suum pro dictis illustrissimis rege et regina fecit se partem pro eisdem et dedit articulos ex parte ipsorum serenissimorum dominorum regis et regine contra prefatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum propositos et conceptos una cum scedula eisdem articulis annexa: etiam libros dedit in ipsis articulis mencionatos et in margine eorundem specificatos; petiitque procurator hujusmodi quatenus dignaremur decernere dictum dominum Thomam Cranmerum, se archiepiscopum Cantuarie pretendentem, citandum fore ad comparendum coram nobis die Jovis prox' tunc sequente, duodecimo viz. die dicti mensis Septembris in ecclesia predicta hora octava ante meridiem ad respondendum, et procedi videndum contra eum juxta tenorem dicte commissionis sive subdelegacionis, et ad objiciendum contra articulos et cetera predicta contra eum in hac parte modo premisso exhibita si voluerit. Ad cujus quidem procuratoris peticionem, quia justa nobis videbatur ac juri et racione consona, decrevimus ipsum Thomam Cranmerum citandum juxta petitionem procuratoris predicti. Quo facto, prefatum Christoferum Smythe publicum apostolica auctoritate notarium in nostrum mandatarium in hac parte cum potestate citandi, certificandi, et exequendi dictam citacionem et quemcunque alium processum et ad alia facienda ad mandatarii officium spectantia deputavimus et admisimus; ipsumque Christoferum notarium publicum et mandatarium nostrum hujusmodi de fideliter exequendo, referendo, et certificando, et de ejus officio in ea parte juste exercendo juramento ad sancta Dei evangelia oneravimus et juravimus. Deinde vero articulos predictos et contenta in eisdem per dictum Christoferum Smythe notarium publicum publice in judicio perlegi fecimus, necnon prenominatum dominum Johannem Clerk notarium publicum ac scribam nostrum predictum ad conficiendum instrumentum seu instrumenta publica unum vel plura de et super premissis omnibus et singulis per nos et coram nobis istis die et loco qualitercumque habitis et factis mandavimus, et eundem ad sic conficiendum ac testes infranominatos inde testimonium perhibere prefatus magister Thomas Martyn instanter requisivit; presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris Richardo Marshall, commissario universitatis predicte, Waltero Wright legum doctore, archidiacono Oxon', Arthuro Cole sacre theologie baccalario, preside collegii dive Magdalene in eadam universitate, Richardo Cawdewell in medicinis doctore, Henrico Joilyff sacre theologie baccalario, Thoma Pygott et Edmundo Powell armigeris, cum multis aliis ad numerum ducentarum personarum et ultra. Tenor vero procuratorii illustrissimorum Philippi et Marie regis et regine predictorum, de quo superius fit mencio, per prefatum venerabilem virum magistrum Thomam Martyn procuratorem in eodem nominatum ut prefertur productum et exhibitum sequitur, et est talis: "Universis pateat per presentes, quod nos Philippus et Maria Dei gracia Anglie Francie Neapolis Jerusalem et Hibernie rex et regina, fidei defensores, principes Hispaniarum et Cicilie, archiduces Austrie, duces Mediolani Burgundie et Brabancie, comites Haspurgi Flandrie et Tirolis, dilectos nobis in Christo Thomam Martyn, Johannem Story et Davidum Lewis legum doctores absentes tanquam presentes omnibus melioribus et efficacioribus modo via et forma conjunctim, et eorum quemlibet per se divisim et in solidum, ita quod non sit melior conditio occupantis nec deterior subsequentis, sed quod unus eorum inceperit id ipsorum quilibet per se libere prosequi valeat, mediare pariter et finire, nostros veros legitimos et indubitatos procuratores, actores, factores, negociorumque nostrorum gestores et nuncios speciales nominamus, ordinamus, facimus, et constituimus per presentes, damusque et concedimus eisdem procuratoribus nostris conjunctim ut prefertur et eorum cuilibet per se divisim et in solido potestatem generalem et mandatum speciale, ita quod specialitas generalitati non deroget nec e contra, pro et nominibus nostris coram reverendis in Christo patribus Wigornien' et Glocestren' episcopis ac decano Londonien' et archidiacono Cantuar', seu coram eorum tribus, duobus, sive uno, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Jacobi, miseratione divina tituli sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbiteri cardinalis de Puteo nuncupat' sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providentia illius nominis Pape quarti, in causa et causis heresim aliaque enormia crimina, in quibus Thomas Cranmerus nuper metropolitane ecclesie Cant' archiepiscopus assertus sit prolapsus, sapientibus, per nos nostrisque vice et nominibus contra ipsum Thomam archiepiscopum pretensum mota et motis indecisis adhuc penden', commissarii sive judicis delegati, subdelegatis sive commissariis sufficienter et legitime deputatis, comparendi absenciamque nostram quoad personalem comparacionem in omnibus excusandi ac causam et causas absentie nostre (si opus fuerit) allegandi, proponendi, et probandi, ac fidem faciendi super eisdem, literasque commissionales remissorial' sive subdelegatorum prefati reverendissimi Jacobi cardinalis ac judicis delegat' sive commissarii antedicti realiter producend' ostendendi et exhibendi. Necnon articulos, capitula, positiones sive interrogatoria, ac alias materias, objectiones, allegaciones seu peticiones quascunque verbo vel in scriptis dandi, faciendi, ministrandi, proponendi et exhibendi, posicionibus et articulis excepcionibusque ex adversis fiendis respondendi et suis responderi petendi, videndique juramentum quodcunque licitum et honestum ac de jure in hac parte requisitum in animas nostras prestand' subeund' et jurand'. Testes, literas et instrumenta, ac alia quecunque probacionum genera producend' ostendend' et exhibend', productaque et exhibita ex adverso reprohand' et impugnandi, crimina et defectus objiciendi et objectis respondendi, decreta quecunque fieri decernique petendi et obtinendi, alium insuper procuratorem sive procuratores loco eorum seu eorum alicujus substituendi, ac substitutum sive substitutos hujusmodi revocandi, procuratorisque officium in se reassumendi, quotiens et quando id eis seu eorum alicui melius videbitur expedire. Ceteraque omnia et singula faciendi, exercendi et expediendi, que in premissis aut circa ea necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet opportuna, etiam si mandatum de se magis exigant speciale quam superius est expressum. Et promittimus nos ratos, gratos, et firmos perpetuo habituros totum et quicquid dicti procuratores nostri seu eorum aliquis fecerit in premissis aut aliquo premissorum sub ypotheca et obligatione omnium bonorum nostrorum, et in ea parte caucionem exponimus per presentes. Dat' sub magno sigillo nostro apud honorium nostrum de Hamtoncorte Londonien' dioces' xxiiii^to^. die mensis Augusti anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto ac annis regnorum nostrorum secundo et tercio." Adveniente vero dicto die Jovis, xii^o^. viz. die predicti mensis Septembris, annoque Domini indictione et pontificatu, predictis, coram nobis prefato Jacobo Glocestren' episcopo ac judice subdelegato sive commissario supra nominato in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Marie superius specificat' loco in hac parte assignat' et deputat' judicialiter et pro tribunali seden' in prenominati magistri Johannis Clerk notarii publici et scribe nostri predicti presentia, prefatus venerabilis vir magister Thomas Martyn ex superabundanti exhibuit procuratorium suum predictum pro illustrissimis rege et regina predictis, et se partem fecit pro eisdem ac eorum nomine procuratorio mandatum nostrum citatorium contra dictum dominum Thomam Cranmerum modo superius specificat' per nos decretum et sub sigillo nostro emanatum una cum certificatorio in dorso ejusdem sub instrumento publico de et super execucione ejusdem per prenominatum Christoferum Smythe notarium publicum et mandatarium nostrum predictum die et loco ac sub modo et forma in eodem certificatorio specificatis et contentis concepto, ac signis et subscripcionibus tam prefati domini Johannis Clerk auctoritate apostolica notarii publici et scribe nostri predicti, quam etiam dicti Christoferi Smythe eadem etiam auctoritate apostolica notarii publici nostrique in hac parte mandatarii specialiter ut prefertur deputati, admissi et jurati, consignat' et subscript' ac nostro sigillo etiam sigillat' realiter exhibuit, et contra prefatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum tunc in judicio personaliter presentem ex parte dictorum serenissimorum dominorum Philippi et Marie, regis et regine predict', ac procuratorio nomine pro eisdem denuo dedit articulos prius ut prefertur per eum coram nobis datos et porrectos, atque in partem et subsidium probacionis articulorum hujusmodi et contentorum in eisdem exhibuit libros mencionatos in dictis articulis vestre reverendissime paternitati originaliter una cum presentibus transmissos. Qui quidem libri atque articuli ac subdelegatio et mandatum nostrum citatorium predict' in eorum formis originalibus tempore execucionis nostri hujusmodi mandati citatorii eidem Thome publice ostensi, ac ipsi seu saltem vere copie collacionate eorundem ac signo et nomine prefati domini Johannis Clerk, notarii publici nostrique actorum scribe antedicti, signat' eidem domino Thome Cranmero de facto realiter tradite fuerunt et penes eum dimisse, prout ex tenore certificatorii dicti nostri mandati citatorii plenius ac manifeste liquet et apparet, in presentia ejusdem domini Thome Cranmer personaliter ut prefertur presentis et comparentis, ac primo et ante omnia protestantis quod per suam comparicionem aut per aliqua per eum dicta seu dicenda, gesta vel gerenda, seu aliquo modo per eum facta seu fienda, non intendit consentire in nos subdelegatum sive commissarium antedictum aut in aliquem alium auctoritate domini Pape seu Romani pontificis fulgentem, tanquam in judicem sibi in hac parte (ut asseruit) competentem, seu aliquo pacto admittere aliquam auctoritatem dicti Romani pontificis, asserendo et constanter affirmando eundem Romanum pontificem nullum in hoc regno habere seu habere debuisse aut debere auctoritatem seu potestatem, quodque ex eo etiam ipsius Romani pontificis auctoritatem ut prefertur admittere non intendit pro eo quod alias prestitit juramentum contrarium (ut asseruit) Henrico tunc Anglie illius nominis regi octavo, viz. de renunciando Romano pontifici et de admittendo et acceptando eundem regem Henricum octavum pro supremo capite ecclesiæ Anglicane, et protestabatur ulterius se paratum esse ad respondendum coram quocumque judice potestatem, auctoritatem, seu commissionem dictorum illustrissimorum regis et regine habente. Idem dominus Thomas Cranmerus tunc incontinenti ibidem multis variisque modis ac verbis suis nephariis, famosis et protervis publice in judicio dixit, opposuit, et objecit contra auctoritatem potestatemque dicti domini nostri Pape et Romani pontificis, et inter cetera audacter et sine pudore aut verecundia asserendo ipsum Romanum pontificem per leges et canones suos non solum pervertisse et pervertere leges hujus regni Anglie, sed etiam sacras scripturas et leges divinas, etiam asserendo et constanter affirmando inter cetera Christum in eucharistia spiritualiter tantum et non corporaliter esse, sed in corpore in celo tantum esse et non alibi. Asseruitque quod casu quo Papam sive Romanum pontificem modernum imitari contigerit vestigia predecessorum suorum Romanorum pontificum, aut si ejus auctoritate potestate et legibus in regnis et dominiis aliorum principum uti contigerit, quod per hoc perverteret et destrueret tam leges divinas quam etiam leges regum, et in hoc utitur (ut asseruit) vice antechristi et pro antechristo et Christi adversario censeri deberit. Ac etiam addendo asseruit et publice affirmavit, quod quisquis receperit seu admiserit auctoritatem domini Pape seu Romani pontificis in hoc Anglie regno, adversaretur et Deo et corone Anglie, atque eo facto excommunicatus est. Ulteriusque asseruit et publice dixit prefatus Thomas Cranmerus nos subdelegatum ac commissarium predictum nullo modo fuisse aut esse judicem sibi in hac parte competentem, sed incompetentem et perjurum eo quod admisimus auctoritatem Romani pontificis et eo quod juramentum alias prestitimus contrarium, viz. de renunciando auctoritati ejusdem Romani pontificis ac de acceptando et admittendo prenominatum regem Henricum octavum pro supremo capite ecclesie Anglicane. Et quia dictus dominus Cranmerus negavit Romanum pontificem esse supremum caput ecclesie Christi, ideo interrogatus per prefatum procuratorem dominorum regis et regine "quisnam tunc" (ejus judicio et opinione) "caput esset ecclesie" hujusmodi respondebat, "Regem quemcumque in regno suo." Et cum dictus procurator replicavit dicens, "Ergo Nero qui interfecit Petrum caput fuit ecclesie Christi," ipse dominus Cranmerus affirmavit eundem Neronem sic fuisse caput ecclesie Christi, et etiam Turcam sue ecclesie caput esse. Deinde prenominatus venerabilis vir magister Thomas Martyn procurator antedictus in subsidium probationis contentorum in dictis articulis exhibuit quoddam instrumentum publicum manu propria magistri Richardi Watkyns notarii publici (ut apparuit) subscriptum, et ejus signo (ut apparuit) signatum, continens in se inter cetera tenorem juramenti fidelitatis obediencie per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum tempore ejus prefectionis sive consecrationis in archiepiscopum Cantuar' beato Petro et sedi apostolice ac domino nostro Pape Clementi ejusque successoribus Romanis pontificibus prestiti, petiitque procurator predictus memoratum dominum Thomam Cranmerum per nos juramento onerari de fideliter respondendo tam dictis articulis et scedule annex' quam etiam ceteris per eum superius respective exhibitis in presencia ejusdem domini Thome Cranmeri recusantis subire juramentum hujusmodi pro eo (ut asseruit) quod nos procedimus in hac parte auctoritate Romani pontificis. Ceterum salvis protestacionibus suis previis et etiam sub protestacione quod non intendebat respondere nobis subdelegato predicto, sed prefato magistro Thome Martyn procuratori antedicto, tunc incontinenti idem Thomas Cranmerus dictis articulis omnibus et singulis superius ut prefertur contra eum datis et objectis ad peticionem prefati magistri Thome Martyn procuratoris predicti et de mandato nostro tam Latine quam Anglice plene et articulatim ac publice perlectis et declaratis sceduleque dictis articulis annexe et ceteris exhibitis antedictis, absque tamen aliquo juramento, deliberate et constanter coram nobis in publico judicio pro tribunali seden' respondebat ut sequitur. Ad primum articulum respondet se recepisse bullas a curia Romana et a Romano pontifice pro recepcione archiepiscopatus Cantuar', quas bullas (ut asseruit) obtulit dicto tunc regi Henrico octavo et ab eodem rege et ejus auctoritate (ut etiam asseruit) eundem archiepiscopatum recepit: et aliter negat hunc articulum esse verum. Ad secundum fatetur contenta in eodem esse vera. Ad tercium fatetur se acceptasse et duxisse mulierem in uxorem, postquam recepit sacrum ordinem sacerdotalem et circa viginti annos post mortem prime uxoris sue: et aliter hunc articulum negat esse verum. Ad quartum fatetur contenta in eodem esse vera. Ad quintum fatetur se secrete tenuisse dictam mulierem secundo per eum acceptam quousque per statuta et leges hujus regni Anglie (ut asseruit) ei licitum fuit habere uxorem, et quod tunc eam publice tenuit et ab eadem plures proles habuit: et aliter negat articulum hujusmodi. Ad vj fatetur eundem esse verum, tamen sine pudore aut verecundia ut dicit. Ad septimum fatetur se edidisse librum in hac parte exhibitum et in articulo mencionatum vocat', "A defense of the true and Catholicke feithe," etc. et negat se edidisse librum in eodem articulo etiam mencionatum vocat', "A discourse of Peter Martir," etc. et quoad tercium librum vocat', "A discourse of the Lords supper," etc. negat se illum edidisse, tamen credit quod hujusmodi liber est bonus et Catholicus, et quoad catechismum et articulos in eodem fatetur se adhibuisse ejus consilium circa edicionem ejusdem: et quoad librum vocat', "An aunswer of the moste reuerende father in God," etc. fatetur se edidisse illam partem ejusdem libri que continet ejus responsa ad librum editum per reverendum patrem Winton' episcopum. Ad octavum respondet se nunquam coegisse aliquos hujusmodi articulis subscribere, tamen dicit quod plures clericorum provincie Cant' eisdem articulis voluntarie subscripserunt, quorum subscriptiones recepit ut dicit: et aliter negat articulum hujusmodi. Ad nonum fatetur quod a turri London' ad academiam Oxon' ductus fuit: et aliter negat contenta in eodem. Ad decimum fatetur se pro viribus defendisse libros et articulos mencionatos in hoc articulo (et in loco articulato) et contenta in eisdem: et aliter negat. Ad undecimum fatetur sententiam de facto fuisse contra eum latam eo quod defendebat libros et articulos predictos, et tamen dicit quod in illis libris et articulis non sunt hereses alique contente: et aliter respondet negative. Ad duodecimum respondet quod recessit ab auctoritate Romani pontificis, et aliis (quantum potuit) persuasit ut sic recederent, propter enormitates illic (ut dixit) regnantes; tamen per hoc dicit eum non esse schismaticum nec per hoc recessisse ab ecclesia Catholica: et aliter credit hunc articulum non esse verum in aliquo. Ad decimum tercium et scedulam fatetur se prestitisse juramentum obediencie prout continetur in scedula huic articulo annexa; tamen hoc fecit (ut asseruit) sub protestacione in instrumento publico (ut prefertur) in hac parte exhibito contenta; et non aliter. Ad xiiij respondet et fatetur se recessisse (ut prefertur) ab auctoritate Romani pontificis et aliis sic recedere persuasit; hoc tamen (ut dicit) non fecit ante legem inde factam auctoritate parliamenti Anglie: et etiam dicit quod post leges hujusmodi et earum auctoritate consecravit episcopos et cetera fecit que ante legem hujusmodi factam ad Romanum pontificem pertinebant et que per ipsum Romanum pontificem antea fieri solebant: et aliter negat. Ad xv respondet quod ante recepcionem Romani pontificis auctoritatem et ante reconciliacionem nuperrime in hoc Anglie regno factam hoc regnum in bono statu remansit, atque maxime optat quod modo in eodem statu remaneret; et fatebatur (ut prius) se recessisse ab auctoritate Romani pontificis, et quod non intendit ad illam auctoritatem redire vel eandem aliquo modo admittere, ut dicit. Ad ultimum negat contenta in eodem aliter esse vera quam superius respondebat, ut dicit. Ac incontinenti (responsionibus predicti domini Thome Cranmeri modo premisso publice et judicialiter factis, receptis, et conscriptis) dictus veneralibis vir magister Thomas Martyn procurator predictis ac nomine procuratorio quo supra acceptavit responsa superius facta et contenta in eisdem quatenus faciunt pro parte et intencione dictorum illustrissimorum dominorum suorum atque super articulis et exhibitis predictis produxit venerabiles viros magistros Will'm Tresham, Richardum Marshall, Richardum Smythe, et Richardum Croke, sacre theologie doctores, Jacobum Curtopp, Robertum Warde, Georgium London, et Robertum Serles, in testes, quos nos ad peticionem procuratoris hujusmodi in testes admisimus, et in forma jurandorum testium tactis per eos sacrosanctis scripturis de fideliter deponendo et de dicendo omnem et meram veritatem, cum fuerint examinati in hac parte de et super premissis super quibus modo premisso producti fuerunt, omni amicicia, favore, affectione, odio, timore et displicentia postpositis et semotis, juxta formam, modum et morem in simili testium admissione et juramenti prestacione solit' et consuet' et in hac parte de jure requisit', jurari fecimus in presentia dicti domini Thome Cranmeri sub ejus protestacionibus previis allegantis quod dicti testes nullo modo in hac parte sunt testes idonei, nec eisdem fides aliqua in hac parte fuit aut est (ut asseruit) adhibenda pre eo (ut etiam asseruit) sunt perjuri in eo quod subierunt juramentum domino regi Anglie tanquam supremo capiti, ac modo contra hujusmodi juramentum (ut prefertur) per eos prestitum admiserunt auctoritatem Romani pontificis. Et tunc idem dominus Thomas interrogatus, an velit aliquibus aliis excepcionibus uti contra testes predictos seu aliqua interrogatoria contra eos ministrare, respondebat quod noluit nec ulterius aliquid in hac parte dicere, proponere, vel objicere. Super quibus omnibus et singulis modo premisso dicto duodecimo die Septembris ac anno Domini indictione pontificatuque et loco antedictis habitis factisque et expeditis, prefatum dominum Johannem Clerk notarium publicum ac nostrum in hac parte auctorum scribam predictum mandavimus, eundemque dictus magister Thomas Martyn procurator antedictus et procuratorio nomine predicto ad conficiend' instrumentum sive instrumenta publicum seu publica ac testes infranominatos tunc presentes inde testimonium perhibitur instanter rogavit et requisivit, presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris Waltero Wright legum doctore archidiacono Oxon', Will'mo Tresham, Richardo Marshall, Richardo Smythe publico prelectore sacre theologie in eadem academia, et Richardo Croke sacre theologie professoribus, Arthuro Cole sacre theologie baccalario ac preside collegii dive Magdalene in Oxonia, Richardo Cawdewell in medicinis doctore, Roberto Morwent sacre theologie baccalario, preside collegii vulgo Anglice dict' "Oriell Colledge," Mauricio Bullock artium magistro, vice-gardiano Novi Collegii Winton' in Oxon', Richardo Busshop artium magistro, Griffino Willyams in legibus baccalario, Philippo Randall principali Aule Cervine Oxon', Will'mo Hawarden sacre theologie baccalario principali Collegii Enei Nasi vocat' "Brase nose," et Georgio Edrigio artium magistro ac publico Grecarum literarum prelectore, ac Johanne Pollard, Thoma Pygott, et Edmundo Powell armigeris, cum multitudine copiosa tam clericorum et scholarium dicte universitatis quam etiam laicorum ad numerum quadringentarum personarum et ultra existen'. Postremo vero decimo tercio die mensis Septembris anno Domini indictioneque ac anno pontificatus supradictis, in quadam superiori camera sive pergula gardiani Collegii Novi dicte universitatis, in presentia prefati domini Johannis Clerk notarii publici ac scribe nostri predicti, etiam presentibus Thoma Owen in legibus baccalario et Christophero Smythe notariis publicis London' commoran', testes infranominatos (ut prefertur) productos et juratos examinavimus, eorumque testium dicta et depositiones seriatim sequuntur et sunt tales.

Richardus Croke sacre theologie doctor in universitate Cantabrigie, sexaginta sex vel quinque annorum, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, de noticia partium examinatus dicit, quod novit prefatum Thomam Cranmerum circiter triginta sex annos, reginam Mariam a bimatu, regem Philippum ex quo venit in Angliam, viz. circiter annum. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum sextum septimum octavum et nonum respondet, quod credit articulos veros esse et omnia in eis contenta, quodque de eisdem fama laborat per universum regnum Anglie et in multis etiam partibus transmarinis; et aliter nescit deponere. Ad decimum dicit articulum esse verum, quia ipse personaliter disputacioni predicte in publica scola theologica Oxon' facte interfuit. Ad undecimum dicit articulum esse verum, ipse enim presens erat in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Marie Oxon' quando decretum in articulo specificatum adversus eundem Thomam pronunciatum fuit. Ad duodecimum respondet articulum esse verum, excepto eo quod iste deponens certo affirmare non potest quod prefatus Thomas Cranmer aliquos per vim coegerit et compulerit ad renunciandum auctoritati sedis apostolice, quanquam et illud publice a fide dignis audivit. Dicit insuper quod prefatus Cranmer multos seduxerit non tantum ab auctoritate ecclesie Romane, sed etiam a veritate in multis aliis fidei Catholice articulis: et aliter nescit deponere ad articulum predictum. Ad decimumtercium dicit quod audivit ipsum Cranmerum publice confitentem se in consecracione sua prestitisse sacrum obediencie summo pontifici: et aliter nescit deponere in articulo predicto. Ad decimumquartum dicit et deponit ut supra: dicit insuper quod prefatus Cranmer pro archiepiscopo Cant' se gerens consecravit et transtulit complures in Anglie episcopos, viz. consecravit quendam doctorem Poynett in Winton, ep'm et quendam Coverdale in ep'm Exon' et quendam Johannem Hoper in ep'm Glocestr' et quod transtulit quendam doctorem Rydley a Roffen' in Londonien' episcopatum. Ad xv dicit articulum esse verum, quia heri audivit eum publice detestantem auctoritatem Pape et apostolice sedis: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xvi dicit famam de premissis divulgatam esse per universum regnum Anglie.

Robertus Warde artium magister et publicus philosophie in Academia Oxon' prelector, quadraginta vel circiter annorum, testis (ut prefertur) productus et juratus, libere condicionis, interrogatus de noticia personarum dicit, quod novit regem Philippum ab eo tempore quo primum appulit in Anglia, hoc est per integrum annum et ultra, Mariam reginam ab inicio regni Edwardi sexti, viz. circiter novem annos, Thomam Cranmerum per duodecim annos vel circiter novit. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum et sextum dicit, quod credit articulos veros esse et omnia in eis contenta, quia sepius publice audivit contenta in eisdem vera esse tam Oxonie quam alibi in multis Anglie partibus. Ad septimum dicit, quod credit prefatum Thomam vix adeo eruditum ut possit ipse ejus proprio ingenio hujusmodi libros componere, certo tamen scit ejus nomine et auctoritate eos circumferri, ipsumque Thomam dixisse libros predictos seu saltem plurimos ex illis fuisse proprio ingenio confectos, et ut suos agnovisse, et quod novit ipsum Thomam sepius defendisse plurimas hereses in libris predictis contentas in publicis disputacionibus Oxonie habitis, in quibus iste deponens publico certamine contra dictum Thomam congressus est: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum credit esse verum, quia publice a fide dignis audivit: et aliter nescit. Ad nonum dicit esse verum, quia vidit quum prefatus Thomas Oxoniam primum a Londino ductus est, et in aliis rebus credit articulum esse verum. Ad decimum dicit articulum esse verum, quia interfuit disputacionibus predict', et in eisdem disputacionibus eidem Thome publice respondebat dum predict', hereses pro viribus confirmare satageret. Ad undecimum dicit articulum verum esse; ipse enim interfuit in ede dive Marie Oxon' quum decretum in articulo specificatum contra prefatum Thomam Cranmerum et duos alios publice legeretur per doctorem Weston. Ad xij dicit quod credit esse verum, quia publice et sepius a fide dignis audivit. Ad xiij dicit verum esse, quia vidit publicum instrumentum super juramento predicto confectum publice contra eundem Thomam exhibitum: et aliter nescit. Ad xiiij dicit quod prefatus Thomas Cranmerus consecravit in episcopos Johannem Hooper in Gloucestren' Milonem Couerdale in Exonien' Hugonem Holbache et postea quendam doctorem Taylor in episcopos Lincoln' et insuper quod consecravit doctorem Rydley in Roffen' episcopum, quem postea transtulit ad episcopatum Londoniensem; et in aliis credit articulum esse verum. Ad xv dicit verum esse, quia heri xij$^{o}$ Septembris audivit eum animo obstinato contempnentem primatum Romane ecclesie, et insuper protestantem se nolle aliquo pacto in eundem consentire. Ad xvj dicit famam de premissis publice divulgatam esse tam Oxonie quam alibi in Anglia.

Robertus Serles sacre theologie baccalaurius in universitate Oxon' commorans lx$^{ta}$. annorum vel circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis (ut prefertur) productus et juratus de noticia partium examinatus dicit, quod novit regem Philippum a tempore adventus sui in Angliam, viz. per annum aut circiter, ac reginam Mariam per triginta annos vel circiter, Thomam Cranmerum circiter viginti annos. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum sextum septimum octavum et nonum dicit, quod credit articulos veros esse et omnia contenta in eisdem, quia eadem publice audivit tam Oxonie quam in aliis hujus regni Anglie partibus: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad decimum dicit quod ipse presens personaliter non interfuit publice disputacioni habite Oxon' cum prefato Thoma Cranmer; credit tamen articulum per omnia verum esse, quia publica (ut asseruit) per universum Anglie regnum fama erat et est, ipseque a nonnullis fide dignis qui disputacioni predicte intererant personaliter audivit prefatum Cranmerum in academia predicta publica disputacione libros et articulos suos predictos pro viribus defendisse, tandemque convictum et exsibilitatum a multis fuisse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad undecimum dicit similiter, quod credit et ex frequenti fide dignorum relacione audivit, omnia et singula in articulo contenta vera esse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xij dicit quod credit dictum

Thomam fuisse et esse notorium scismaticum et hereticum, quia sepius audivit eundem tam privatim quam publice multas impias et execrandas hereses docentem, efferentem et pertinaciter defendentem, et quod idem deponens circa id temporis, quo Ecclesia Anglicana primum cepit desistere ab auctoritate Pape et sedis apostolice, fuit vicarius de Lenham dioces' et provinc' Cantuar' et ideo tum subjectus (seu saltem publice habitus pro subjecto) jurisdictioni prefati Thome Cranmeri, qui tum publice pro episcopo Cant' se gessit, et quod ab ipso Thoma Cranmero seu saltem ab ejus cancellario (mandatum et auctoritatem regiam in ea parte habere pretendente) idem deponens inductus et compulsus sit ad renunciandum auctoritati domini Pape et ad prestandum juramentum contra eundem et contra sedem apostolicam. Dicit insuper quod ipse circiter xv hinc annos unus erat ex publicis concionatoribus domini regis in dioces' Cant', quodque ex predicto officio ignominiose expulsus fuit per prefatum Thomam Cranmerum archiepiscopum Cant' pretens' pro eo viz. quod idem Robertus Serles publice in concionibus affirmavit realem presenciam corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia, et quod recusavit subscribere certis articulis per prefatum Thomam Cranmerum editis et divulgatis qui sibi a fide Christiana in multis dissentire et penitus heretice videbantur, quodque eo nomine per prefatum Thomam (seu saltem ejus jussu et mandato) idem deponens bis in carceres conjectus fuit et ibidem diu detentus, hocque fuit et est notorium per universam Cant' dioc': et aliter nescit deponere de articulo predicto. Ad xiij dicit quod credit et quod publice audivit esse verum; et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xiiij dicit quod postquam in Anglia publice renunciatum est auctoritati sedis apostolice, maxime queque negocia ad jurisdictionem spiritualem pertinencia, ut consecraciones episcoporum et similia, sub umbra et auctoritate regii nominis per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum se (ut prefertur) tum pro archiepiscopo Cant' gerentem agebantur et fiebant: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xv dicit articulum esse verum, quia nuperrime viz. hesterna die audivit ipsum impia et execranda contra sedem apostolicam predict' publice in judicio dicentem, et protestantem quod nullo modo intendit in eandem consentire neque se eidem reconciliare: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xvj dicit famam de premissis laborare.

Willielmus Tresham sacre theologie professor et ecclesie Christi Oxon' canonicus, sexaginta annorum etatis aut circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis productus juratus et examinatus super articulis et exhibitis ex parte illustrissimorum principum Philippi et Marie regis et regine Anglie contra dominum Thomam Cranmerum pretensum archiepiscopum Cant' propositis dicit et deponit in vim juramenti sui prestiti ut sequitur. Primo quoad noticiam partium dicit, quod dictum regem Philippum per annum integrum ac dominam Mariam reginam per viginti annos jam ult' ac dictum Thomam Cranmerum per idem tempus bene novit, ut dicit. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum et sextum articulos dicit et deponit contenta in eisdem fuisse et esse vera ac tanquam vera publica, notoria, manifesta pariter et famosa in hoc Anglie regno habita de auditu istius deponentis, et quod sic sepius audivit dici, ut dicit: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad septimum dicit et deponit, quod prenominatus dominus Cranmerus libros sequentes edidit et orbi publicavit, viz. "A defense of the true and Catholique feithe," etc. Item librum vocat', "An aunswer of the most reuerende father in God," etc. atque etiam quod idem Thomas Cranmerus ejus consilium adhibuit circa edicionem libri vocat' "Catachismum," in hoc articulo respective mencionat', quos quidem respective libros iste deponens dicit se audivisse prenominatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum in publico judicio fateri et confiteri se modo et forma quibus supra edidisse, et ejus consilium adhibuisse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum nescit deponere. Ad nonum dicit et deponit contenta in hoc articulo esse vera de certa sciencia et noticia hujus deponentis, ut dicit. Ad x et xj dicit et deponit, quod quia dictus dominus Thomas Cranmerus in academia Oxon' publica disputacione secum ex more scolarum habita contenta in dictis libris et articulis publice pro viribus defendebat, et sic quatenus potuit defendens convictus fuit, et circiter duos aut tres dies prox' sequen' intra ecclesiam parochialem dive Marie Virginis Oxon', ex eo quod ab eisdem recedere pertinaciter recusavit, scolastico et academico Oxon' decreto pro heretico et impio pronunciatus fuit et declaratus, librique et articuli predicti pro hereticis et impiis pronunciati et declarati, de certa sciencia visu et auditu istius jurati, ut dicit; addendo ac causam sciencie sue in hac parte reddendo dicit se fuisse presentem tempore defensionis et convictionis predict', et dicit se contra eundem Thomam et ejus libros predictos in publica scola disputasse, et quod audivit ipsum Thomam ejus libros et hereses predict' modo et forma quibus supra defendentem, et in ea parte (ut prefertur) convictum, ut dicit: presentibus tunc ibidem Richardo Smythe, Richardo Marshall, et Richardo Crook, sacre theologie professoribus, contestibus suis cum multis aliis, ut dicit, premissa videntibus et audientibus. Ad duodecimum dicit et deponit contenta hujusmodi articulo fuisse et esse vera, ac in Anglie regno publica, notoria, manifesta pariter et famosa de auditu, scientia, et noticia istius jurati, except' tantum quod ignorat de aliqua compulsione per eundem Thomam Cranmerum cuiquam facta, ut dicit. Ad xiij dicit contenta in hujusmodi articulo fuisse et esse vera ut credit, eo quod tunc Romanus pontifex suam auctoritatem exercebat in hoc regno Anglie de certa sciencia et noticia istius deponentis, ut dicit. Et ulterius dicit et deponit se audivisse dictum Thomam Cranmerum in publico judicio coram reverendo domino subdelegato pro tribunali in hac parte seden' fateri se tale prestitisse juramentum obediencie, prout continetur in scedula huic articulo annexa; hoc tamen fecit sub protestacione in instrumento publico in ac parte contra eum exhibito contenta, ut idem Thomas asseruit: et aliter nescit. Ad xiiij et xv dicit et deponit contenta in eisdem articulis (except' hoc tantum quod aliquem coegit ad consenciendum contentis in eisdem articulis) fuisse et esse vera, publica, et notoria de certa sciencia et noticia hujus deponentis, ut dicit. Ad ultimum dicit et deponit predeposita per eum fuisse et esse vera, publica, et notoria, ac juxta eadem famam presertim in hoc Anglie regno laborasse et laborare juxta depositionem suam predictam.

Jacobus Curtopp artium magister decanusque ecclesie Cath' Petriburgen', triginta octo annorum etatis aut circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis productus juratus et examinatus super articulis et exhibitis in hac parte contra Thomam Cranmerum pretensum archiepiscopum Cant' ex parte illustrissimorum dominorum nostrorum regis et regine propositis et datis. Primo quoad noticiam partium litigantium dicit, quod dictum dominum nostrum regem per tres quarterios anni ult' ac dominam reginam per xxv annos jam ult' elapsos respective bene novit, ut dicit. Ad primum et secundum dicit et deponit, quod sic dici audivit prout continetur in istis articulis: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad tercium dicit et deponit, quod audivit dici quod idem Thomas Cranmerus quandam mulierem secundo in uxorem duxit, sed an eidem mulieri fuit nuptus necne, nescit (ut dicit) nisi per auditum aliorum, sed pro certo dicit et deponit se vidisse eandem mulierem quam idem Thomas Cranmerus tanquam uxorem suam (ut asseruit) tenuit cum ipso Thoma in ejus mensa sedentem, comedentem et bibentem: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad iiij et quintum dicit et deponit, quod dici audivit quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus ejus secundam uxorem predictam tempore regis Henrici octavi clanculum et secrete tenuit, atque tempore Edwardi sexti etiam hujus regni nuper regis idem Thomas eandem suam uxorem aperte et publice tenuit de visu et noticia istius deponentis: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad sextum dicit et deponit, quod dici audivit quod idem Thomas dictam uxorem suam secundo (ut prefertur) per eum acceptam, antequam prefectus fuit Cant' archiep', duxit et tenuit Osiandro benedicente nupciis: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad septimum dicit et deponit, quod ex certa sua sciencia dictus Thomas Cranmerus sequentes libros suo nomine edidit et orbi publicavit, viz. "A defense of the true and Catholique doctrine," etc. item "Cathachismum brevem Christiane discipline," etc. atque "articulos" in eodem Cathachismo mencionat'; necnon, "An aunswer of the most reuerende father," etc. Et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum nescit deponere. Ad ix x et xj dicit et deponit quod sic dici audivit quod idem Thomas Cranmerus dictos suos libros et articulos ac contenta in eisdem publice et in publica scola pro viribus defendebat, atque ab heresibus in hujusmodi libris et articulis contentis recedere pertinaciter recusavit, et propterea publico Oxon' decreto tam ipse quam ejus libri et articuli predicti pro hereticis et impiis pronunciati et declarati: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xij (hoc excepto, quod non novit eundem Thomam aliquem coegisse ad contenta in hoc articulo facienda) dicit et deponit eundem articulum et contenta in eodem fuisse et esse vera, publica, notoria et manifesta in hoc Anglie regno: et aliter nescit. Ad xiij dicit et deponit contenta in eodem fuisse et esse vera, et etiam dicit quod audivit eundem Thomam coram reverendo domino subdelegato in hac parte procedente in publico judicio pro tribunali seden' confiteri se tale prestitisse juramentum obediencie prout continetur in scedula huic articulo annexa: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xiiij et xv dicit et deponit contenta in eisdem articulis fuisse et esse vera, except' quod non novit de aliqua coactione per eundem Thomam Cranmerum facta. Ad ultimum dicit predeposita per eum fuisse et esse vera, ac juxta eadem famam laborasse et laborare.

Georgius London sacre theologie baccalarius, collegii Gloucestren' in academia Oxon', quinquaginta duorum annorum etatis aut circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis in hac parte productus et juratus, quoad partes dicit quod dominum regem modernum non novit, ac dictam dominam reginam circiter xxviij annos jam ult' elapsos ac Thomam Cranmerum per quindecim annos bene novit, ut dicit. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum et sextum dicit et deponit, contenta in eisdem articulis fuisse et esse vera et in hoc Anglie regno publica, notoria et manifesta, etiam per dictum Thomam Cranmerum coram domino subdelegato in hac parte procedente publice in judicio saltem in effectu confesssa, ut dicit: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad septimum dicit et deponit dictum Thomam Cranmerum libros sequentes edidisse saltem suo nomine, viz. "A defense of the true and Catholique doctrine," etc. "An aunswer of the moste reuerende father in God," etc. necnon ejus consilium adhibuisse circa edicionem Cathachismi brevis Christiane discipline etc. in hoc articulo mencionat', prout dictus Thomas Cranmerus publice fatebatur coram domino subdelegato in hac parte pro tribunali seden': et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum nescit deponere. Ad ix x et xj dicit et deponit, quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus in publica scola theologica academie Oxon' dictos libros et articulos ac contenta in eisdem aliasque nonnullas hereses publice defendebat, et inter cetera negavit presenciam corporis Christi in sacrosancta eucharistia, ut dicit; et sic defendendo et negando scholastico et academico Oxon', decreto pro heretico et impio in ecclesia parochiali dive Marie Virginis civitatis Oxon' pronunciatus et declaratus, ut iste deponens dici audivit, tamen eidem decreto non interfuit, ut dicit: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad duodecimum dicit et doponit eundem Thomam Cranmerum fuisse et esse (premissorum obtentu) schismaticum, et quod idem Thomas Cranmerus publice fatebatur se adhibuisse ejus consilium regi Henrico et quamplurimis aliis personis hujus regni ut recederent ab auctoritate Romani pontificis: et aliter dicit quod nescit deponere. Ad xiij dicit se audivisse dictum Thomam Cranmerum coram prefato domino subdelegato publice in judicio fassum esse et confiteri se tale prestitisse juramentum, prout continetur in scedula huic articulo annexa; tamen hoc fecit (ut asseruit) sub protestacione in instrumento publico in hac parte exhibito contenta: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad xiiij et xv dicit et deponit contenta in eisdem articulis fuisse et esse vera, publica, et notoria etiam de certa sciencia auditu et noticia istius deponentis, ut dicit. Ad ultimum dicit predeposita per eum esse vera, atque juxta eadem famam laborasse et laborare.

Magister Richardus Smythe sacre theologie professor, ecclesie Christi in academia Oxon' prebendarius ac publicus prelector sacre theologie in eadem academia, quinquaginta trium aut circiter annorum etatis, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis super articulis capitulis sive interrogatoriis ex parte illustrissimorum dominorum regis et regine contra Thomam Cranmerum pro archiepiscopo Cantuar' se gerentem datis et propositis productus, juratus et examinatus dicit, quod citra adventum ejusdem regis ad hoc Anglie regnum eum tam tempore nuptiarum inter eum et serenissimam dominam Mariam Anglie reginam Winton' celebrat' quam etiam pluries citra illud tempus vidit, quodque serenissimam dominam Mariam reginam per xiiij aut xv annos, necnon prefatum dominum Thomam Cranmerum per xviij annos, aut circiter novit. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum et sextum articulos predictos dicit et deponit iste deponens, quod a pluribus sepius audivit dici prout in eisdem articulis continetur quodque sic in quamplurimis hujus regni civitatibus et oppidis ac in utraque universitate sive academia Oxon' viz. et Cantabrigien' et in nonnullis aliis locis publicis hujus regni contenta in eisdem articulis fuerunt et sunt communiter dicta, et publica, notoria, et famosa etiam de auditu et sciencia hujus deponentis. Dicitque iste deponens quod firmiter credit contenta in articulis hujusmodi fuisse et esse vera; et aliter dicit quod nescit deponere. Ad septimum dicit et deponit iste juratus, quod liber vulgo nominatus "The defence of the true and Catholicke doctrine of the sacrament of the bodie and blodd of ower Lord," etc. editus fuit ac publicatus et orbi traditus per dictum Thomam Cranmerum ac ejus nomine, auctoritate at mandato, non solum prout iste juratus sepius hoc verum esse audivit a pluribus aliis, verum etiam ex eo quod sub nomine ipsius Thome editus et impressus fuit. Cui quidem libro et contentis in eisdem iste juratus respondens confutacioni ejusdem alium librum edidit et scripsit nominatum vulgariter et Anglice "A confutacion of the true and Catholique doctrine," etc. Et quod attinet ad Catachismum et articulos annexos et ad librum continentem responsa ejusdem Thome Cranmeri contra librum reverendi patris domini Stephani Winton' episcopi vulgariter dictum, "An aunswer of the moste reuerende father in God Thomas Archebushop of Canterbury," etc. dicit quod tam per titulum et inscripcionem eorundem et per publicam famam, quam per confessionem dicti Thome, apparet eosdem libros per eundem Thomam editos fuisse et publicatos: et aliter dicit quod super contentis in hoc articulo nescit deponere. Ad octavum et nonum dicit quod nescit deponere. Ad decimum et undecimum dicit iste deponens, quod intra festa Pasche et Pentecostes ad annum elapsum, viz. anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, presens fuit in scola theologica Oxonien' quando dictus Thomas Cranmerus publice et pertinaciter pro viribus defenderat hereses contentas in libris et articulis predictis, viz. non esse corpus Christi realiter in eucharistia, et non esse transubstanciationem panis et vini, tercio missam non esse sacrificium propiciatorium pro vivis et defunctis: quodque propterea post disputacionem aliquot dierum in ea parte publice et solemniter factam tandem sentencia duodecim doctorum virorum, viz. sex de universitate Oxon' et sex de universitate Cantabrigien', et aliorum multorum virorum doctorum specialiter in ea parte a convocatione cleri tunc Londini celebrat' missorum, convictus fuit, et postea in ecclesia parochiali dive Marie Oxon' pro heretico judicatus, ejusque opiniones predicte tanquam heretice dampnate fuerunt: presentibus etiam tunc ibidem ac premissa audientibus venerabilibus viris Richardo Marshall sacre theologie professore ac dicte universitatis Oxonien' tunc et in presenti vicecancellario, Will'mo Tresham et Richardo Croke theologie doctoribus, ac Georgio London theologie baccalario, Roberto Warde artium magistro, Johanne Smythe artium magistro, Richardo Bruern sacre theologie baccalario et prelectore Hebraice lingue in dicta universitate, una cum aliis pluribus ad numerum millenarium et ultra, ut credit et ut modo recolit: et aliter dicit quod super contentis in istis articulis nescit deponere. Ad xij xiij xiiij xv et xvj dicit aliter super contentis in eisdem articulis deponere nescit quam ex auditu famaque publica et ex propria confessione predicti Thome Cranmeri hesterna luce, viz. duodecimo die instantis mensis Septembris, coram domino subdelegato pro tribunali sedente publice facta, dicitque iste juratus in vim juramenti sui quod non est doctus neque instructus preceve aut precio aliquo in hac parte corruptus.

MAGISTER RICHARDUS MARSHALL sacre theologie professor ac decanus ecclesie cathedralis collegii Christi in alma academia Oxon' et ejusdem academie commissarius, xxxvij annorum etatis aut circiter, libere (ut dicit) condicionis, testis super articulis ex parte serenissimorum dominorum Philippi et Marie Anglie regis et regine contra dominum Thomam Cranmerum assertum episcopum Cantuar' datis et propositis productus, juratus et examinatus, primo de partium noticia dicit, quod illustrissimum dominum Philippum Anglie regem primo Winton' tempore nuptiarum inter eum et serenissimam dominam Mariam Anglie reginam celebrat' vidit, quodque citra pluries eum vidit; et dicit quod prefatam serenissimam dominam Mariam Anglie reginam per octo aut novem annos aut circiter ac Thomam Cranmerum per xvi annos aut circiter novit. Ad primum secundum tercium quartum quintum et sextum articulos predictos dicit, quod super contentis in eisdem aliter deponere nescit quam ex ipsius Thome confessione tam hesterna luce, viz. xij° die hujus mensis Septembris, coram reverendo patre domino Jacobo Glocestren' episcopo subdelegato in ac causa judicialiter et publice facta, quam etiam antea isti jurato per eundem dominum Thomam Cranmerum declarata, atque ex publica et communi voce et fama super contentis in eisdem tam in utraque universitate, viz. Oxonien' et Cantabrigien' ac in pluribus aliis locis publicis hujus regni Anglie laborante; tamen dicit quod firmiter credit contenta in eisdem fuisse et esse vera: et aliter dicit quod super contentis in hujusmodi articulis nescit deponere. Ad septimum articulum dicit et deponit iste juratus, quod tam liber vocatus "A discourse of the true and Catholike faithe," etc. "Cathachismus brevis," etc. cum articulis annexis, quam etiam liber vocatus "An aunswer of the most reuerende father in God Thomas archebushop of Canterbury," etc. editi, publicati, et in publico producti et destinati fuerunt sub nomine dicti domini Thome Cranmeri, atque pro editis per eum publice et communiter dicti, nominati et reputati tam per ipsum Thomam quam per alios quamplurimos, et etiam judicialiter coram domino judice subdelegato predicto xij° die hujus mensis Septembris superius mencionat' sic recognit' et confessat'. Et ideo iste juratus etiam firmiter credit libros et articulos hujusmodi per ipsum Thomam Cranmerum saltem ejus nomine sic editos publicatosque et omnibus destinatos fuisse: et aliter nescit deponere. Ad octavum et nonum dicit iste juratus, quod firmiter credit contenta in eisdem vera esse ex eo quod sic communiter dicitur etiam ab aliquibus eorum qui articulis hic mencionatis subscripserunt, et quod sic communis fama laboravit de hujus deponentis auditu proprio: et aliter dicit quod nescit deponere. Ad decimum et undecimum dicit iste juratus, quod intra festa Pasche et Pentecostes ad annum elapsum, viz. in anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto jam ult' preterit', presens fuit iste juratus in scola theologica dicte universitatis Oxonien', ubi dictus Thomas Cranmerus publice pro viribus defendebat hereses in libris et articulis predictis contentas, viz. denegando presenciam corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia ac transubstancionem panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi, etiam misse sacrificium denegando, propter quod post longam et prolixam disputacionem per quinque aut sex dies idem Thomas in ea parte convictus fuit: atque sentencia sex virorum doctorum universitatis Oxon' et sex virorum doctorum universitatis Cantabrigien', necnon sex etiam doctorum virorum ex convocacione sive sinodo cleri tunc Londini celebrat' et Oxonie pro dicta disputacione specialiter transmissorum, in choro ecclesie beate Marie Virginis Oxon' predict' condempnatus fuit pro heretico, et similiter ejus opiniones predicte pro hereticis dampnate ac condempnate et pronunciate fuerunt: presentibus tunc ibidem et premissa etiam audientibus venerabilibus viris Will'mo Tresham, Richardo Smythe, et Richardo Croke sacre theologie professoribus, Roberto Warde artium magistro, Georgio London sacre theologie baccalario, necnon Hugone Weston sacre theologie professore ac convocacionis predicte proloquutore, Will'mo Chedsey sacre theologie professore, ac Will'mo Cole legum doctore, et Morgano Philipps sacre theologie baccalario, cum aliis quamplurimis ad numerum (ut credit) quadringentorum: et aliter dicit quod de contentis in istis articulis deponere nescit. Ad reliquos articulos, viz. ad xij xiij xiiij xv et xvj articulos dicit et deponit, quod tam racione confessionis prefati Thome Cranmeri hesterna die coram reverendo patre domino Jacobo Brokes judice in hac parte subdelegato judicialiter et publice facte, quam etiam racione fame publice et communiter in ea parte tam in hac academia Oxonien' quam etiam in aliis plurimis hujus regni oppidis et locis publicis laborantis, etiam de istius deponentis certo auditu credit contenta in articulis predictis fuisse et esse vera. Et aliter dicit quod de et super contentis in articulis predictis nescit deponere, dicitque iste juratus quod non est doctus neque instructus preceve aut precio in hac parte corruptus.

TENORES autem mandati nostri citatorii predicti una cum certificatorio in dorso ejusdem, necnon articulorum et scedule annexe, ac instrumenti publici de quibus superius fit mencio, seriatim sequuntur et sunt tales. JACOBUS BROKES permissione divina Glocestren' episcopus reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Jacobi miseracione divina tituli Sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbyteri cardinalis de Puteo nuncupati, cause et causis ac partibus infra nominatis judicis et commissarii a sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputati, una cum reverendo in Christo patre Wigorn' episcopo ac venerabilibus viris decano Londonien' et archidiacono Cantuarien' cum illa clausula et vestrum cuilibet insolid' etc. sub modo et forma infrascript'. Judex subdelegatus sive commissarius sufficienter et legitime deputatus universis et singulis prepositis decanis archidiaconis prebendariis rectoribusque vicariis capellanis curatis et non curatis scolaribus ac notariis publicis et tabellionibus clericisque et literatis quibuscumque per provinciam Cantuar' ac alias ubilibet constitutis, salutem in Domino, ac nostris hujusmodi et dicti reverendissimi domini cardinalis judicis delegati antedicti, immo verius apostolicis, volentibus firmiter obedire mandatis literas commissionales sive subdelegatorias prefati reverendissimi patris et domini domini Jacobi cardinalis et judicis delegati predicti ipsius sigillo cera rubea impressa in quadam alba lignea capsula inclusa cum cordulis rubei coloris oblongo dependentibus sigillat' ac signo, nomine et subscripcione providi viri Claudii Badii clerici Bismitin' dioces' publici auctoritate apostolica et imperiali ut apparuit notarii munitas et subscriptas, non viciatas, non rasas, non obolitas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas, sed sanas et integras ac omni vicio et sinistra suspicione carentes, nobis directas et per partem illustrissimorum serenissimorumque Philippi et Marie Dei gratia Anglie regis et regine in ipsis literis commissionalibus nominat' anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto indictione decima tercia pontificatus dicti sanctissimi domini nostri Pauli Pape eo nomine quarti anno primo, mensis vero Septembris die nono in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Marie in alma academia Oxoniensi scituat' realiter presentatas: noveritis nos cum ea qua decuit reverencia recepisse tenorem infrascriptum in se continentem, JACOBUS miseracione divina tituli Sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbiter cardinalis de Puteo nuncupatus, causeque et causis ac partibus infrascriptis judex ac commissarius a sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputatus, reverendis in Christo patribus et dominis dominis Dei et apostolice sedis gracia Wigorn' et Glocestren' episcopis ac decano Londonien' et archidiacono Cantuar' et vestrum cuilibet insolido, salutem in Domino et presentibus fidem indubiam adhibere ac hujusmodi in commissis diligenciam facere nostrisque hujusmodi, immo verius apostolicis, firmiter obedire mandatis. Noveritis quod nuper sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster dominus Paulus divina providencia Papa quartus quandam commissionis sive supplicacionis papiri scedulam nobis per certos cursores suos presentari fecit, quam nos cum ea qua decuit reverencia recepimus hujusmodi sub tenore motu proprio, etc. Quoniam, sicut nuper nobis significatum fuit per literas dilectorum in Christo filiorum nostrorum Philippi regis et Marie regine Anglie, Thomas Cranmerus, qui olim sedis apostolice auctoritate metropolitane ecclesie Cantuarien' prefectus fuerat, in heresis aliaque tam grandia tamque enormia crimina sit prolapsus, ut non solum dicte metropolitane ecclesie regimine indignum se reddiderit, sed cum omnem fere divini et humani juris racionem abjecisse videatur, majori pena meritum se fecerit, prout etiam ex complurimis dicti regni Anglie prelatorum attestacionibus dicitur apparere, asseriturque etiam omnia esse notoria: nos de premissis certam aliter quam ut prefertur noticiam non habentes et tanta crimina (si vera sint) impunita dictamque metropolitanam ecclesiam sine pastore idoneo derelinquere, ad aliquam tamen execucionem aliter quam rei veritate per legitime receptas probaciones habita procedere nolentes, dilecto filio nostro Jacobo tituli sancti Simeonis sancte Romane cardinali, ut de premissis etiam summarie simpliciter et de plano, sine strepitu et figura judicii ac sine ulla terminorum substancialium vel tele judiciarie observacione, citato dicto Thoma se informet, et quicquid inveniet nobis referat, committimus et mandamus cum potestate in curia et extra citandi et inhibendi literas compulsoriales generales ac remissorias in forma consueta ad partes decernendi personasque quascumque (si opus esse arbitrabitur) sive ad exhibenda jura sive ad perhibendum testimonium, etiam per censuras ecclesiasticas cogendi et compellendi, seu si pro celeriori expedicione sibi videbitur ad recipiend' informacionem hujusmodi aliquem probum virum in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum in partibus illis commorantem cum simili citandi, inhibendi, cogendi, facultatem deputandi ac compellendi et subdelegandi, cumque aliis facultatibus necessariis consuetis et opportunis, presentium tenore committimus et mandamus, non obstan' constitucione et ordinacione apostolicis dicti regni legibus statutis et consuetudinibus etiam juramento roboratis ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque statum merita et tenores predictorumque aliorumque forsan latius exprimendorum pro sufficienter expressis habentes. Que quidem commissio binas in ejus fine habebat signaturas, quarum prior talis erat, viz. de mandato domini nostri Pape, audiam, idem reverendissimus dominus cardinalis citet, decernat, deputet, subdeleget et referat ut petitur. Secunda vero sic subsequebatur, viz. placet. J. Cujus quidem commissionis pretextu per nos citacione legitime extra Romanam curiam et ad partes contra et adversas reverendum patrem dominum Thomam Cranmerum prefect' metropolitane ecclesie Cantuar' in forma solita et consueta decreta et concessa. Subsequenter vero constitutus legitime coram nobis providus vir magister Petrus Renilius in Romana curia causarum et serenissimorum Philippi regis et Marie regine Anglie procurator assertus, prout de sue procuracionis mandato nobis legitimam promisit facere fidem et eo nomine procuratorio et ad recipiend' informacionem contentorum in preinserta commissione aliquem probum virum in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum in partibus illis commorantem juxta et secundum predicte commissionis vim, formam, continenciam, et tenorem subdelegari, vicesque nostras committi per nos debita cum instancia postulavit. Nos tunc Jacobus Puteus cardinalis et judex prefatus, attendentes postulacionem hujusmodi fore justam et racioni consonam, vos reverendos dominos Wigornien' et Glocestren' episcopos ac decanum Londonien' et archidiaconum Cantuarien' et vestrum quemlibet insolid' ad recipiend' informacionem premissorum narratorum et contentorum in preinserta commissione juxta dicte commissionis vim, formam, continenciam, et tenorem subdelgand' ac vices nostras comittend' duximus, et per presentes subdelegamus et committimus has nostras literas nostro sigillo munitas decernentes. Que omnia et singula premissa vobis omnibus et singulis predictis intimamus, insinuamus, et notificamus, ac ad vestram et cujuslibet vestrum noticiam deducimus et deduci volumus per presentes. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum presentes literas sive presens publicum instrumentum, hujusmodi subdelegacionem in se continentes sive continens, exinde fieri et per notarium publicum nostrumque et hujusmodi cause coram nobis scribam infrascriptum subscribi et publicari mandavimus, sigillique nostri jussimus et fecimus appensione communiri. Dat' et actum Rome in domo habitacionis nostre solite residen' sub anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione decima tercia, die vero Mercurii decima nona mensis Junii, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providencia Pape quarti anno ejus primo: presentibus ibidem venerabilibus viris dominis Menelao de Bazzanis et Augustino Ferragutt clericis, Parmen' et Majoricen' respective civitatum testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis et speciales, et ego Claudius Badius clericus Bismitin' diocesis, publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritatibus notarius reverendissimique domini cardinalis prefati et hujus cause coram eo in locum venerabilis viri domini Parii de Fabianis clerici Arben' notarii scriba deputatus: quia dict' subdelegacioni, peticioni, et decreto, omnibusque aliis et singulis premissis, dum sic ut premittitur fierent et agerentur, una cum prenominatis testibus presens interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi ac in notam sumpsi, ex qua presens publicum instrumentum manu alterius scriptum exinde confeci et subscripsi, signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis una cum ipsius reverendissimi cardinalis sigilli appensione signavi in fidem premissorum rogatus et requisitus. Post quarum quidem literarum commissionalium predict' presentacionem et earum receptionem nobis et per nos sic ut premittitur fact' fuimus per partem prefatorum illustrissimorum regis et regine debita cum instancia requisiti, quatenus onus execucionis earundem literarum et contentorum in eisdem in nos assumere, et eas juxta formam in eis annotatam et secundum juris exigentiam debite exequi et citacionem legitimam contra et adversus prenominatum Thomam Cranmerum pro Cantuar' archiepiscopo se gerentem in predictis literis ex adverso principaliter nominatum, sub modo et forma inferius descript' decernere et concedere dignaremur. Unde nos Jacobus episcopus et subdelegatus sive commissarius antedictus, attendentes requisicionem hujusmodi nobis ut premittitur factam justam fore et racioni consonam ob reverenciam dicti reverendissimi domini cardinalis judicis delegati committentis onus commissionis hujusmodi in nos assumentes, necnon juxta ipsius commissionis, vim, formam, et effectum procedere volentes in hac parte, citacionem hujusmodi etiam ad diem et locum inferius descript' fieri decernimus, justicia id poscente. Vobis igitur conjunctim et divisim auctoritate apostolica (qua fungimur in hac parte) committimus et firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus citetis seu citari faciatis peremptorie prefatum Thomam Cranmerum archiepiscopum assertum antedictum, quod compareat coram nobis in ecclesia parochiali dive Virginis Maria in alma academia Oxon' situat' duodecimo viz. die instantis mensis Septembris hora octava ante meridiem ejusdem diei cum continuacione et prorogacione dierum, horarum, et locorum tunc sequend' et limitand', si oporteat in hac parte fiend' causam racionabilem et legitimam, si qua pro se habeat aut dicere sciat objectionemve sive excepcionem si quam proponere, facere, aut objicere velit aut possit contra literas sive instrumentum subdelegacionis predict' aut contra articulos in hac parte datos seu contra instrumenta processum sive jura aliqua in hac parte producta in debita juris forma dictur' ostensur' et allegatur'; necnon testes aliasque probaciones super articulis ceterisque juribus et instrumentis hujusmodi produci, jurari, et fieri visur' et auditur', interrogatoriaque si que dare voluerit datur' et ministratur', necnon ad omnia et singula acta in hac parte necessaria atque juxta premissa et juxta vim, formam, et tenorem literarum commissionalium sive subdelegatoriarum predictarum successive expediend' processur' et procedi visur' ulteriusque factur' et receptur' quod tenor et effectus dictarum literarum commissionalium sive subdelegatoriarum et contenta in eisdem de se exigunt et requirunt, et quod justicia in hac parte suadebit, intimantes nihilominus eidem Thome Cranmero archiepiscopo asserto sic citato, quod sive ipse in dicto citacionis et decreti nostri hujusmodi termino comparuerit sive non, nos juxta juris exigentiam ac juxta vim, formam, tenorem et effectum dictarum literarum commissionalium sive subdelegatoriarum tam ad testium productionem, juramenti prestacionem, et eorum examinacionem, ceterorumque probacionem recepcionem et admissionem, quam etiam ad omnia et singula acta necessaria in hac parte successive expediend', prout justum fuerit, procedemus ipsius Thome citati absencia sive contumacia in aliquo non obstante. Et quid in premissis feceritis, nos subdelegatum antedictum dictis die et loco debite certificet ille vestrum qui presens nostrum mandatum fuerit executus personaliter vel per suas literas patentes harum seriem in se continentes una cum presentibus auctentice sigillat'. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuimus. Dat' nono die mensis Septembris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto.

In Dei nomine amen. Universis et singulis presens publicum instrumentum inspecturis pateat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno a Nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto, indictione decima tercia pontificatusque sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Pauli divina providencia hujus nominis Pape quarti anno ejus primo, mensis vero Septembris die nono, in domo Rogeri Taylor alias Cooke infra parochiam beate Marie Magdalene in suburbiis civitatis Oxon' diocesisque Oxon' notorie situat', in providi et circumspecti viri domini Johannis Clerk notarii publici subscripti testiumque infranominatorum ad hæc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum precencia, ego Christoferus Smythe notarius publicus ac mandatarius in hac parte specialiter deputatus juratusque et admissus ex parte illustrissimorum serenissimorumque Philippi et Marie Anglie regis et regine in retroscriptis literis citatoriis principaliter nominatorum, ad assumend' in me execucionem retroscriptarum literarum citatoriarum et ad illas exequend' instanter requisitus, tanquam obediencie filius, literas hujusmodi humiliter et reverenter recepi, ac ipsarum execucionem juxta officii mei debitum suscepi, et eidem Thome Cranmero ex adverso principali in retroscriptis literis ex adverso principaliter nominato presenti easdem literis et contenta in eisdem insinuavi, publicavi, notificavi et ad ejus noticiam, quantum melius potui et debui, deduxi, ac earundem vigore eundem Thomam citavi, quatenus post hujus citacionis execucionem infra terminum in ea prefixum in judicio coram reverendo in Christo patre et domino domino Jacobo permissione divina Glocestren' episcopo, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Jacobi miseracione divina tituli Sancte

Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbyteri cardinalis de Puteo nuncupati cause et causis ac partibus infra nominatis judicis et commissarii a dicto sanctissimo domino nostro Papa specialiter deputati sub modo et forma infrascript' judice subdelegato sive commissario, sufficienter et legitime deputato, in retroscriptis literis nominato modo et forma in eisdem literis expressis, compareat, et alias dictas citatorias literas juxta vim, formam, tenorem et effectum earundem executus fui, nihil de contentis in eisdem omittendo, et in signum vere et realis execucionis hujusmodi ipsi Thome veram earundem literarum copiam, necnon copiam veram articulorum, capitulorum, sive interrogatoriorum ex parte dictorum serenissimorum dominorum nostrorum regis et regine in hac parte contra eum proposit' dat' et exhibit' collacionatas, ac manu et signo dicti domini Johannis Clerk notarii publici predicti, ac hujus cause in actorum scribam specialiter assumpti, subscriptas et firmatas, una cum libris munimentis, et documentis in ipsis articulis sive capitulis specificatis, et in hac parte coram retro nominato domino subdelegato etiam exhibitis tradidi et dimisi. Super quibus omnibus et singulis tam ego notarius et mandatarius antedictus, quam etiam prefatus dominus Johannes Clerk notarius publicus predictus, tunc etiam personaliter presens ex parte dictorum serenissimorum dominorum nostrorum regis et regine, et eorum nomine ad conficiend' instrumentum sive instrumenta publicum seu publica unum vel plura, ac testes infra nominatos inde testimonium perhibere specialiter fuimus respective requisiti. Acta fuerunt hec omnia et singula prout suprascribuntur et recitantur sub anno Domini indictione pontificatusque ac mense die et loco supradictis: presentibus tunc ibidem Griffino Willyams Oxon' commorante, et Thoma Owen London' commorante, notariis publicis, ac Rogero Taylor alias Cooke Oxon' dioc' et Rolando Grene literato London' etiam commorante, testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Et ego Christoferus Smythe Lincoln' diocesis publicus (apostolica auctoritate) notarius, quia dictam citacionem contra memoratum dominum Thomam Cranmerum modo et forma quibus supra debite executus fui, omnibusque aliis et singulis premissis, dum sic ut premittitur sub anno Domini indictione pontificatusque ac mense die et loco supradictis fierent et agerentur (una cum prenominato domino Johanne Clerk notario publico et actorum scriba predicto hic inferius se subscribente) prenominatisque testibus presens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic feci, executus fui, et expedivi ac in notam sumpsi. Ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria exinde confeci, scripsi et subscripsi, signoque* et nomine meis solitis et consuetis una cum signo et nomine prefati Johannis Clerk notarii predicti atque dicti reverendi patris domini Jacobi Glocestren' episcopi subdelegati supradicti sigilli appensione signavi in fidem premissorum rogatus specialiter et requisitus. Et ego Johannes Clerk, Bathon' et Wellen' diocesis publicus sacra auctoritate apostolica notarius, et alme curie Cantuarien' procuratorum generalium unus, in causaque et causis retroscriptis actorum scriba specialiter assumptus, admissus, et assignatus, quia dictarum literarum citatoriarum recepcioni et execucioni ac vere copie earum etiam manu nomineque et signo meis propriis et solitis signate et firmate tradicioni ceterisque premissis omnibus et singulis, dum sic ut premittitur sub anno Domini indictione pontificat' menseque ac die et loco superius specificatis agerentur et fierent, una cum memorato domino Christofero Smythe notario publico et mandatario predicto (ut prefertur) se superius subscribente testibusque prenominatis presens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi, scivi, et audivi, ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum, manu propria supranominati domini Christoferi Smythe notarii publici predicti scriptum et exinde confectum, etiam subscripsi, signoque* et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi una cum appensione sigilli supradicti reverendi domini subdelegati in fidem et testimonium premissorum rogatus (ut prefertur) et requisitus. IN DEI NOMINE AMEN coram vobis reverendo in Christo patre et domino domino Jacobo permissione divina Glocestren' episcopo, reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Jacobi miseracione divina tituli Sancte Marie in via sacrosancte Romane ecclesie presbiteri cardinalis de Puteo nuncupati, a sanctissimo domino nostro domino Paulo divina providencia illius nominis Papa quarto judicis delegati commissario sive subdelegato in hac parte sufficienter auctorisato, articulos, capitula, posiciones sive interrogatoria infrascripta, ac omnia et singula in eisdem contenta, omnibus melioribus validioribusque et efficatioribus via modo et juris forma, quibus melius validius et efficatius de jure potuit aut debeat atque ad omnem juris effectum exinde sequi valen' procurator et eo nomine illustrissimorum serenissimorumque principum Philippi et Marie Anglie regis et regine contra et adversus Thomam Cranmerum pro archiepiscopo metropolitane ecclesie Cantuar' se gerentem dat, proponit, et exhibet conjunctim et divisim ac articulatim prout sequitur. In primis procurator dictorum illustrissimorum regis et regine ac procuratorio nomine pro eisdem ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod idem Thomas Cranmerus ad viginti seu circiter annos elapsos in archiepiscopum Cantuarien' (tunc ipsa sede archiepiscopali et ecclesia metropolitana Cantuar' per mortem recolende memorie Will'mi Warrham ultimi archiepiscopi ibidem et illius Thome immediati predecessoris vacante) auctoritate sedis apostolice utcumque prefectus fuit, atque per nonnullos citra annos pro archiepiscopo metropolitanoque ejusdem ecclesie metropolitice se gessit et aliquo modo se gerit pretenditque in presenti, hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum: ponit et articulatur conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, procurator prefatus et procuratorio nomine quo supra, quod olim antequam dictus Thomas Cranmerus dicte Cantuar' ecclesie (ut prefertur) prefectus fuit, et ante ullos sacros ordines ab eo susceptos, ad xxx$^{ta}$ et ultra annos elapsos quandam mulierem communiter et vulgo nominatam Johannam alias "black Johanne of the dolphin" in Cantabrigia Elien' diocesis (seu alio forsan nomine sive cognomine vocatam) in uxorem duxit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, procurator antedictus, quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus post mortem dicte uxoris sue, presbiter effectus ac in sacro ordine sacerdotali constitutus, quandam aliam mulierem Annam nominatam, seu forsan aliter vocatam de facto quum de jure non deberet, in suam conjugem accepit, et in archiepiscopum Cantuar' auctoritate predicta utcumque prefectus fuit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, idem procurator, quod ipse Thomas Cranmerus mulierem hujusmodi sic per eum secundo tanquam uxorem acceptam pro uxore usque ad mortem Henrici octavi nuper Anglie regis, clanculum tamen et (ut fieri potuit) secrete tenuit, habuit, et custodivit. Item procurator predictus ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod memoratus Thomas Cranmerus a morte dicti regis Henrici et tempore Edwardi sexti tunc immediate Anglie regis eandem mulierem sic secundo acceptam non secrete, ut prius, sed palam, publice, notorieque et manifeste citra ullum pudorem et verecundiam tanquam suam uxorem et pro sua uxore tam in mensa quam alibi de facto tenuit, acceptavit, et tractavit, et cum ea tanquam cum sua uxore cohabitavit, prolesque et liberos multos ex eadem suscitavit et habuit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur antedictus procurator, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus, adeo impudens existens ut turpitudinem suam in hac parte manifeste jactando detegeret, et in publicum totius hujus regni Anglie conspectum notorie deduceret, tempore dicti regis Edwardi (et ipso regnante) publice asseruit et affirmavit, inter cetera, se dictam mulierem secundam ex multis antea annis in uxorem suscepisse et cum ea cohabitasse, necnon proles et liberos (ut prefertur) ab eadem suscitasse: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator antedictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod prelibatus Thomas Cranmerus ad profundum malorum veniens (Christiana fide et religione penitus contemptis) in hereses suas quas longe antea imbiberat, et maxime contra venerabile eucharistie sacramentum, libros una cum copia istorum articulorum sibi ostensos, propositos et traditos, ac in margine hujus articuli expressos sive designatos, eorumque vim, formam, tenorem et effectum edidit lingua partim Latina partim Anglicana saltem sic edi imprimique et orbi publicari fecit etiam suo nomine, ipsasque hereses publice asseruit et docuit: ponit ut supra.* Item ponit et articulatur procurator supranominatus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod prefatus Thomas Cranmerus articulis quibusdam hereticis, maxime inter cetera contra veritatem veramque presentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia editis et conceptis, verumque et reale ac perfectum Christi corpus in ipso sacramento sub specie sive forma panis et vini notorie denegantibus, sub nomine cleri Cantuarien' falso editis et publicatis pastores, rectores et ecclesiarum curatos non paucos subscribere coegit, fecit et compulit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item procurator antedictus ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod dictus Thomas, quia libros et articulos antedictos modis quibus potuit non cessabat defendere, tum ut factionis et heresis sue participes in impietate retineret, tum ut alios ad eandem nequiciam pertraheret, auctoritate serenissime domine Marie regine predicte (et ejus consiliariis suadentibus) e turri et carcere London', ubi ob sua enormia nephandaque scelera, delicta, et crimina detentus fuit, ad academiam Oxonien', ubi tunc parliamentum futur' sperabatur, mittebatur: hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit procurator antedictus, quod idem Thomas Cranmerus in dicta academia Oxonien' (publica disputacione secum ex more scolarum habita) libros et articulos predictos publice pro viribus defendebat, et sic quatenus potuit defendens exsibilatus et convictus fuit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator sepe dictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod memoratus Thomas Cranmerus, quia sic libros, articulos, et hereses, predict' pro viribus defendebat, et quia modo premisso convictus cedere et ab eisdem recedere pertinaciter recusavit, scolastico et academico Oxonien' decreto pro heretico et impio execratoque pronunciatus fuit et declaratus, librique et articuli predicti pro hereticis impiis et execratis pronunciati similiter et declarati fuerunt: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator predictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod prefatus Thomas Cranmerus fuit et est merus et notorius schismaticus, ex eo presertim quod non solum ab unitate Catholice et universalis ecclesie ipsiusque ecclesie constitucionibus, ordinacionibus, ritibus, decretis, sanisque doctrinis et determinacionibus variis et innumeris modis, atque a sede apostolica ecclesiaque Romana totius ecclesie Catholice sola matrice summoque et Romano pontifice et domino nostro Papa ejusdem ecclesie Catholice et universalis solo sub Christo capite, recessit, verum etiam ex eo quod tum hujus regni Anglie regem Henricum octavum, tum etiam plures alios hujus regni Anglie episcopos, prelatos, et proceres et magnates, atque utriusque sexus personas quamplurimas, sic recedere summoque pontifici et ejus ac sedis apostolice auctoritati renunciare procuravit et fecit, et in ea parte ejus consilium et auxilium adhibuit etiam pluribus et variis modis quosdam eorum ad sic recedendum et renunciandum compulit et coegit, necnon in ea parte specialis precipuusque et principalis seu quasi instigator et fautor fuit, pro talique et ut talis fuit et est communiter dictus, tentus, habitus, nominatus et reputatus, palam, publice et notorie: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, sepe dictus procurator, quod prefatus Thomas Cranmerus auctoritate sedis apostolice et domini nostri Pape Cantuarien' archiepiscopus (ut prefertur) consecratus et prefectus (inter cetera tempore consecrationis sue hujusmodi paulove antea aut citra) fidelitatem et obedienciam beato Petro sancteque et apostolice Romane ecclesie et sanctissimo domino nostro Pape tunc existenti ejusque successoribus juxta tenorem scedule presentibus annexe saltem in effectu prestitit, et in ea parte juramentum ad sancta Dei Evangelia subivit: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator predictus, quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus ejus fidelitatis obediencieque et juramenti prestacione predictis et ceteris premissis non obstantibus (sed penitus spretis et postpositis) spiritu perversi consilii ductos, immo verius seductos, non solum modo premisso ab ecclesie unitate sedeque apostolica et domino nostro domino Papa ejusque auctoritate recessit, et alios supra nominatos recedere et (ut prefertur) renunciare fecit, procuravit, et coegit, in plurimasque et varias hereses lapsus sit; verum etiam ipsius summi pontificis et sedis apostolice auctoritatem in se assumere et usurpare presumendo, saltem prophana et illicita auctoritate utendo (et omnino absque hujusmodi summi pontificis et sedis apostolice auctoritate) tam episcopos consecrare ceteraque ad solam sedem apostolicam et dominum nostrum Papam et ad nullum alium spectantia attemptare et peragere presumpsit: quorum premissorum pretextu idem Thomas Cranmerus tum reatum crimenque heresis et schismatis, tum etiam reatum perjurii etiam voluntarii, notorie et manifeste incurrebat et incurrit: hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator predictus, et si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod licet hujus regni Anglie subditi et utriusque sexus persone nuper ad octo seu novem menses aut circiter elapsos a schismate pernicioso, quo hoc regnum antea pestifere infectum fuit, recesserunt, atque ad ecclesie unitatem redierunt, sedisque apostolice et sacrosancte Romane ecclesie ac domini nostri domini Pape auctoritatem receperunt, acceptarunt et admiserunt, et in ea parte a schismate et ab heresibus quibus infecti et involuti fuerunt reconciliacionem auctoritate dicte sedis apostolice et domini nostri Pape obtinuerunt, prefatus tamen Thomas Cranmerus animo perverso, indurato corde, in heresibus suis et in schismatis reatu (quibus antea infectus fuit) adhuc involutus remanet et jacet infectus, atque se in ea parte debite reconciliare ejusque heresi errori et schismati renunciare ad unitatemque ecclesie Catholice et dominum nostrum Papam summumque pontificem caput ejusdem ecclesie redire contempsit et neglexit, ac sic pertinaciter contempnit et negligit in presenti: hocque fuit et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum: ponit et articulatur ut supra. Item ponit et articulatur procurator predictus, ac si negatum fuerit probare intendit, quod premissa omnia et singula presertim in hoc regno Anglie fuerunt et sunt vera, publica, notoria, manifesta pariter et famosa apud omnis ordinis homines, etiam tam publica, vera, notoria, manifesta et famosa, quod ulla tergiversacione celari non possunt, atque pro talibus et ut talia taliterque facta et perpetrata communiter dicta, tenta, habita, nominata et reputata palam, publice et notorie. UNDE petit procurator illustrissimorum et serenissimorum dominorum regis et regine predict' ac procuratorio nomine pro eisdem jus et justiciam de et super premissis et ea continentibus quibuscunque conjunctim et divisim fieri et ministrari: non arctans se ad omnia et singula premissa probanda, nec ad onus superflue probacionis eorundem de quo protestatur specialiter in hac parte, juris beneficio in omnibus semper salvo ac vestrum officium, domine judex, antedict' in hac parte humiliter implorando. IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ego Thomas electus Cantuarien' ab hac hora in antea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sancteque apostolice Romane ecclesie ac domino nostro domino Clementi Pape septimo suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injurie alique inferantur quovisquesito colore. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios seu literas, ad eorum dampnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolice sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romane ecclesie et domini nostri Pape et successorum predictorum conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo, nec ero in consilio vel tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel prejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinentur; et si talia a quibuscumque procurari novero (vel tractari), impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero commode significabo eidem domino nostro vel alteri per quem ad ipsius noticiam pervenire possit. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinaciones, sentencias, disposiciones, reservaciones, provisiones, et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo et faciam ab aliis observari. Hereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus predictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad sinodum veniam, nisi prepeditus fuero canonica prepedicione. Apostolorum limina Romana curia existentia citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis visitabo aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licencia. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam neque donabo nec impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesie mee, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta Dei Evangelia.—IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Per presentis publici instrumenti seriem cunctis appareat evidenter et sit notum, quod anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo tercio, indictione sexta, regni illustrissimi metuendissimi ac invictissimi principis et domini nostri supremi Henrici octavi, Dei gracia Anglie et Francie regis, fidei defensoris, et domini Hibernie excellentissimi, anno vicesimo quarto, mensis vero Marcii die tricesimo, in domo capitulari collegii regii sancti Stephani prothomartyris prope palacium regium Westm' London' diocesis notorie situat', constitutus personaliter reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Thomas in Cant' archiepiscopum (ut dicebat) electus, in mea prothonotarii regii ac notarii subscripti ac venerabilium virorum magistri Johannis Tregonwell legum doctoris, et Thome Bedyll clerici a consiliis dicti domini nostri regis, Richardi Gwent decretorum doctoris curie Cantuar' officialis principalis, et Johannis Cocks legum doctoris, dicti reverendissimi patris audiencie causarum et negociorum auditoris ac vicarii in spiritualibus generalis, testium in hac parte specialiter adhibitorum presentia, protestaciones quasdam fecit, legit, et interposuit, ac cetera fecit prout in quadam papiri scedula quam tunc ibidem in manibus suis tenuit et perlegit plenius continebatur. Cujus quidem scedule verus tenor (nil addito vel dempto) de verbo ad verbum sequitur et est talis: IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Coram vobis auctentica persona et testibus fide dignis hic presentibus, ego Thomas in Cant' archiepiscopum electus dico, allego, et in hiis scriptis palam publice et expresse protestor, quod cum juramentum sive juramenta ab electis in Cant' archiepiscopos summo pontifici prestari solita me ante meam consecracionem aut tempore ejusdem pro forma potius quam pro esse aut re obligatoria ad illam obtinend' oporteat, non est nec erit mee voluntatis aut intencionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercunque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod racione eorundem posthac dicendum, faciendum, aut attemptandum, quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei vel contra illustrissimum regem nostram Anglie aut rempublicam hujus sui regni Anglie, legesve aut prerogativas ejusdem: et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovismodo me obligare, quo minus libere loqui, consulere et consentire valeam in omnibus et singulis reformacionem religionis Christiane, gubernacionem ecclesie Anglicane, aut prerogativam corone ejusdem reipubliceve commoditatem quoquomodo concernen', et ea ubique exequi et reformare que michi in ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum hanc interpretacionem et intellectum hunc, et non aliter neque alio modo, dicta juramenta me prestaturum protestor et profiteor: protestorque insuper, quodcunque juramentum sit quod meus procurator summo pontifici meo nomine antehac prestitit, quod non erat intencionis aut voluntatis mee sibi aliquam dare potestatem, cujus vigore aliquod juramentum meo nomine prestare potuerit contrarium aut repugnans juramento per me prestito aut imposterum prestando prefato illustrissimo Anglie regi. Et casu quo aliquod tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum meo nomine prestitit, protestor quod illud me inscio et absque mea auctoritate prestitum pro nullo et invalido esse volo. Quas protestaciones in omnibus clausulis et sentenciis dictorum juramentorum repetitas et reiteratas volo, a quibus per aliquod meum factum vel dictum quovismodo recedere non intendo nec recedam, sed eas mihi semper salvas esse volo. Super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis dictus reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et notarium predictum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes superius nominatos testimonium perhibere rogavit et requisivit. Et deinde die, mense, et anno predictis dictus reverendissimus dominus Thomas electus in me[a] et prelibatorum venerabilium virorum presentia testium ad hoc etiam adhibitorum dict' domum capitularem exivit, et ad gradus summi altaris dicti collegii vestibus sacerdotalibus amictus ad recipiendum munus consecracionis perrexit, ac ibidem coram reverendo in Christo patre domino Johanne permissione divina Lincoln' episcopo pontificalibus induto super cathedram honorifice ornatam sedente, reverendis patribus Johanne Exon' et Henrico Assaven' episcopis eidem Lincoln' episcopo in actu consecracionis dicti reverendissimi electi assistentibus, genibus innixus quandam pergameni scedulam tenoris sequentis, viz. IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ego Thomas electus Cantuarien' ab hac hora inantea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sancteque apostolice Romane ecclesie ac domino nostro domino Clementi Pape septimo suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur, aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injurie alique inferantur quovisquesito colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios seu literas, ad eorum dampnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolice sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romane ecclesie, domini nostri Pape et successorum suorum predictorum, conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo. Nec ero in consilio vel tractatu quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel prejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur, et si talia a quibuscunque procurari novero vel tractari, impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero commode significabo eidem domino nostro vel alteri per quem ad ipsius noticiam pervenire possit. Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinaciones, sentencias, disposiciones, reservaciones, provisiones et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo et faciam ab aliis observari. Hereticos, scismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus predictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad sinodum veniam nisi prepeditus fuero canonica prepedicione. Apostolorum limina Romana curia existentia citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis, visitabo aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licencia. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam neque donabo nec impignorabo neque de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo etiam cum consensu capitali ecclesie mee, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta Dei Evangelia: manibus suis tenens ante lecturam ejusdem scedule et juramenti in eadem contenti prestacionem in mea et eorundem testium presentia, asseruit et protestatus est se dictam scedulam lecturum ac juramentum inibi insertum prestiturum sub premissis protestacionibus alias per eundem eodem die in dicto domo capitulari in mea et eorundem testium presentia habitis et factis, et non aliter neque alio modo. Et incontinenter post premissa eandem scedulam perlegit, et ut in eadem continetur juravit. Super quibus assercione et protestacione per eundem modo premisso tunc ibidem factis unum vel plura publicum seu publica exinde conficere instrumentum sive instrumenta ac testes prescriptos testimonium perhibere etiam tunc ibidem rogavit et requisivit. Quibus sic peractis die, mense, et anno predictis, ac solenni consecracione ejusdem reverendissimi patris finita et expedita, idem reverendissimus pater dominus Thomas Cantuar' archiepiscopus ante dictum summum altare pallium recepturus in mea et dictorum mag' Johannis Tregunwell, Thome Bedill, et Richardi Gwent testium predictorum ad hoc specialiter adhibitorum presentia ante prestacionem juramenti infrascripti iterum protestatus est se hujusmodi sequens juramentum sub eisdem protestacionibus ut premittitur in dicto domo capitulari habitis et factis ac superius descriptis, et non aliter neque alio modo prestiturum et juraturum, ac ibidem immediate post premissa juramentum sub forma que sequitur.—IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. Ego Thomas archiepiscopus Cant' ab hac hora inantea fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro sancteque apostolice Romane ecclesie et domino nostro domino Clementi Pape septimo suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur mala capcione. Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncium seu literas, ad eorum dampnum me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum salvo meo ordine contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolice sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad sinodum veniam nisi prepeditus fuero canonica prepedicione. Apostolorum limina Roman' cur' existentia citra singulis annis, ultra vero montes singulis bienniis, visitabo aut per me aut meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licencia. Possessiones vero ad mensam mei archiepiscopatus pertinentes non vendam neque donabo nec impignorabo neque de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hec sancta Dei Evangelia—prestitit et juravit.—Super qua protestacione sic ut premittitur per eundem reverendissimum tercio facta et habita, idem reverendissimus pater me prothonotarium et notarium publicum subscriptum unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum sive instrumenta exinde conficere, ac testes predictos testimonium perhibere de et super eisdem etiam tercio rogavit et requisivit. ACTA fuerunt hec omnia et singula prout suprascribuntur et recitantur respective sub anno Domini indictione, anno regni regis predicti mense, die, et locis predictis, presentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris prenominatis testibus ad premissa respective ut premittitur adhibitis et requisitis. Et ego Richardus Watkyns in legibus baccalaurius, dicti domini nostri regis prothonotarius, quia premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premittitur sub anno Domini et regni dicti domini nostri regis mense, die, et loco predictis agebantur et fiebant una cum prenominatis testibus presens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi ac in notam sumpsi, ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu alterius (me interim aliter occupato) fideliter scriptum exinde confeci, publicavi, atque in hanc publicam formam redegi, signavi* et nomine meis solitis signavi, rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum. QUIBUS quidem processis et actis nostris antedictis plenariam et indubitatam fidem tam in judicio quam extra ac alias ubilibet in agendis adhibend' fore volumus, et per presentes decernimus, vobisque reverendissimo patri domino Jacobo cardinali et delegato antedicto de premissis omnibus et singulis per presentes presentiumque vigore cum omni debita reverencia et honore certificamus, informacionem damus et referimus. IN QUORUM omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium premissorum presentes literas sive

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* The device is in the margin of the MS.

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* The device is in the margin of the MS.

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* A defence of the true and catho' doctrine of the sacrament of the bodie and bloode of our saivo$^{r}$. Christe, etc. A discourse vpon the sacrament of the Lords supper solemplie handled at the vniuersitie of Oxforde by docto$^{r}$. Petir Martir etc. Catachismus brevis Christiane discipline etc. Articuli de quibus in Sinodo Londonien' a$^{o}$ dn$^{i}$. 1552. etc. An Aunswer of the most reuerende father in God Thomas Archebushop of Cant' vnto a craftie and sophisticall cavillacion deuised by Steven Gardiner etc.

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* It is *signavi* in the MS. but *signoque* was probably intended.

hoc presens publicum instrumentum processum nostrum hujusmodi in se continen' exinde fieri, et per prefatum providum virum magistrum Johannem Clerk notarium publicum scribam nostrum predict' subscribi et publicari mandavimus, nostroque sigillo jussimus et fecimus appensione communiri. Data et acta fuerunt hec omnia et singula prout suprascribuntur et recitantur, sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatusque ac mense, diebus, et locis superius respective specificatis, presentibus venerabilibus et circumspectis viris et personis superius respective etiam nominatis cum multis et quasi innumeris aliis testibus, ad perhibendum exinde testimonium specialiter rogatis et requisitis.

Et ego Johannes Clerk, Bathon' et Wellen' diocesis publicus sacra auctoritate apostolica notarius ac alme curie Cantuar' procuratorum generalium unus, necnon actorum ceterorumque per supra nominatum reverendum dominum subdelegatum et coram eo habitorum factorum et gestorum scriba in hac parte specialiter assumptus, quia literarum commissionalium sive subdelegatoriarum predict' presentacioni onerisque suscepcioni earundem ac procuratorii exhibitioni et articulorum dationi prefatique domini Thome Cranmeri partis ex adverso principalis responsioni testiumque productioni et examinacioni predictis modo premisso respective factis, atque ceteris premissis omnibus et singulis, dum sic ut premittitur sub anno Domini, indictione, pontificatu menseque ac diebus et locis superius respective specificatis coram prenominato reverendo domino subdelegato et per eum agerentur et fierent, una cum testibus prenominatis presens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audivi, ideo exinde notam sumpsi et hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu aliena (me interim aliis impedito negociis) fideliter scriptum exinde confeci, subscripsi et publicavi, atque in hanc publicam et auctenticam formam redegi. Signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis signavi et [in] fidem et testimonium premissorum rogatus specialiter et requisitus.

Jo. Clerk.

## No. II.

## CRANMER'S RECANTATIONS.

*All the Submissions and Recantations of Thomas Cranmer,* late Archbishop of Canterbury, truly set forth both in Latin and English, agreeable to the Originals, written and subscribed with his own hand.†*

VISUM ET EXAMINATUM PER REVERENDUM PATREM ET DOMINUM, DOMINUM EDMUNDUM EPISCOPUM LONDON. ANNO MDLVI.

1. The true copy of the first submission of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, which afterward by inconstancy and unstableness he the said Thomas Cranmer did cancel, the original whereof was sent to the queen's majesty and her privy council, as followeth:

Forasmuch as the king and queen's majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the pope's authority within this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the pope for chief head of this church of England, so far as God's laws and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.

THOMAS CRANMER.

2. The true copy of the second submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, which he the said Thomas did advisedly subscribe with his own hand, and did not afterward revoke it, the original whereof was also sent up to the queen's majesty and her said council, as before.

I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor in divinity, do submit myself to the Catholic church of Christ, and to the pope, supreme head of the same church, and unto the king and the queen's majesties, and unto all their laws and ordinances. THOMAS CRANMER.

3. Tertium scriptum Cranmeri sua ipsius manu exaratum, et per eum in Buccardo exhibitum London' episcopo.

I am content to submit myself to the king and queen's majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the pope's supremacy as others. And I shall from time to time move and stir all other to do the like, to the uttermost of my power, and to live in quietness and obedience unto their majesties, most humbly, without murmur or grudging against any of their godly proceedings. And for my book which I have written, I am contented to submit me to the judgment of the Catholic church, and of the next general council.

THOMAS CRANMER.

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* [Vid. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 390, et sqq. ed. Oxon. 1822.—Also, Sampson's letter to Bullinger, dated April 6, 1566, in the *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation* (Park. Soc.), p. 173, with the note there; and the quotation from Todd, infra, pp. 531—535.]

† Todd's Life of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 472, et sqq. from an original copy published by Cawood, A.D. 1556.

### 4. Quartum scriptum Cranmeri sua ipsius manu exaratum, et per eum in Buccardo exhibitum London' episcopo.

Be it known by these presents, that I, Thomas Cranmer, doctor of divinity, and late archbishop of Canterbury, do firmly, stedfastly, and assuredly believe in all articles and points of the Christian religion and Catholic faith, as the Catholic church doth believe, and hath ever believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the sacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points as the said Catholic church doth and hath believed from the beginning of Christian religion. In witness whereof I have humbly subscribed my hand unto these presents, the xvi. day of February, MDLV. [155$\frac{5}{6}$.]

THOMAS CRANMER.

### 5. The true copy of a fifth submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand in the presence of master Henry Syddall, and of one called Frater Johannes de Villa Garcina, a notable learned man, as followeth :

EGO, Thomas Cranmer, anathematizo omnem Lutheri et Zuinglii hæresim et quodcunque dogma sanæ doctrinæ contrarium : confiteor vero et credo firmissime unam sanctam et Catholicam ecclesiam visibilem, extra quam salus non est ; atque ejusdem in terris supremum agnosco caput episcopum Romanum, quem fateor summum esse pontificem et papam ac Christi vicarium, cui omnes tenentur subesse fideles. Jam quod ad sacramenta attinet, credo et colo in sacramento eucharistiæ verum Christi corpus et sanguinem sub speciebus panis et vini verissime citra ullum tropum et figuram contenta, conversis et transubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem Redemptoris divina potentia. Atque in sex aliis sacramentis (sicut in hoc) id credo et teneo quod universa tenet ecclesia ac sentit Romana. Credo insuper purgatorium locum, ubi ad tempus cruciantur defunctorum animæ, pro quibus sancte et salubriter orat ecclesia, sicut et sanctos colit, ad illosque preces effundit. Demum in omnibus me profiteor non aliud sentire quam ecclesia Catholica et Romana tenet ; ac per me pœnitet quod aliud unquam tenuerim ac senserim. Deum autem supplex oro, ut pietate sua mihi condonare dignetur, quæ in illum et ejus ecclesiam commisi : fideles simul rogo et obsecro, ut pro me preces effundant ; eos autem qui meo aut exemplo aut doctrina seducti sunt, per sanguinem Jesu Christi obtestor, ut ad ecclesiæ redeant unitatem, idemque dicamus omnes, ut non sint in nobis schismata. Postremo sicut me subjicio Catholicæ Christi ecclesiæ ejusdemque supremo capiti, ita me submitto Philippo et Mariæ Angliæ regibus, atque eorum legibus et decretis, et testor Deum optimum maximumque, hæc in nullius gratiam, nullius metu a me confessa, sed ex animo et libentissime, ut meæ et aliorum simul conscientiis consulam et prospiciam.

Per me, THOMAM CRANMER.

Testes hujus subscriptionis,
FRATER JOANNES DE VILLA GARCINA,
HENRICUS SIDALLUS.

### 6. The true copy of a Sixth Submission of the said Thomas Cranmer, written and subscribed with his own hand, as followeth:

Ego, Thomas Cranmer, pridem archiepiscopus Cantuarien', confiteor, et doleo, ex animo, quod gravissime deliquerim in cœlum et adversus Anglicanum regnum, immo in universam Christi ecclesiam, quam longe sævius persecutus sum quam olim Paulus, qui fui blasphemus, persecutor, et contumeliosus. Atque utinam qui Saulum malitia et scelere superavi, possem cum Paulo quem detraxi honorem Christo et ecclesiæ utilitatem recompensare! Verum meum utcunque animum latro ille evangelicus solatur. Ille namque tunc tandem ex animo resipuit, tunc illum furti pertæsum est, quum furari amplius non liceret: et ego (qui, meo officio et auctoritate abusus, et Christo honorem et huic regno fidem et religionem abstuli) jam tandem Dei maximi beneficio ad me reversus, agnosco me omnium maximum peccatorem, et cupio (si qua possem) Deo primum, deinde ecclesiæ, et ejus capiti supremo, atque regibus, toti demum Anglicano regno condignam reddere satisfactionem. Verum sicut latro ille felix, quum non esset solvendo quas pecunias et opes abstulit (quum nec pes nec manus affixæ cruci suum officium facerent) corde et lingua duntaxat (quæ non erat ligata) testatus est quod reliqua membra essent factura, si eadem qua lingua libertate gauderent; illa confessus est Christum innocentem, ea objurgabat impudentiam socii, eadem anteactam vitam detestatus et peccatorum veniam impetravit, et veluti clavi quadam paradisi fores aperuit: hujus exemplo non mediocrem concipio de Christi misericordia spem, fore ut mihi peccata condonet. Manibus et pedibus careo, quibus quod destruxi iterum reædificare valeam, (relicta enim sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos;) sed vitulos labiorum nostrorum recipiet, qui est supra quam credi possit misericors. Hac igitur concepta spe libet hunc offerre vitulum, hanc minimam et corporis et vitæ partem litare. Confiteor in primis meam erga Deum opt. max. ingratitudinem, agnosco me omni indignissimum beneficio et pietate, dignissimum vero omni non tantum humano ac temporali, sed divino et æterno supplicio, quod in Henricum VIII. et maxime in ejus uxorem reginam Catherinam vehementissime deliqui, quum divortii causa et auctor extiti: quæ sane culpa omnium hujus regni malorum et calamitatum seminarium fuit. Hinc tot proborum neces, hinc totius regni schisma, hinc hæreses, hinc tot animorum et corporum strages obortæ sunt, ut vix possim vel ratione complecti. Sed quum adeo sint hæc gravia initiaque dolorum, aperui fateor ingentem fenestram hæresibus cunctis, quarum ego præcipuum egi doctorem et ducem. In primis vero illud vehementer meum excruciat animum, quod sacrosanctum eucharistiæ sacramentum tot blasphemiis et contumeliis affecerim, negans Christi corpus et sanguinem vere et realiter sub speciebus panis et vini contineri; editis etiam libellis, quibus veritatem pro viribus impugnabam: in hac sane parte non solum Saulo et latrone deterior, verum omnium quos terra unquam sustinuit sceleratissimus. Domine, peccavi in cœlum et coram te: in cœlum, quod mea causa tot caret cœlicolis, quod cœleste hoc beneficium nobis exhibitum negavi impudentissime: peccavi et in terram, quæ tamdiu hoc sacramento misere caruit, in homines quos ab hac supersubstantiali esca revocavi, tot occisor hominum, quot inedia perierunt. Defraudavi defunctorum animas hoc jugi et celeberrimo sacrificio. Atque ex his omnibus manifestum est, quantopere etiam post Christum in ejus vicarium injurius extiti, quem libris etiam editis potestate privavi. Propterea magnopere et impensissime oro summum pontificem, ut mihi ob Christi clementiam condonet, quæ adversus illum ejusque apostolicam sedem commisi. Ac serenissimos reges Angliæ, Hispaniæ, &c. Philippum et Mariam supplex oro, ut regia qua pollent clementia mihi velint ignoscere: totum etiam regnum, immo universam ecclesiam rogo et obsecro, misereantur hujus miseræ animæ, cui jam præter linguam nihil est reliquum, quo possim illatas injurias et damna resarcire. Præcipue vero, quia tibi soli peccavi, oro, clementissime Pater, (qui omnes ad te venire, quamlibet facinorosos, et cupis et præcipis,) me propius et cominus digneris intueri, sicut Magdalenam et Petrum respexisti; vel certe sicut latronem ex cruce aspiciens, tuæ gratiæ et gloriæ promissione dignatus es pavidum et trementem animum consolari, ita etiam solita et nativa tua pietate oculos misericordiæ ad me convertas, necnon tuo me digneris alloquio, dicens, Salus tua ego sum et in die mortis, Hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. Scriptum est hoc anno Domini 1555. [$155\frac{5}{6}$.] mensis Martii 18.

Per me, THOMAM CRANMER.

[With regard to these recantations of Cranmer, the following extract from Boner's own Register, fol. 423, utterly overthrows the falsehood set forth in the concluding paragraph:

"Notandum est quod dictus Thomas Cranmerus fuit potestea [postea], viz. die Sabbati, xxi$^{o}$ die mensis Marcii, anno Domini secundum cursum et computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, in quodam loco extra muros borealis partis civitatis Oxoniensis, combustus et in cineres concrematus, &c. et quod idem Cranmer tempore ejusdem concremationis, et immediate ante illam suam concremationem, publice revocavit recantationes suas antea per eum factas, persistendo in erroribus et hæresibus suis, &c."

The extract from Sampson's letter referred to, p. 528, note, is as follows:

"Recantatio quædam absurda et a papistis conficta cœpit eo vivente spargi, quasi ille eam palinodiam cecinisset: sed auctores ipsi eam eo vivo revocarunt, et ille fortiter reclamabat vivens pernegabatque."—*Original Letters relating to the English Reformation*, (Park. Soc.) Lett. XC. p. 173.

On the whole question Archdeacon Todd writes as follows:

"The sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court now remained to be executed by the secular power. But ere the order was issued to this purpose (and a few days only passed before it was issued), another trial of his constancy was made, and he sunk under it. With expressions of pity for his situation, but with a design of leading him to recant, some of the principal academics seem to have immediately visited him in prison. He whose deposition is the last of those who were witnesses against him* is now said to have invited the archbishop to his deanery

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* *i. e.* Dr. Marshall.

at Christ Church; but the invitation could not have been accepted till after the 16th of February, as on that day one of his recantations is signed, which appears to have been delivered, as a preceding recantation was, to Boner personally, in the Bocardo prison. These, in Boner's narrative of 'All the Submissions that Cranmer made,' are the third and fourth. The first and second will shew how the archbishop hesitated ere he fell. Perhaps they were proposed by Thirlby. Before the proceedings on the 14th had ended, they could not have been made. The language of Cranmer was then undauntedly opposed to them. He probably listened at the close of that day to the persuasions of his friend, and signed what by him was hoped might propitiate the queen; of which the copy being seen by others, after it had been dispatched, it was considered not sufficiently explicit, and therefore was followed by the second, without delay we may suppose, retracting what is said in the first. It is remarkable, however, that neither of them is dated."—Todd's Life of Archbishop Cranmer, vol. ii. pp. 470—472.

"These papers," (*i. e.* the first four recantations attributed to the archbishop,) "as might be expected, were not sufficient to satisfy the Romish party. Other concessions must be obtained from their great opponent, they said, by intimidation as well as by artful proposals, and by insidious suggestions. It was immediately after the fourth recantation, I have no doubt, that to the deanery of Christ Church he was conducted for the visit of a few days, to partake of a treacherous hospitality; that there the Spanish friar, John de Villa Garcina, then the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Henry Sydall, a canon in the dean's cathedral, were the principal managers of the allurements and the threats, by which themselves and other Romanists at length subdued him to their purpose. To the king and queen his absolute recantation, these egregious tempters urged, would be highly acceptable. Nor to the lords of the council and other noblemen, they added, who much respected him, could it be less so. They put him in hope that not only his life might be spared, but that his former dignity might be restored; saying that for such boons it was but a small and easy matter they required of him, his subscription only to a few words in 'a little leaf of paper,' with his own hand; and that then, whether he would have rank or wealth, or would prefer the quietness of private life, his choice might be secured by the regal power; but that if he refused, of pardon there was no hope; for the queen was so purposed that she would have Cranmer a Roman Catholic, or else no Cranmer at all.

"To these artifices he yielded: and to the words on the little leaf of paper which they brought, subscribed, as it should seem, in their presence. 'This recantation,' says Foxe,* 'was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates, without delay, caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all men's hands. Whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription; then followed the witnesses, Henry Sydall, and John de Villa Garcina.' The privy council were displeased at the hasty publication of this paper, and the two printers of it were commanded to deliver all the copies to be burned. It was reserved to be the fifth recantation in Boner's account, where it appears in Latin, bearing, however, an English title, and has been translated by Foxe."*—Id. vol. ii. pp. 474—476.

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* Vid. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1884. Ed. Lond. 1583.

"To this recantation" (*i. e.* the fifth, witnessed by J. de Villa Garcina, and H. Sydall) "there is no date. But it was probably made immediately after the writ for burning him had been sent to Oxford, as Noailles, the French ambassador to Mary (whose character for veracity, however, is not spotless), mentions to his court, that with this fifth paper Cranmer sent a letter to Pole, begging the respite of a few days, that he might yet give to the world a more convincing proof of his repentance. Mary is said to have 'cheerfully' granted what Cranmer asked; but, determined not to spare him, she only ordered the day of his approaching fate to be concealed from him. Meantime the sixth recantation was prepared. To a more laboured disavowal (more complete it could not be than what the fifth recites) of tenets he had maintained, to louder cries for mercy, to deeper expressions of self-abasement, he was now to be earnestly pressed under the fallacious persuasion that from the terror of the stake he might be wholly freed. That this outrageous composition was drawn up by Pole, Strype long since assumed, by comparing it with the tedious prolixity and style of the recantation, which the cardinal prepared for the friend of Cranmer, Sir John Cheke."†—Id. vol. ii. pp. 479, 480.

"For what purpose, it may be asked, were this and the preceding instrument formed in a language known only to the learned? Were they to be detailed only so far, in our own, to the common people, as not to lead them to a belief that other words than Cranmer's were recited? But whatever was the intention, and admitting the contents of both the instruments, though paltering in a double tongue, to be universally known, numbers still disbelieved that Cranmer was entirely lost, that yet he would not redeem himself. When he ascended the platform at St. Mary's on the morning of his martyrdom, numbers wept, says the Roman Catholic who witnessed the scene, having indeed 'conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance,'‡ which, ere a few minutes had elapsed, was disappointed. But again, when the fallen prelate began to pray, this honest spectator divides the listening audience into 'those that hated him before, [the Romanists] who now loved him for his [fancied] conversion and hope of continuance,' and 'those that loved him before, [the Protestants] who could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall.'§ Why also was the fifth recantation, published by prelates and divines, immediately after it was made, suppressed by an order of the privy council? Was it because a suspicion was believed to exist, that Cranmer's assent to it was incapable of proof? No, says the apologist for this questionable proceeding: 'Perhaps it was incorrectly printed; perhaps they waited for that which he said God would inspire him to make.'* What the privy council are thus conjectured as expecting from the archbishop, is nothing more than what is flippantly pretended as his expression by the French ambassador; not a shadow of authority for which is anywhere to be found. That it was *incorrectly* printed is probable enough. But Pole and Boner intended not merely to correct it, but to reprint it with the four preceding papers, and with the production of a sixth. Indeed this is the only recantation, to which historians formerly drew the attention of their readers. Hence Collier, after Foxe,† relates, that on the day of Cranmer's execution the Spanish friar (J. de Villa Garcina), 'who was a witness to his recantation, proposed the reading his recantation to a public audience, and to this purpose desired him to subscribe the instrument with his own hand and sign it.'‡ Of any new submission on the fatal morning, this historian seems to have entertained no belief. Burnet is alike silent. Thus too the Romish biographer of Pole, with the printed submissions of the archbishop at his service, speaks apparently of none but that which is numbered the fifth by Boner; and after noticing the writ for burning him, says, 'Cranmer had again renewed his subscription, and transcribed a fair copy of the whole; but, having some misgivings of his approaching punishment, he secretly wrote another declaration, which contradicted, in every point, the doctrine he had before signed.' What here is called a renewed subscription, is affirmed, however, in the recent history of our country, to be nothing less than the copy of a 'seventh instrument of abjuration.' Is it improbable, however, that what the friar proposed was merely the fifth recantation more correctly written than the hastily printed copy had given it? To this the signature of Cranmer was requisite, and it was made together with that of the friar; but, it is especially to be observed, is undated. It would now be ready for Boner's publication, as the fifth instrument; while a written abbreviation of the material parts of it would be sufficient for Cranmer 'openly to profess before the people;' and accordingly Boner, without the statement of its being a new subscription, without the pretence of its being a seventh recantation, prints only what the martyr was to have spoken, but basely conceals the fact that he did not speak it. The faith that he was to assert was thus worded for him: 'First, I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c. &c. I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every clause, word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, and his apostles and prophets, in the new and old Testament, and all articles explicate and set forth in general councils. And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did; that is, setting abroad untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's word, which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them; or else my conscience is not discharged. For they be the books which I wrote against the sacrament of the altar since the death of king Henry the Eighth. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is time and place to say truth. Wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever is in them contained, I say and believe, that our Saviour Christ Jesus is really and substantially contained in the blessed sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine.'

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* Vid. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1884. Ed. Lond. 1583.

† Vid. Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. part i. p. 395. Ed. Oxon. 1822.

‡ Vid. Strype's Mem. of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 552. Ed. Oxon. 1840.

§ Id. p. 554.

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* Lingard's Hist. Eng. 8vo. vii. 276, *n.*

† Foxe calls it "a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument (with the articles) with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him, and that he did also." (Vid. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1885. Ed. Lond. 1583.) Hence the interpretation of Burnet: "He was (now) dealt with to renew his subscription and to write the whole over again." (Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 670. Ed. Oxon. 1829.) But the most curious, and I believe hitherto unnoticed, mention in regard to this fifth recantation, and what was selected from it for Cranmer to avow before the people at his execution, occurs in the continuation of "the Chronicles of Fabian," Lond. 1559. vol. ii. p. 564. "In this year (1556), in Lent, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishoppe of Canterbury, after that he had recanted his *supposed* recantation, was brent at Oxford."—Note, Todd's Life of Abp. Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 486.

‡ Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 139. Ed. Lond. 1840-1.

"So ends the tract, affirmed in the title page 'to have been seen and examined by Boner.' Upon him, therefore, rests the responsibility of the compilation, even if by any other hand than his own it had been compiled; upon him the shame also, which, if not to other parts of it, at least to the conclusion, belongs, where what the sufferer really spoke is concealed, but what was prepared for him to have spoken is related, and by many of the compiler's party was afterwards reported, as if indeed he did speak it."—Id. vol. ii. pp. 484—489. Vide also Todd's Vindication of Archbishop Cranmer, pp. 116 et sqq. 2nd ed. Lond. 1826. Soames' Hist. of Reformat. vol. iv. pp. 515 et sqq., who enters largely into an examination of this portion of the archbishop's history. Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. iv. pp. 258—260. Ed. Lond. 1839. Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, Letter XC. p. 173, n. 1, Park. Soc. Ed. 1846.]

END OF VOL. II.

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